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On and off air:

an ethnographic exploration of minority radio in Portugal

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PhD thesis in Anthropology of Migrations, Ethnicity and Transnationalism

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ON AND OFF AIR: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC EXPLORATION OF MINORITY RADIO IN PORTUGAL

MARIA INÊS PEREIRA TORCATO DAVID

ABSTRACT

Taking a Media Anthropology's approach to dynamics of mediated self-representation in migratory contexts, this thesis starts by mapping radio initiatives produced by, for and/or with migrants in Portugal. To further explore dynamics of support of initial settlement in the country, community-making, cultural reproduction, and transnational connectivity - found both in the mapping stage and the minority media literature (e.g. Kosnick, 2007; Rigoni & Saitta, 2012; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005) - a case study was selected: the station awarded with the first bilingual license in Portugal. The station in question caters largely to the British population presenting themselves as "expats" and residing in the Algarve. The ethnographic strategy to research it consisted of "following the radio" (Marcus, 1995) beyond the station and into the events and establishments it announces on air, so as to relate production and consumption realms. The leading research question asks how does locally produced radio play into "expats" processes of management of cultural identity – and what are the specificities of its role? Drawing on conceptualizations of lifestyle migration (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009), production of locality (Appadurai 1996) and the public sphere (Butsch, 2007; Calhoun & et al, 1992; Dahlgren, 2006), this thesis contributes to valuing radio as a productive gateway to research migrants' construction of belonging, to inscribe a counterpoint in the field of minority media, and to debate conceptualizations of migratory categories and flows.

Specifically, this thesis argues that the station fulfills similar roles to other minority radio initiatives but in ways that are specific to the population being catered to. Namely, unlike other minority stations, radio facilitates the process of transitioning between categories along on a continuum linking tourists and migrants. It also reflects and participates in strategies of reterritorialization that rest on functional and partial modes of incorporation. While contributing to sustain a translocality (Appadurai, 1996) it indexes and fosters a stance of connection that is symbolically and materially connected to the UK and other "neighborhoods" but is, simultaneously, oriented to engaging with the Algarve as "home". Yet, besides reifying a British cultural identity, radio's oral, repetitive and ephemeral discourse particularly trivializes the reproduction of an ambivalent stance of connection with place that is shared by other "expats". This dynamic is related to migratory projects driven by social imaginaries fostered by international media that stimulate the search for idealized ways of living, which the radio associates with the Algarve. While recurrently localizing and validating the narrative projecting an idealized "good life", radio amplifies dynamics among migrants that seem to reaffirm the migratory move as a good choice.

KEYWORDS: Minority Media, Lifestyle Migration, Radio, Algarve, British Expatriates

RESUMO

Partindo da abordagem da Antropologia dos Media às dinâmicas de auto-representação mediatizada em contextos migratórios, esta pesquisa apresenta um mapeamento de iniciativas produzidas por, para e/ou com migrantes em Portugal. Para aprofundar a análise de dinâmicas de apoio à inserção social, de processos de comunitarização, de reprodução cultural e de manutenção de laços transnacionais com lugares de referência – encontrados tanto no terreno como na bibliografia sobre *media* minoritários (e.g. Kosnick, 2007; Rigoni & Saitta, 2012; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005), explora-se um estudo de caso: a primeira estação com licença bilingue. A estação em causa é direcionada, sobretudo, para a população britânica, auto-definida como "expatriada" e residente no Algarve. Assente numa estratégia etnográfica que consistiu em "seguir a rádio" (Marcus, 1995), a pesquisa explora as ligações entre a estação, os eventos e os estabelecimentos comerciais anunciados nas emissões, de forma a relacionar as esferas da produção e do consumo. A questão de partida pergunta - Qual o papel da rádio nos processos de gestão de identidade cultural de "expatriados" – e quas as suas especificidades nesse papel? Com base em conceptualizações sobre "*lifestyle migration*" (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009), produção de localidade (Appadurai 1996) e esfera pública (Butsch, 2007; Calhoun & et al, 1992; Dahlgren, 2006), esta tese contribui para pensar a rádio como uma "janela" para a pesquisa sobre construção de pertenças. Simultaneamente, inscreve-se como um contraponto no campo dos *media* minoritários e dialoga com o debate conceptual sobre categorias e tipos de fluxos migratórios.

Concretamente, a tese defende que a estação estudada cumpre funções semelhantes às de outras rádios minoritárias, embora com singularidades relacionadas com a sua população-alvo. Facilita, por exemplo, processos de transição entre categorias que associam turistas e migrantes. Adicionalmente, reflete e participa em estratégias de reterritorialização assentes em modos de incorporação funcional e parcial. Ao reproduzir uma translocalidade (Appadurai, 1996), a rádio indicia e alimenta nos "expatriados" uma postura que é simbólica e materialmente ligada ao Reino Unido, assim como a outras "vizinhanças" ainda que permanecendo, simultaneamente, orientada para a apropriação do Algarve como "casa". A veiculação de um discurso oral, repetitivo, e efémero, não só contribui para a reificação da identidade cultural britânica como também tem conduzido à reprodução de uma ligação ambivalente com o lugar que é partilhada por outros "expatriados". Tal dinâmica inter-relaciona-se com projetos migratórios inscritos em imaginários colectivos, veiculados pelos *media* internacionais, que incentivam a procura de um estilo de vida idealizado, que a rádio associa ao Algarve. Ao localizar e validar recorrentemente uma narrativa que projeta um ideal de "boa vida", a rádio amplifica as dinâmicas entre migrantes que parecem reafirmar a fixação em Portugal como uma escolha acertada.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Media* Minoritários, *Lifestyle Migration*, Rádio, Algarve, Expatriados Britânicos

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

A22 - *Auto-estrada* 22 [Highway traversing the Algarve]

AAA - American Anthropological Association

EBU - European Broadcasting Union

ACIDI - *Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural* [High Commissary for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue]

ACM - *Alto Comissariado para as Migrações* [High Commissary for Migration]

AFPOP - Association of Foreign Property Owners in Portugal

ANACOM - *Autoridade Nacional de Comunicações* [Regulatory Authority for Communications]

BLIP - Better Living in Portugal [Business Exhibition]

CENJOR - *Centro Protocolar de Formação Profissional para Jornalistas* [Journalism school]

EMTEL - European Media Technology and Everyday Life Network

EN 125 - *Estrada Nacional* 125 [Main road traversing the Algarve]

ERC – *Entidade Reguladora para a Comunicação Social* [Portuguese Telecommunications Authority]

EU - European Union

GNR – *Guarda Nacional Republicana* [militar police forces in the Algarve]

IMI – *Imposto sobre o Imó*vel [Municipal Property Tax]

IMT - *Imposto Municipal sobre as Transmissões Onerosas de Imóveis* [Property Acquisition Tax]

IPSS – *Instituto Particular de Solidariedade Social* [non-profit social solidarity oriented organization]

IVA – *Imposto de Valor Acrescentado* [Value Added Tax]

LUSA - *Agência de Notícias de Portugal* [Portuguese News Agency]

MEDIANE - Media in Europe for Diversity Inclusiveness

MEDIVA - Media for Diversity and Migrant Integration

NGO - Non-Governmental Organization

RDP - *Rádio Difusão Portuguesa* [Portuguese Public Radio Service Network]

RDP África - [Africa oriented service by the Portuguese Public Radio Service Network]

RTPi - *Rádio Televisão Portuguesa, Canal Internacional* [Portuguese Public Television Service Network, International Channel]

Sky – British Sky Broadcasting Limited [telecommunications company]

TAP - *Transportadora Aérea Portuguesa* [Portuguese Airline]

TSF – TSF – Rádio Notícias, Produções e Publicidade, S.A. [radio station with national coverage whose name was inspired in radio's initial technical designation *Telefonia Sem Fios* – Wireless Telephony]

USA - United States of America

UK – United Kingdom

VFR – Visiting Friends and Relative

Introduction

In a society inviting reflections about "the mediation of everything" (Livingstone, 2009), the roles that media play in processes of international mobility have been attracting much scholarly interest. Media are intrinsically intertwined with processes of displacement and emplacement when, for instance, channeling images and narratives that inform the projection of migratory projects as well as the construction of belongings. This thesis focuses on the interplay of media technologies and migration processes by exploring the roles of media produced by, for and/or with migrants. In doing so, it takes up the challenge of combining three relatively under-researched areas in one object of study. It focuses on radio, which is still a "secondary" medium in communication studies even though it has remained resiliently pervasive in the current mediascapes, and in spite of having started to attract renewed attention given its ability to recombine with new (e.g. online) platforms and modes of broadcasting (e.g. podcasts) (Cordeiro, 2012; Tacchi, 2000). Additionally, the thesis engages with mediated self-representation dynamics, which are one important trend of studies focusing on minorities and the media but, however, have not drawn as much interest as, for instance, representations of minorities in mainstream media or migrants' media consumption and use. Finally, this dissertation explores as a case-study a radio station catering mostly to an under-researched population in Portugal: the British (Torkington 2010: 100).

The problem and the pertinence of the study

The singularity of locally produced minority media as research objects concerns the fact that they constitute a vantage point granting access to the perspectives of migrants on their own mobility experiences. In addition to being institutions located at the meso-level of migration dynamics, which researchers have noted warrant further research (Faist 2000: 31), such minority media are sites for the

expression, and possibly also negotiation, of situated points of view. The latter concern migrants' relationships with peers, the host society, and the multiple contexts of origin and of destination, among other aspects structuring migrants' everyday lives. Presenting the perspective of cultural "Others", who are usually the object of representation themselves, minority media therefore invite reflections on a number of aspects concerning the mediation of cultural diversity. Different dimensions one could consider include: the policies that frame the very existence of these media as well as the structure of opportunities that migrants must cope with as media practitioners; the kinds of interests and needs that urge migrants to create their own media instead of using the available national and international media; perceptions about dominant representations about migrants and migration channeled in mainstream media; the projection and animation of imagined communities; the competing versions of claims to cultural identity which emerge in any effort involving dynamics of representation; and the perspectives of different people who have never moved and that these media engage, such as those in the context of origin and elements of the second or third generations. Accordingly, different choices of analytical lenses have swayed the focus so as to explore and/or emphasize, for instance, dynamics of inclusion or exclusion from the host society promoted by these media (Georgiou, 2002b, 2003; Sreberny, 2005); the fragmentation of the public sphere (Gitlin, 1998; Rigoni & Saitta, 2012), the materialization and sustenance of diasporic narratives and social formations (Naficy, 1998; Tsagarousianou, 2004).

Nevertheless, in contemporary society, the visibility of minority media has been related to moral and social panics associated to understandings of migration as a problem. Namely in European contexts, dynamics like the increasing diversity and transnational connections reshaping cities' social morphologies, the growing role of global markets, the so-called war on terror, the increasingly stricter border control, and the rise of conservative political tendencies, have all underpinned debates about the role of media in processes of integration in host contexts (Georgiou, 2007: 12). To be specific, recent political moves in European states have attempted to restrict the distribution of Arabic satellite channels because of the presupposition that they foster values and practices that are incompatible with European standards, although Europe itself is inherently a heterogeneous social reality built on a history of diversity (Georgiou, 2012a). In addition to such minority media from the context of origin,

locally produced initiatives are also sometimes involved in debates around inclusion/exclusion. They negotiate, on the one hand, critiques of self-exclusion and, on the other hand, possibilities and desires for social and symbolic inclusion (Echchaibi, 2002). In this ongoing dynamic, minority media, have the potential of adding invaluable alternative perspectives to public debates on cultural diversity, namely by deconstructing stereotypes and complexifying discourses (Blion, 2009; Cottle, 2000a), at the same time that they can, however, also reinforce essentialized representations and discourses of cultural difference (Georgiou, 2007, 2012a; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005).

While research has relevantly grappled with this scenario, it has mostly focused on the cases of migrant populations struggling with these issues. This is only understandable and pertinent, for very many migrants do face formidable challenges when relocating to, namely, European contexts. Moreover, with the changes noted above and other, more recent events (e.g. Charlie Hebdo's massacre), reflections on diversity, politics of representation, and alternative voices about shared realities are increasingly pertinent. Nevertheless, there is a blind spot in this field concerning those minorities that are hardly associated with social problems and, indeed, with the connotations implied in the term migrant itself, which is not often applied to self-designated "expatriates", namely by mainstream media (Cohen, 1977; Costa, 2010; O'Reilly, 2000). Yet, precisely because of their relative privilege, "expatriates" tend to be resourceful and afford to create and/or stimulate niche-markets with a wide plethora of services catering to their needs and interests. The cases of the Algarve, on which this thesis focuses on, or the South of Spain are examples of such vibrant economic realities of which locally produced media are part and parcel (see, for instance, O'Reilly 2000; Torkington, 2010, 2011b).

While these media have a strong commercial orientation, resembling bigger minority enterprises such as the case of Latino media in the USA (Matsaganis, Katz, and Ball-Rokeach 2011: 126-139), and do not use revenue solely as a means to support community media types of projects, as is often the case in Europe (Lewis, 2008; but see also Titley [2008]), they can be rich sites to research the issues that are central to the minority media research field (e.g. transnational connectivity, cultural reproduction, community making). Simultaneously, they can be useful gateways to investigate the under-researched particularities of these people's migration and

reterritorialization processes as well as to research ensuing complexities in what concerns the management of their cultural identity. It is in this way that researching these "expats"' media can propose new takes on the role of media (and specifically minority media).

To be specific, as agents of social and cultural reproduction media produced by, for and/or with relatively privileged populations can be telling about how different types of migrants use their own media in distinct ways and for disparate purposes. At the same time, they may further illuminate the strategies of reterritorialization and positioning that are specific to these migrants and that inform the aforementioned uses. Asking the questions posed by the minority media field (i.e. what voices are heard in these media, on behalf of whom are they speaking, what do they say, and whom do they address [Kosnick, 2008: 153; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005: 437]) may yield insights into perspectives of the population catered to about their experiences as migrants; contested ideas about imagined communities; plural modes of relating to the host context – and, particularly, what is socially appropriate to express about them in a public forum. Moreover, research on a local scale, where media dynamics tend to blur the boundaries between producers and consumers, may further be revealing about practices and sociabilities fostered by minority media. These include, namely, the maintenance of transnational ties as well as processes of incorporation in the context of settlement – the two complementary orientations of minority media (Lewis 2008). They may thus reveal specific forms of transnational connectivity and singular strategies of incorporation.

What is more, this study contributes further with the focus on the medium of radio and its particular modes of mediating processes. To be sure, radio had been coined the "forgotten medium" given the emergence of a strongly audiovisual culture and the credibility of the written word. Yet, radio has creatively been reinventing itself as it accompanies successive technological innovations in an increasing mediatized world. If its oral quality previously lent it particular capabilities to accommodate and facilitate dynamics of community maintenance among migrant populations, its recombination with digital platforms extends those dynamics along the geographies of the population it caters to. More specifically, reaching across borders to the context of origin and other places of reference through online broadcast streaming intensifies the experience of listening to the same thing at the same time,

through which live and unilinear broadcasts instill proximity among listeners who project each other's virtual company. The radiophonic oral communication and its discursive specificities further make it especially apt to be particularistic (Dayan, 1998) and therefore quite effective for migrants' communication. The ephemerality of radio talk and its repetitive character add to the local radio colloquial and familiar mode of address, which is able to instill proximity by naming known people and places, besides inviting interaction in a public platform. What is more, because it is a sound-based medium, it accommodates culturally specific modes of talk (e.g. jargon, idiomatic expressions, accent, banter), in addition to giving particular weight to cultural repertoires related to sound (e.g. musical traditions). A study of minority radio initiatives is thus limited to the dynamics of production and consumption that radio engages people in. Yet, precisely because of that, it can be telling of dimensions and processes that other media may not reveal.

The object of study and the field of research

After identifying the ongoing minority radio initiatives in Portugal in 2009, as put forth in chapter 1 and explored in chapter 3, I chose as a case study the first station to be awarded a bilingual license in Portugal. Bright FM Algarve, as I will call it in this dissertation,[1] has been founded in 1992 and has catered to a mix of different audiences: the Portuguese locals, Portuguese and foreign tourists and the English-speaking residents of the Algarve. As discussed in chapter 4, although the station claimed to serve "the multicultural communities of the Algarve", it is important to note that these were restricted to those foreigners resorting primarily to the English-language in order to navigate everyday life in the Algarve - a tourism destination where English is the lingua franca. In practice, Bright FM's audience comprised mostly "expats" who are essentially Western and Northern Europeans as well as North Americans staying more or less permanently in the Algarve.

[1] I chose to change the name of the station selected for the case study, and not the remaining stations in the mapping or other institutions, because Bright FM was the object of study and the organization that was studied in greater depth, in its various complexities. Nevertheless, all individuals' names are pseudonyms.

Yet, as most of the latter are British, who are also the longest-standing and largest European minority in the region (see chapter 5), people in the field inter-changeably spoke of the "English" and the "English-speaking" when talking about social dynamics between Portuguese and foreigners, or even among foreigners in the region. Both at the station and outside, Portuguese and foreigners alike sometimes meant specifically the British, whereas sometimes they discussed all the "expats". This was one challenge that complicated fieldwork and informed the circumscription of the population under closer study to the British. Despite the proximity with other "expat" populations, the British were the most numerous group and the ones who set the tone for social dynamics among foreigners in the region, the station and among the audience.

Bright FM's audience further posed the challenge of conceptualizing a tourism-informed mobility, whereby people shift fluidly through the categories of (occasional or recurrent) tourist, long-stay visitor, second-home owner and full-time resident – sometimes returning full-circle to becoming tourists when, for instance, a partner dies and the person decides to share old age close to loved ones in the UK. Both the flow bringing "expats" to Portugal and their processes of incorporation are strongly intertwined with tourism and question conventions distinguishing tourism and migration.[2] For instance, the imaginaries stimulating relocation resemble the destination-images much debated in tourism studies: they project an idealized way of life that usually involves relaxation, amenable weather, proximity with nature, healthy and fresh food, a sociable environment, "authentic traditions", and similar "quality of life markers" (Mcintyre, 2011), which are conflated often with images of a rural idyll or coastal retreats. Yet, self-designated "expats" certainly construct the Algarve as their (primary or secondary) home and ground themselves in the local, even if their incorporation involves dynamics of seclusion. Moreover, they adamantly distinguish themselves from tourists who do not know the "real" Portugal. To add to that, unlike other (economic, family reunification, and other) migratory flows, some of these migrants (namely the retirees) are being actively allured by measures established by

[2] As Torkington (2010: 101) notes, there is no agreement on what "permanence" means: while geographers suggest stays of over six months or a year as qualifying as permanent, the commonly used notion of the World Organization for Tourism defines as a tourist someone staying abroad for no more than one year.

the Portuguese government such as the program "*Reforma ao Sol*" (Retirement in the Sun), which I discuss later. This posed a challenge to grasp, describe and conceptualize this population and the migratory flow in question.

Among the international transits that migration studies theorize, this type of flow is not the most common and raises challenges to theorization. More than the movements of other relatively privileged populations, such as corporate "expats" (see, for instance, Amit [2007]), flows with such porosities with tourism unsettle categories such as "migrant". In the case of the (mostly British) "expats" relocating to the Algarve, the motivations driving the move did not pertain to economic hardship or the search for financial security. While it may have involved work (as a complement to a pension in the case of retirees or as a way to capitalize on the existence of a tourism and "expat" oriented industry in the Algarve), work was usually not a main reason spurring the move. Overall, a major and recurrent motivation was "the lifestyle", often characterized by associating the aforementioned "quality of life markers" with the Algarve.

The available literature most aptly conceptualizing these flows is the lifestyle migration approach, which defines the movement as "relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part-time or full-time to places that, for various reasons, signify, for the migrant, a better quality of life" (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009b: 609). The approach has some limitations, not least related to how much it rests on subjective definitions of what constitutes "quality of life". Nevertheless, the conceptualization efforts that have been undertaken to think through what are, ultimately, qualitatively different forms of migration, were the most useful to make sense of the empirical data collected in the field. Moreover, it grounds the mobility in migration dynamics regardless of how negatively charged the term "migrant" may be, and how individuals may distance themselves from it by adopting terminologies that are more conversant with positive conceptions of international transits – which lifestyle migration certainly is perceived as. It is a step towards expanding the framework of migration studies and fine-tuning theoretical constructs so as to account for the diversity of flows characterizing contemporary reality.

This project aims also to contribute to understand these mobilities by investigating the roles of locally produced radio in the processes of "expats"' settlement in the Algarve. Taking an ethnographic approach it tries to understand how

radio, because of its affordances, plays into processes of reterritorialization and assists "expats" in making sense of their lived experience. It also explores to what extent the station is aware of and how it deals with its role(s). To unpack how the lifestyle migration context informs the specific ways of making minority radio and, in turn, how the production and consumption of local radio participates processes of living in the Algarve as lifestyle migrants, the leading research question asks: how does locally produced radio play into "expats"' management of cultural identity – and what are its specificities in doing so?

Organization of the thesis

Chapter 1 lays down the theoretical framework underpinning this project before positing the main objectives for the study and delving into the research design. It situates the research in the field of Media Anthropology so as to identify the contributions of the area's main trends to the study of media and migrations, and, in particular, of minority media. It then presents the theoretical premises, the objectives, and the main hypotheses structuring this project. To close, it explains the research design. After operationalizing the concept of mediation, it describes data collection methods and situates the emergence of "charity" as a direction of study during the fieldwork. Finally, it discusses the approach of communicative ecologies (Baker et al., 2008; Fuller, 2005; Hearn & Foth, 2007; Horst, 2010; Wilkins, Ball-Rokeach, Matsaganis, & Cheong, 2007) and how it was used as a strategy to organize data analysis. Chapter 1 is then followed by two parts that structure the thesis. Part I comprises an approach to the field of minority media by discussing the state of the art, presenting the results of the exploratory research (namely the mapping of minority radio initiatives in Portugal) and justifying the choice for the atypical case study of an "expat" radio station. Part II delves into the story of Bright FM and the roles it has played for lifestyle migrants in the Algarve.

Chapter 2 explores the state of the art concerning minority media. After briefly situating the multiple relationships between media and international migration, it delves into the particular field of minority media. It starts by describing the variety of initiatives conceptualized as minority media besides discussing the choice of this term (minority media) and not other common designations that are rooted in lenses

drawing on the concepts of ethnicity and diaspora. It then provides an overview of policy frameworks in Europe that have shaped the emergence of minority media in the region besides framing its place in the mediascape. This discussion relates, on the one hand, the multicultural ideologies and preoccupations with cultural diversity with, on the other hand, the representation of migrants and minorities on mainstream media as well as with the subsequent support to migrants' media as mouthpieces for "voice". Noting that minority media tend to assume community media-like formats in Europe (P. Lewis, 2008), the final section signals the lack of regulatory frameworks for either in Portugal.

Chapter 3 focuses on the mediation of cultural diversity in Portugal by focusing on the medium of radio and, particularly, the local radio sector. It starts by identifying challenges of circumscribing minority radio when relating it to the plural realities of migration, which are complicated by historical events and regulations evidencing that, as Balibar notes, "not all migrants are foreigners and not all foreigners are migrants" (cited in Georgiou [2005: 489]). It then provides the results of the mapping of minority radio initiatives in Portugal. It explores those initiatives of media by, for and/or with migrants residing in Portugal, namely in the local radio sector, although it identifies 3 other types of programs inscribing Portugal in the transnational field of informational flow, identity engagement and self-(re)presentation in which minority media must be understood (Rigoni & Saitta, 2012). Based on the description of features of different shows and the functions they fulfill, it problematizes the two types of initiatives found: those focusing on cultural diversity that reflect about the position of migrants in Portuguese society, and those focusing on specific populations that showcase the latter's culture and foster dynamics of community making. To close, it discusses the added value of an atypical case study that caters to "expats".

Part II of the dissertation starts with a detailed description of the story of Bright FM Algarve overtime (chapter 4.1). It identifies the factors shaping its initial impact, successive decline and eventual resurgence besides sketching the dynamics of social organization of production and of relations at the station. The latter provide the perspective of producers and set the scene for the dynamics explored in chapter 6. Chapter 5.2 moves out of the studios and the station so as to situate Bright in the Algarvean local radioscape as well as in the particular English-language media

sphericule which most “expats” remain in. To further sketch the backdrop for the argument proposed later, this section identifies the various types of audience members and radio sociabilities fostered by Bright besides noting how it can figure in media diets. It closes with a section that significantly shows how non-British “expats” could appropriate Bright FM and the narrative it projected.

Chapter 5 situates the flows of British to Portugal and the Algarve besides discussing the lifestyle migration framework as a productive perspective through which to theorize about these migrants. In describing the tourism-informed mobilities, namely by identifying some migrant profiles and aspects concerning the mode of incorporation, it details the specificities of the case of British tourists and migrants. Yet, many of these aspects could describe also the case of other “expats”. In particular, the issues pertaining to the emic constructions of what it means to be an “expat” in the Algarve could be extended to other Western and Northern Europeans and North Americans. Chapter 5.2 relates the aspects underpinning emic constructions relating to these “expats” position in Portugal with theories about the reflexive constructions of selves in late modernity on the one hand, and conjunctural conditions informing the flow of British to the Algarve, such as the tourism dynamics that are central in the region.

Chapter 6 explores how Bright FM can be considered a minority radio station albeit with the specificities. Chapter 6.1 is engaged with the ways in which Bright, through the organization of production, practices of consumption and of advertising both reflect and participate in maintaining transnational connections, incorporating into the host context and in processes of cultural reproduction. To do so it draws on Appadurai’s (1996) conceptualization of locality, which is articulated as the “Allgarve” so as to underscore the way in which place is constructed through dynamics that happen in English. Chapter 6.2 proposes two further roles that Bright seems to play by virtue of catering to tourism-informed flows. One consists of assisting in the process of transition from being a recurrent visitor to becoming a resident, which involves fueling the niche market catering to tourists and expats that many lifestyle migrants depend on. The other concerns the constant repetition of the narrative of “the good life”, which associates internationally circulating images with the life that can be lived in the Algarve. Finally, chapter 6.3 delves further into the combination of production practices and the ways in which audience members use the

radio so as to show how the radio can constitute a connection to the public sphere and foster processes of textured engagement with local realities when participating in dynamics of "charity" work.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis by answering the research questions and hypotheses put forth in chapter 1 and suggesting avenues for further research.

1 AN ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH TO MINORITY RADIO

This research aims at providing answers to the following questions: how does locally produced radio play into migrants' processes of management of cultural identity – and what are the specificities of its role? What is at stake is the social life of a radio station and its uses during processes of reterritorialization. Does local radio partake in an individual's process of deciding to move and their choosing of a destination? Does it contribute to negotiate previously constructed expectations in the face of lived experience? Ultimately, how does local radio assist in thinking, experiencing and making sense of transnational mobility and international relocation?

To be specific, it tries to understand the mutually constitutive relationship between media and mobilities. It enquires not only whether the radio plays a significant role in the process of settling into a new home but also how it deals with its cultural function (e.g. is it consciously constructed and strategic?). It asks how specificities shaping a particular migratory flow and some migrants' ways of relating to place inform and structure the production and consumption of radio. Simultaneously, in turn, it tries to understand how the production and consumption of radio informs the particularities characterizing that particular kind of migrant. In order to do that I outline in this chapter the theoretical framework I depart from and lay out the main objectives and design of the study. It is important to note that the construction of theoretical premises, objectives, hypotheses and design was re-assessed after the case study was chosen and therefore reflect the orientation of the research for the case study.

1.1 On Media Anthropology:

The cornerstone of the approach chosen for this project is Media Anthropology. Notably, despite the number of forums dedicated to anthropological

takes on the media, ranging from online platforms organizing discussions[3] to a growing number of publications, its establishment as a field has raised debate. The objects of study, methods, epistemological grounds, historical roots, limits of the field of enquiry and its nature as a discipline itself, have been a point of discussion in review articles, e-seminars and edited volumes (Askew & Wilk, 2002; Boyer, 2012; Coman & et al, 2005; Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod, & Larkin, 2002; Ginsburg, 2005; Osorio, 2001; Rial, 2004; Spitulnik, 1993), not least in Portugal (S. Ferreira, 2008; Reis, 2006; Rosales, 2010a).

The debate about the "disciplinary minefield" (see, particularly, Coman & et al, 2005; Osorio & et al, 2002) includes voices noting that anthropologists' engagement with media is hardly recent (see 1.1.1). These argue against thinking of a particular type of engagement (with media as objects of study) as a subdiscipline, given the risk of essentializing the history and contours of the enterprise, namely by trying to establish a set of reference points (works, theoretical premises, instruments, problems and methodologies) of what can be thought as "a locus of cutting edge research anthropological research" (Boyer, 2012: 386). Attempts at defining Media Anthropology range from vague descriptions (i.e. "whatever anthropologists do to understand media, in whatever contexts they locate it" (M. A. Peterson, 2003), to more specific circumscriptions of the endeavor).[4] All-in-all, the emergence of the field as an arena of engagement may be recent - most readers were published after 2000, as Reis (2006: 8) notes - and healthily contested, but Media Anthropology

[3] Namely, the EASA Media Anthropology Network organizes regular debates via working paper publication and e-seminars. For more information visit http://www.media-anthropology.net (last accessed 2nd January, 2015).

[4] To give a few examples of attempts to more precisely circumscribe the field it is worth noting Reis (2006: 15-16), who states: "A Antropologia dos Media é o que fazem os antropólogos interessados no estudo comparado das formas de comunicação e dos usos das tecnologias de informação e comunicação em contextos socioculturais particulares" (Media Anthropology is what anthropologists who are interested in the compared study of forms of communication and the uses of information and communication technologies in particular sociocultural contexts do). Alternatively, Boyer (2012: 383) focuses on the investigation of "how the production and reception of communicational media texts and technologies have enabled or otherwise affected processes of cultural production and reproduction more generally". More generically, Coman (2005: 2) argues that "A common sense definition for media anthropology would say that it represents the application of instruments (theories, concepts, research methods) from a field of science, cultural anthropology, onto an investigated object, in this case media (i.e. communication mediated by technologies and institutions, be it "big" or "small").

signals a particular approach to the media institutions, technologies and processes of mediation.

Still, provided such heated debate, I find it is pertinent to make a "detour" considering the main roots of Media Anthropology in order to identify the contributions it brings to a study of minority media. To be sure, a number of studies on media produced and/or consumed in migratory contexts have drawn on anthropological takes. In fact, they constitute one of the cross-cutting lines of enquiry further conceptualizing international mobility (Rosales, 2010: 8). They include: research on the representations of migrants in mass media (exploring either the construction of representations by journalists (e.g. Oliveira, Parra, & Jesus, 2010), or of interpretations of migrant audiences (e.g. Eisenlohr, 2011; Georgiou, 2012a, 2012b; Gillespie, 1995; Madianou, 2006; Sjöberg, Rydin, Kosnick, & et al, 2008; Tufte, 2001); minority media operating at local and transnational scales (e.g. Dayan, 1998; Georgiou, 2001; McLagan, 2002; Naficy, 1993; Rosales & Ferreira, 2010; Schein, 2002; Silvano, Rosales, & Ferreira, 2012; Yang, 2002). And interpersonal communication amongst family and wider social networks, mainly resorting to ICTs (e.g. Bálsamo & Etcheverry, 2012; Georgiou, Ponte, & Cola, 2013; Madianou & Miller, 2011; Martínez, 2012; Miller & Slater, 2000; Parreñas, 2005, 2008; Thomas, Sun Lim, & et al, 2010; Tufte, 2002).

1.1.1 Origins and roots

Critical anthropologist scholarship on broadcast communication is known to date to earlier than the 1970s, when interest more clearly started emerging (Boyer, 2012; Reis, 2006: 5-7). However, authors have suggested that the study of media was somewhat taboo before that time (e.g. Ginsburg, 2005: 17; Peterson, 2003: 2; Reis 2006: 6-7). They hint at the association of communication technologies to leisure, idleness and fun, which therefore dismissed them as sufficiently serious and solid objects of study (Reis, 2006: 7). Additionally, Ginsburg mentions the incongruence of technologies that evoked the West and cultural imperialism and the anthropological focus on non-Western contexts, the endurance of the local and the focus on tradition as factors contributing to not electing media technologies as objects of study at that time. Considering the identity crisis Anthropology faced in the 1980s, Coman et al (2005: 2-3) and Peterson (2003) also point to the reluctance of a discipline

traditionally focused on exploring lands made distant by geography and by the connotation of unmodern times to embrace the premises and implications that studying media entailed (i.e. global interconnections situating all contexts in the same present tense).

Though dispersed, disconnected and sporadic Media Anthropological studies date back to research focused on the role of media in social change already present in the 1920s (with the work of Robert e Hellen Merrell Lynd and William Lloyd Warner (Peterson, 2003: 34-36). The latter's functionalist premises were then interrogated by research exploring the theory of modernization (such as Robert Redfield's work on folk and urban communities in Latin America and Hortense Powdermaker's research on American media consumption in a Rhodesian mining community – although, notably, Powdermaker had also paved the way for Media Anthropology with her ethnography of Hollywood).[5] Later, during the Second World War, Anthropologists such as Mead and Metreaux or Bateson, developed strategies to study "culture at a distance" using media (which were considered forms of expression akin to rituals and legends) to overcome the impossibility of conducting ethnography in presence (Reis 2006: 14; Peterson 2003: 37). Yet, discussions engaging anthropologists until the 1970s/80s were scarce and revolved around mass media impacts as well as orality and literacy (Reis 2006: 10).[6] Concerns with communication did not disappear entirely

[5] The belief that media could drive social change also inspired other efforts of modernization, namely with public service media (see McQuail, 1992) and more commercial orientations in mass media (see Kottak, 1990; Mankekar, 2002) and of international development aid (see Alfonso Gumucio's comprehensive presentation on the history of Communications for Development at the World Bank's 2003 meeting of the Civic Engagement and Participation Group and the informative discussion during that Workshop on Community Radio, Voice and Empowerment (video: http://info.worldbank.org/etools/bSPAN/presentationView.asp?EID=305&PID=613; and transcripts: http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTCEERD/Resources/RADIOtranscript_part1.pdf).

[6] Only Boyer (2012) and Reis (2006) note the work of authors such as Jack Goody or Eric Michaels. Drawing also on Bradley Levinson, Reis (2006: 10) duly and usefully emphasizes the importance of equating non-conventional media (such as school-books and religious texts) with mass media. Including these "small media" would inform and enrich the heated debates about impacts, appropriations and diffusion that have been popular since the second half of the 20th century (and that are particularly prominent in the studies articulating media and international mobility through the mediated self- and hetero- representations). The wider categorizations of media and mediation underlying these approaches coincide with a period in which authors such as Hymes or Birdwhistell explored ethnography of communication under the influence of speech-act theory and sociolinguistics. For a review see Schroder, Drotner, Kline, & Murray, (2004: 69) and Spitulnik (1993: 297-298).

(note, for example, Leach, 1976) but anthropologists were then mostly focused on their own field sites and areas of specialization (Boyer 2012: 385).

Since then, around the 1980s, anthropological interest in media can be identified along the lines of external and internal influences: reactions to the ubiquity of media and the work undertaken in other disciplines (on the one hand, communication studies and sociology of communication, and, on the other, British cultural studies and literary theory and discourse analysis) and lines of thinking and research within anthropology (visual anthropology as well as turns and trends changing and/or adding foci to the discipline). As Rial has noted (2004: 12), such disciplinary separation is largely artificial, as analyses had often been transversal and mutually informed. Yet, a consideration of each highlights the building blocks of the approach taken in this dissertation and signals some of anthropology's contributions to the study of media and mediation.[7]

1.1.2 External influences

1.1.2.1 Communication models

One of the reasons most underlined to justify Anthropological interest in media was the sheer contingency of the times as the ubiquity and prevalence of media became a central feature of contemporary society (Boyer, 2012: 386; Ginsburg et al., 2002: 1; Ginsburg, 2005: 17; Osorio & et al, 2002: 4; Reis, 2006: 11). Since the 1980s, the rise of new technologies (with portable, inexpensive and inter-connected devices) and the reinvention of "old" ones (through processes of remediation, innovations in storage and so on) diversified possibilities for both broadcast and interpersonal communication. Trends came to include, simultaneously, new possibilities for local cultural expression and, yet, simultaneously, the globalization of

[7] There are plenty of other contributions that can be considered. Coman and Spitulnik (Coman & et al, 2005: 2), for example, note: the study of myth and ritual; symbolic systems; webs of meaning; critical attention to the nature of difference, exoticization, and scientific authority; theories and concepts of social organization, commoditization and exchange; sociality; personhood and subjectivity; phenomenology of lived experience; lived space; everyday habits of speaking; ritual language; and last, but not least, a robust and viable concept of culture as semiotic process. I chose to highlight those contributions that elucidated the relation of Anthropology with media and that informed the research design.

production, distribution and reception (Boyer 2012: 386). However, most research was focused on mass media, often in association with nationalism - the most notorious example being Anderson's work on imagined communities (Anderson, 1991).

As various authors noted (e.g. Coman 2005: 8-11; Dickey 1997: 454; Reis 2006: 14) the issues raised about the much-researched media effects and the very mediation process itself benefited from analyses inspired in concepts and instruments elaborated within anthropology. Until the 1980s, the analytical models explaining the communication process restricted analysis to technology-centric understandings. In a comprehensive review Rial (2004: 12-20) notes that most models are variations complexifying the renowned telegraphic "Producer-Text-Receiver" model (which established communication as a linear information flow from A to B).[8] Notably, even processual models (such as Lasswell's) and related theories (i.e. Gerbner's cultivation theory), which introduce elements of context to the analyses, along with media theorists who marked scholarship (like McLuhan or Baudrillard[9]) underlined the power of mass media, thereby sometimes being inclined towards the perspective known as the "hypodermic needle" or "magic bullet" paradigm (i.e. media determined viewer's reactions, processes of signification and, ultimately, ways of interacting with

[8] As the author explores (Rial 2004: 12-20), Shannon and Weaver's model elaborated on interpersonal communication by adding notions of noise, redundancy and entropy. Although criticized by authors of processual models for oversimplifying a dense process, it is still highly influential (not least because it introduces notions such as feedback and allows the participation of publics, as Rial notes). In turn, such processual models introduced varying elements of context. Lasswell's model, which is specifically focused on mass media, is concerned with gatekeepers, the construction of public opinion and the charting of who said what through which media, and with what effect. Westley and McLean's or Jakobson's models introduce, respectively, the premise of a communication code and (editorial, emotive, referential, poetic, phatic and metalinguistic) functions of the message. An atypical triangular model, Newcomb's, considers a common social environment for communicators and for the message itself. It is furthered by Winkin's model, also known as "orchestral", that adds interaction between all the elements to the equation as well as variation in utterances and understandings.

[9] Notably these authors had very different approaches from authors concerned with communication models and differed greatly from each other. While McLuhan was an optimist, believing technologies could be the way for progress (inclusively by providing a myriad of channels and strategies for disenfranchised populations to resist existing power relations), Baudrillard was a pessimist, focused on mass media's ability to alienate and homogenize audiences as well as to distort and create distance from reality, while masking power inequalities and reproducing the status quo (Askew & Wilk, 2002: 8-9; Rial, 2004: 22). Still, when emphasizing the power of media, they invited criticisms of theorists understanding their perspectives as technological determinism, such as Raymond Williams, who was particularly critic of McLuhan's work, as noted, for instance, by Reis (2006: 21-26).

each other and the world) although it would be simplistic to state they were aligned with it (Rial, 2004: 17-22). One strong line of thinking deriving from this paradigm, which is still under discussion, is the role of media as an agent of socialization (next to the family, school or religious institutions like the Church) (see, for example, (Kellner, 1995; Mesquita, 2003).

Provided Anthropology's thorny past relationship with colonial projects, and a subsequent wariness to reproduce the logics and interests put forth by powerful polities' concerns (Taghioff cited in Coman & et al, 2005: 16-17), research by anthropologists contributed to questioning such a paradigm. Some works questioned whether the media effects would be the same in distinct situations while others explored other dimensions of the mediated communication process (e.g. the political economy of the production systems). Research problematizing this linear communication paradigm has included work on media professionals, such as foreign correspondents (Hannerz, 2003), in the contexts of cultural industries and, particularly, on "alternative" media (i.e. blogs, independent music, film and noncommercial citizens' media like migrant and indigenous media) (Ginsburg, 1991, 1997; Naficy, 1993; Schein, 2002; Yang, 2002), and reception ethnographies focused on meaning making, media use, and fan culture (for a review see Murphy 2011: 386). To understand these processes researchers drew on notions of ritual, myth, and liminality;[10] the vitality, agency and plurality of the local (which evoked the reality of publics' fragmentation and heterogeneity) [11] and, ethnography, the methodology traditionally associated with Anthropology (for an interesting discussion see Amit et al. 2000).

Naturally, anthropological conceptualizations of media and mediation benefited from the ongoing transdisciplinary research about the transformations

[10] Authors drawing on the symbolic production of reality, often so as to overcome functionalist conceptualizations, include (Nick Couldry, 2003, 2005; Dayan & Katz, 1994; Hughes Freeland, 1998). For discussions on the topic see, for example, Coman & et al (2005), Reis (2006), Rothenbuhler & Coman (2005), or Spitulnik (1993).

[11] Reis (2006: 11) notes some illustrative works on this matter: Radway's work on novels, Kullick and Stround's work on religious books, Michaels' research on Hollywood films, and Liebes and Katz' on TV series. Readers such as Media Worlds (Ginsburg et al, 2002) and Askew and Wilk (2002) discuss the topic further.

technology would trigger in society (Ginsburg et al., 2002; Reis, 2006; Spitulnik, 1993). Key references underscoring the approach of media anthropology include Bourdieu and, namely, his work on symbolic capitals and power struggles in the fields of production (Bourdieu, 1984, 1998); Habermas' conceptualization of the public sphere (and related critiques - see Calhoun & et al, 1992); and Anderson's (1991) proposal to conceive of nations as imagined communities. An extension of, and addition to, such work is Appadurai's (1996) take on the importance of imagination in a globalized world. Other combinations of Anthropological approaches and such body of knowledge has also yielded research on social movements and, particularly, the relationship of indigenous people and the state (e.g. Ginsburg, 1997), the consumption of state propaganda among low-income groups in non-Western contexts (e.g. Abu-Lughod, 1997; Mankekar, 2002), and western projects of modernization of developing nations (e.g. Mandel, 2002). They also contribute to conceptualization of production, distribution and consumption of media in migratory contexts.

1.1.2.2 From text to context

The interrogation of media effects theory was however pioneered by analyses focused on text and reception moments. Anthropology stepped into the conversation in the later stage of research, which evolved from content analyses to investigations focused on technology and, finally, attention to the embeddedness of the latter in context (Askew and Wilk, 2002; Spitulnik, 1993: 294). To be sure, after initial work with ethnographic methods by the Chicago School scholars, who proposed the uses and gratifications theory in 1940s/1950s, the text came to be seen as the site of media's social and cultural significance by literary theorists interested in media studies (Spitulnik, 1993: 299). Discourse analysts, linguists and cultural studies scholars focused on media content independently from form and vehicle. The point was to explore media as sites of collective representations and provide measurable interpretations of the messages (Rial, 2004: 12). Premised on the Foucaultian idea that discourses are social practices with concrete implications on social relations, research focused on the power of media to establish or transform stereotypes and on the need for an investigation of the ideological goals lying underneath the message. Yet, such analyses overlooked situational complementary communication elements. What is more, it became clear media texts need to be understood amongst a myriad of other

discourses of reference for subjects when they consume the media in question (Kellner, 1995; Rial, 2004: 43).

British cultural theorists (e.g. Ang, 1991; Hall, 2003; Kellner, 1995; Silverstone, Hirsch, & Morley, 1996) later showed the importance of exploring the practices of signification in reception processes. Situated analyses (e.g. Lull, 1980; Morley, 1986), took the media user – instead of the text - as the starting point of enquiries about the functions of media in daily life. Perhaps the best known work is Hall's encoding-decoding theory, which proposed three types of reading (dominant, oppositional and negotiated) to encompass the interpretations that are consonant, contrary and alternative to the intended meaning of the message. Authors' review of emergence of reception studies emphasize key points that such work established: the plurality of publics, the variety of possible interpretations of media messages and the multi-vocal and indeterminate nature of media texts (i.e. Askew and Wilk, 2002: 4; Ginsburg et al., 2002: 17; Rial, 2004: 33-44; Spitulnik, 1993: 296; Coman 2005: 6). The idea of a single and passive audience that is prey to hegemonic mass media was therefore dethroned and media came to be seen as "not so much as definers of "reality," but as dynamic sites of struggle over representation, and complex spaces in which subjectivities are constructed and identities are contested" (Spitulnik 1993: 296).

Anthropologists building on this work have explored ways in which readings can be negotiated. For example, Mankekar (2002) found two dissonant readings can be simultaneous as viewers could enjoy dramas in India whilst "reading through" them and recognizing state propaganda. Like other transdicisplinary-oriented scholars, they have also contributed to diversify the objects of study[12] and contexts of research.[13] Yet, some authors have usefully highlighted the tendency to qualify

[12] Research was becoming rather focused on the medium of television (Spitulnik, 1993: 299) and anthropologists brought other dimensions of study (i.e. ways of circulation and transmission of symbolic material such as religious ideas [Sreberny-Mohammadi & Mohammadi, 1994]) to the discussion.

[13] Anthropologists expanded media studies' clearly Western-centered cartography with investigations in other contexts, which were already their customary sites of research and comfort area. In turn, anthropology was led to not only make the strange familiar, but to also focus on domestic issues and to delve more literally into making the familiar strange (Ginsburg et al., 2002: 14).

readings as negotiated. Postill (2005) notes that formal education weighs on interpretive competence and the appropriations of state propaganda by people with less schooling can be entirely in tune with official ideology. Moreover, they have suggested tempering the idea that active audiences are entirely free to resist power structures through non-compliant consumption practices. Fiske (cited in Rial, 2004: 35) noted that the agency of active audiences is limited to merely negotiate the potentially oppressive effects of structures rather than changing them or revolutionizing them - a pertinent point when considering Appadurai's suggestion that mediascapes may foster the changing of personal life projects by stimulating the imagination of possible lives, for, in practice, such stimuli can often not be followed.

Methodologically, anthropologists have called for a fuller embeddedness in the field and for more situated ethnographic analyses given that the use of ethnography by other disciplines can be quite insufficiently grounded on empirical data of reception practices. Although recognizing cultural studies' contributions to the understanding and problematizing of the diversity of media practices, of mass media's relations to "reality" and of the construction of social meaning, authors like Spitulnik (1993: 298) - but see also Abu-Lughod (1997); Coman & et al (2005: 12); Murphy (2011: 382-384); Rial (2004: 41); and even cultural studies' scholars like Lull (1988: 242 cited in Coman 2005: 12); Ang (1991, 1994) - have noted that research relied often on interviews, self-report about media practices,[14] and minimal participant-observation of people's daily routines, and reflected this in ethnographic writing lacking reflexivity and detail. More vehemently, some authors censure the use of the label "ethnography" given it can act "to legitimate the research, to denote its cultural, phenomenological and empirical methods, and even to signify emphasis on 'community' (Nightingale cited in Murphy, 2011: 384) – ultimately to overcome an impasse in reception studies and to signify, loosely, qualitative audience research (Schroder, Drotner, Kline, & Murray, 2004: 71). In other words, research did not often draw on Anthropological theoretical frames, issues, or debates and merely used the methodology as an authorizing label (Coman & et al, 2005: 12 citing Dickey

[14] As Spitulnik (1993: 298) notes, there is problem with relying on self-report about media practices and attitudes because "it tends to be taken at face value, without examining how this discourse emerges and is structured, or how it relates to observable practices."

1997:463; Shroder et al., 2004: 71).[15] This concern is still raised amongst anthropologists (e.g.Murphy, 2011; Spitulnik, 2010).

1.1.3 Internal trends

1.1.3.1 Visual and digital anthropology

As Boyer (2012) notes, the discussion about the new and generic interest of anthropologists in media is burdened with unease given the long-standing line of research in visual anthropology. Drawing on a reference in the field (Jack Ruby) the author notes there is a tension in the latter, a "neglected child of anthropology", and the more recent and "apparently more encompassing" field of media anthropology: the second followed the way paved by the first even if casting "the net of 'media anthropology further afield [in terms of media taken on board] and closer to home [in terms of contexts]" (Askew and Wilk, 2002: 3). Nonetheless, despite shared concerns over the "role of media in the formation of cultural identity", the idea of somewhat independent histories and roots remains. Boyer (2012: 386) highlights Ruby's complaint about the lack of recognition of film beyond research and teaching aids amongst anthropologists, which changed dramatically with the introduction of discussions about the indigenous domestication of technologies to represent themselves.

As Spitulnik (1993: 303) puts it, the doors opened by visual anthropology are plural and noteworthy:

> The most general contribution of these recent studies is their sustained attention to the fact that mass media are at once cultural products and social processes, as well as extremely potent arenas of political struggle. This work has also begun to engage wider anthropological issues regarding race, ethnicity, symbolic processes, and the politics of the nation-state, and has been, for the most part, rooted in a strong interest in the possibilities of media advocacy and a politicized anthropology.

Indeed, the work of researchers such as Ginsburg (1994, 1997), Turner (2000), Ruby (1991) or MacDougall (2002) largely contributed to establishing the "centrality of media in the formation of cultural identity in the second half of the twentieth

[15] Notably, various authors (e.g. Ingold, 2007; Murphy, 2011; Spitulnik, 2010) have underlined that Anthropological knowledge is hardly tied to this particular method. The particularity of this science is related to the study of "what it means to be human", as Daniel Miller put it (Horst and Miller, 2012), and to the statements it generates about cultures and nuanced cross-cultural comparisons.

century", albeit via the activism of marginalized populations who engaged in processes of counter-hegemonic cultural imagination (Reis, 2006:10-11). To Spitulnik's list I should also add the issues of (the search for) authenticity, the Westerners' ability to represent other peoples, collaborative methods, ethnographic authority, participation in global ethno and mediascapes, modes of representation, the influence of technologies in generic alternative, and hybrid media practices (which the author alludes to in her discussion (id: 303-306).

More recently, the emergence and pervasiveness of so-called "new media" and digital technologies have inspired a burgeoning sub-field of research. Since approaches to the Internet or to cell phones in the early 2000s (Horst & Miller, 2006; Miller & Slater, 2000), discussions have not only spanned a number of areas and contexts of social life, but have also addressed issues concerning the discipline of anthropology and scholarship itself. Research has concerned everyday life settings, such as the home (Georgiou et al., 2013) and the work place (e.g. Garsten et al., 2003), and the interference of digital media in various types of relationships (family, romantic and other) (e.g. Georgiou, Ponte, & Cola, 2013; Gershon, 2010). In addition to the urban western world, research has explored, for instance, development contexts (Jo Tacchi, 2009), rural areas (Andersson & Jansson, 2010), diasporic social fields (Georgiou, 2011, 2014), virtual worlds (Boelstorff, 2008) and situated activist movements (Postill, 2008). Given necessary adjustments to the notions of field-site and to the methods used for research, discussions on methodology in anthropological research have ensued (Dicks, Mason, Coffey, & Atkinson, 2005; Horst & Miller, 2012; Kozinets, 2010; Miller, Sinanan, & et al, 2012; Miller & Slater, 2000). Additionally, discussions have also turned to the very distribution of scientific knowledge itself with the possibilities for open access scholarship (Kelty, 2010; Miller & Iller, 2012).

This second focus of interest is more directly relevant for the field in which this study is inscribed. As the media anthropologist Jo Tacchi (2000) noted at the turn of the century, there was also a "need for radio theory in the digital age" as the medium recombined itself with new technologies and transformed its very mode of operation. Although few anthropologists have focused on radio and its digital

possibilities, Communication Studies and Radio Studies scholars have been following that lead[16] besides experimenting with ethnographic methods.[17] Additionally, as noted throughout the thesis, the communicative possibilities enabled by new and digital media, such as social networking sites, online video calls, forums, emails, instant messaging and online streaming of (radio and television) shows, contribute to creating virtual spaces of encounter which are not restricted to interpersonal relationships.

1.1.3.2 The reflexive turn and other trends

The contributions of Anthropology's internal trends for the study of media intricately relate the lines of research discussed above with a chief moment in anthropology: the reflexive turn. To be sure, the 1980s were marked by discussions triggered by the changes transforming social realities (i.e. intensified globalization enabled by, namely, innovations in information and communication technologies' and transportation). Most significantly, they consisted of a re-evaluation of the discipline's very essence in terms of lines of thinking, main concepts, methodological approaches, and epistemological project. The dynamic flows of people, goods and ideas fueling global interconnections questioned the association of culture and (national) territory as well as the a-historical, bounded and fixed nature of social configurations that underscored anthropological descriptions of peoples in distant lands. The recognition that people live in the same present tense, even if in different (parallel, alternative) modernities, walked hand-in-hand with the realization that one single researcher cannot grasp the whole of a society's cultural dynamics during fieldwork – and that a distanced, analytical, all-seeing gaze was but a figment of ethnographic imagination and writing.[18]

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[16] See, for the Portuguese case, for instance, AAVV (2003), Cordeiro (2007, 2012) and Marques (2003).

[17] The ongoing project "Transnational Radio Encounters: Mediations of Nationality, Identity and Community through Radio", which focuses on radio production and consumption across borders, uses Participatory Action Research namely when exploring the cases of black and ethnic minority radio. For more information on the Project and its wider scope visit: https://transnationalradio.org/contact/ (last accessed 20th December 2014).

[18] See for instance, in the field of media, discussions by Abu-Lughod (1991) and, for more general discussions in Anthropology Clifford's work (e.g. Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Clifford, 1988).

Media were part and parcel of these discussions (Boyer, 2012; S. Ferreira, 2008; Reis, 2006). Penetration reached far and wide, granting "exotic" peoples access to Western and supposedly "modern" products and technologies. No longer isolated, these people came to be seen as more active participants in the dynamics of representation previously reserved for ethnographers and mainstream media – namely representing themselves, through their own media. Consequently, the importance of including a plural set of voices and dialogues in ethnographic work meant authoring and authority of representations developed into a matter of negotiation. Moreover, like other dynamics of circulation (e.g. migration), travelling media products and the very mediation of flows of people, goods and ideas contributed to demystifying the isomorphic contours between culture and territory.[19] Adding to the phenomena of migration, tourism, international trade policies, and urbanization of war, mass media and interpersonal communication devices contributed to the de- and re-territorialization of culture (Marcus 1998:107 cited in Murphy, 2011: 382). The "closing gap" between researchers and "natives" highlighted the

> … pressing need to consider how human agency and local cultures were suspended within and expressed in relation to larger webs of subnational and transnational networks that were comprised, in no small measure, via 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1991), and profoundly shaped by 'mediascapes' and 'ideoscapes' (Appadurai 1996). (Murphy, 2011: 383)

Instead of confirming that mass media would lead to homogenization across borders, the visibility of non-western media (e.g. Bollywood); the alternative appropriations of content (see, for example, Kulick & Willson, 1994; Larkin, 1997; Mandel, 2002); the use of the global stage for activism's sake (see, for instance, McLagan, 2002); and the resort to media for re-construction of collective cultural identity, given global interconnections and international movement (e.g. Davila, 2002; Schein, 2002; Yang, 2002), increasingly directed the discussion towards the examination of multiple centers, bidirectional flows and new logics structuring relationships at a global level. In other words, understood as embedded in everyday

[19] This is particularly important for the analysis of circulation and migration as the "deconstruction of 'a place-focused concept of culture' (Hastrup and Olwig, 1997:4)" allowed for "a more contingent relationship between collective identity, place, social relations and culture." (Amit et al., 2000: 13-14). In other words, steering away from locality as the bounded realm of cultural production, anthropologists became better able to understand migrants and travelers whose social networks and contexts of reference are often not neatly resting in one single place, but are reachable through media.

routines and contexts, they give the local (and the translocal) prominence as the sites where global, modern and postmodern processes are materialized and given meaning (Ferreira, 2008: 18):

> ethnographers look at media as cultural artifacts enmeshed in daily lives, to see how they are imperfectly articulated with (and sometimes created as a counter to) larger hegemonic processes of modernity, assimilation, nation building, commercialization, and globalization, but in terms that draw attention to how those processes are being localized " (Ginsburg 2005: 20)

As is apparent in the references cited, the revision of the conceptual framework also entailed including Western contexts in research as well as honing approaches to befit the processual, inter-connected and fluid nature of the objects of study (i.e. using multi-sited methodologies).

The emergence of media anthropology therefore coincided with lines of discussion that largely re-structured work in the field of anthropology. As Reis (2006:12) notes, the development of an "Anthropology of the Present" (Fox, 1991), engaged with understanding the "here and now" (Appadurai 1996), was largely pushed forth by more regularly and fully including media in the analyses. This does not mean that themes and modes of thinking were abandoned. For example, the nation, which was strongly questioned as the principal scale and object of study (namely in the relation to the media, that were considered channels and instruments to produce collective and "modern" imaginaries, consciousness and subjects (Morley 1986, Silverstone and Hirsh 1992, Abu-Lughod 1997), was embedded in wider analyses including other scales and processes. Emergent media, like video or satellite, were catalyzers for this given that they easily transgressed national borders, unlike other media more fit to maintain them (i.e. print, television) (Ginsburg 2005: 18-21). As Ginsburg puts it

> The anthropology of media has emerged along with a general reconceptualization of anthropology that addresses our changing relationship with informants as our cultural worlds grow ever closer (Marcus 1996) – which means lives are more and more shaped by processes of late capitalism, requiring multisited research strategies (Gupta and Ferguson 1997; Hannerz 1996). In that sense, understanding the way media play into the lives of people around the globe is part of larger efforts to create an "anthropology of the present" (Fox 1991). (Ginsburg, 2005: 17)

Among other trends building on this work within the discipline are the material culture and sensuous takes on media – both "old" and new. As Ginsburg et al. (2002) note, materiality has been a key dimension to theorize media's embeddedness in everyday life, from living rooms (Ang, 1994; Morris, 2002;

Silverstone et al., 1996; Jo Tacchi, 1997) to public spaces, like cinemas (Larkin, 2002), markets (Spitulnik, 2002b) or public libraries (Tufte & Riis, 2001). The emergence and interconnections of so-called new media, with the emphasis on spaces and modes of sociation enabled by digital technologies and the online world, have come to further this research without losing sight of material conditions. This is apparent in research on mobile phones (Barendregt, 2008; Horst & Miller, 2006), satellite television (Abu-Lughod, 1997; Mankekar, 2002) and the rich universe of the Internet featuring in the work cited above (i.e. social networks, forums, chat programs, virtual reality games, and so on, most often in combination).

1.1.3.3 Anthropology of and in the media

One other trend should be noted to account for the mutual interest and relationship between anthropology and the media. Beyond increasingly including film and photography in anthropological research, some anthropologists, notably, Susan Allen (1994) have proposed the use of media (industries) in an applied anthropological vein. Allen's suggestion was not only to disseminate anthropological findings, thinking and understandings to the mass public but also to hone production practices with the benefit of humane, holistic and ethnographically grounded knowledge (i.e. improve the construction of representations by journalists). In other words, it would add "whole" to the classic series of journalistic "wh" (what, when, where, who, how). The point of this "radically democratic way of seeing" is "sensitizing as many of Earth's citizens as possible to anthropological or holistic perspectives" (Allen, 1994: xx)

> …in its applied form, media anthropology synthesizes some of the theories, methods, channels, training and purposes of anthropology and journalism/mass communications for the purpose of sharing "anthropological" perspectives with media audiences. (Allen, 1994)

Such a concern with divulging anthropological knowledge was also a project of earlier anthropologists, namely in the United States of America (Reis, 2006: 6-8; Spitulnik, 1993: 300-302). After the enthusiasm gathered in the American Anthropological Association's (AAA) conference in 1969, the AAA sponsored the efforts of scholars such as Margaret Mead and others. According to reviews of the field (Coman & et al, 2005: 6-7; Ferreira, 2008: 12; Reis, 2006: 9), despite Allen's proposal to revive the trend, it does not seem to have gathered a strong following: it has been neglected in most revisions of media anthropology's field, and it is said there

is no continuity between applied and academic stances research on media anthropology.

This could be partly explained by the reluctance to engage with media in the academic habitus, as Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1998) explores. Indeed, at least at the time, the media's featuring of anthropology did not delve much beyond the Freedman/Mead debate on the Samoan society (Reis, 2006: 9; Spitulnik, 1993: 300-302). However, it is worth pointing out that some anthropologists seem to be taking the initiative to systematically disseminate anthropological findings, both amongst colleagues and to the general audience. These efforts have never entirely stopped,[20] and actually seem to be gaining momentum with the appropriation of new technologies. To be sure, steps in this direction include (but are not restricted to),[21] podcasts shared freely on the World Wide Web. Podcasts feature interviews with leading scholars and explore a variety of themes[22] while other programs feature the research of emerging researchers to divulge current work and ongoing trends[23] (let alone the "broadcasting" of

[20] According to the Merry Bruns, the director of the Center for Anthropology and Science Communications, who provides a brief history of engagements of anthropologists with the media (cf.http://www.sciencesitescom.com/CASC/medan.html), scholars organized courses and programs, lists of anthropologists working with and in the media, special issues of journals devoted to Media Anthropology, TV series (namely, "Faces of Culture", produced by Ira R. Abrams) and research centers (The Center for Anthropology and Journalism, meant to gather anthropologists and journalists in collaborative endeavors). See also the bibliographies on mass media, news and journalism compiled by Mark Allan Peterson (2005, 2009).

[21] Other types of initiatives include projects like Anthropology Now (a blog which publishes a articles, field notes, study guides to use in the classroom as well as podcasts so as to disseminate Anthropological deconstruction of common sense amongst wider audiences. http://anthronow.com/), Pop Anth (a blog which divulges research in appealing and non technical language: http://popanth.com/) and American Anthropology Association's regular contributions in a leading newspaper (cf. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/american-anthropological-association/) in addition to endeavors fully committed to the applied vein of media anthropology (i.e. The Center for Anthropology and Science Communications, http://www.sciencesitescom.com/CASC/medan.html).

[22] For example, the Oxford University's Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology's podcasts (http://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/series/anthropology). Talking Anthropology (http://www.talkinganthropology.com/), the American Anthropological Association's podcast series (http://www.aaanet.org/issues/aaa-podcast-series.cfm).

[23] For example, Anthropod, the Society for Cultural Anthropology's podcast (http://www.culanth.org/conversations/24-anthropod-the-sca-podcast). Other examples include the Player FM's (http://player.fm/featured/anthropology), Kentucky University's Anthropology Departament's conversations (http://anthropology.as.uky.edu/podcasts) and Anthropology Now podcasts (http://anthronow.com/category/podcasts).

conferences and classes by several institutions[24]). However, these are not explicitly working towards establishing applied media anthropology even if following some of its guidelines. After all, podcast making is strongly distinct from participation in highly structured industries that impose their production logics on participants (time allocated for speaking/expression, content verification, framing, etc.).

Further engagements with this vein of media anthropology would require self-scrutiny and negotiated discussions within the discipline revolving around questions such as: "How do anthropologists deal with the "media"? How to communicate anthropology for the public(s)? What are the implications of anthropological knowledge for journalism and journalistic practices?" (Reis, 2006: 8) The scant "anthropological reflection on precisely what these popular renderings and appropriations of anthropology outside the discipline reveal about our own culture and the politics of mass media more generally" Spitulnik (1993: 300) signals the importance of also asking "What are the overall patterns of use and abuse (and omission) of anthropological findings and perspectives in mainstream mass media?"

1.1.4 Contributions for a study of media and migration

The journey through the Media Anthropology field's evolution helps situate the approach taken to explore minority radio in this study. Despite the increasing number of work concerned with the intersections of media and migration, there are still not many settled methodologies to draw from when studying minority media.[25] Media Anthropology's focus on the dialectical relationships between communication, culture and technology (Reis, 2006), makes it particularly useful for the exploration of specificities of the role of mediated self-representation in migratory contexts. The holistic character of approaches - namely the consideration of wide and transnational,

[24] See, for example, MIT's Anthropology classes recorded as podcasts (http://ocw.mit.edu/courses/index.htm#anthropology) or online video (available in youtube, vimeo, and so on) channels such as the Center for Media, Culture and History at New York University's (http://vimeo.com/cmchcrm) or, closer to home, *Instituto de Ciências Sociais*' (featuring events that are not restricted to, but include, Anthropology: http://www.youtube.com/instcienciassociais) .

[25] Research projects in which key authors in the field have participated, such as EMTEL, use a mix of methods including interviews, focus groups and content analysis. As noted, the Transnational Radio Encounters Project uses Participatory Action Research, a type of action research using ethnography (for more information see Jo Tacchi, Slater, & Hearn [2003] work).

political, economic and social frames - is particularly suitable to studies involving the movement of people, images that inform it and dynamics of transnational mediated connectivity that assist in the production and maintenance of social and symbolic ties with places of reference. Dimensions and processes deemed central in investigations of media that become pertinent include issues of ownership, production, distribution, circulation, and reception, (Spitulnik cited in Coman & et al, 2005) but also exchange, imagination and knowing (pertaining to communication technologies' mediation but understood also as broader social-political processes) (Boyer, 2012: 383).

Complementarily, the specific attention to processes of mediation – relating media texts to production processes, the political economy of circulation and reception moments – highlights historically, geographically and temporally situated meaning-making. More than focusing on discourses or practices concerning media the approach strives to articulate them so as to understand how they contribute to making sense of lived experience as part of processes of media reception, distribution, circulation and production. Questioning conventional divisions (i.e. between producer and consumer, public and private spaces, geographical and virtual places) and unlike analyses of media forms ignoring the realities of inter-textuality and of inter-media constellations, a holistic approach looks instead for how media converse with specific subject positions (Schroder, Drotner, Kline, & Murray, 2004: 82) – which is useful to understand the revision of cultural identity taking place in processes of re-location.

As Ginsburg puts it, it raises

> (…) an appreciation of the complexity of how people interact with media in a variety of social spaces and the resulting shifts in the sense of the local as its relation to broader social worlds becomes almost a routine part of everyday life. Understanding the social relations of media production, circulation and reception in this way entails a grounded focus on the everyday practices and consciousness of social actors as producers and consumers of different forms of media. Their interests and responses shape and are shaped by a variety of possible subject positions: cultural, generational, gendered, local, national, regional, and transnational communities of identity (…) (Ginsburg, 2005: 20).

Yet, it simultaneously builds on micro level instances and textured facts to identify regularities that are telling of cultural processes (Murphy, 2011: 391). In that sense, the approach is socio-centric as opposed to being either media-centric or subject-centric (Spitulnik, 2002: 338-339). The point is to situate the role of media in people's everyday lives by paying

> attention to the contingent way in which all social categories emerge, become naturalized, and intersect in people's conception of themselves and their world, and further an emphasis on how

> these categories are produced through everyday practice (Rofel 1994, 703 cited in Abu-Lughod 1997: 111)

As such, for the sake of the present dissertation, I draw on Media Anthropology insofar as it

> comprises ethnographically informed, historically grounded and context sensitive analyses of the [practices, cultural worlds, fantasies – in sum] ways in which people use and make sense of media technologies [in their everyday lives] (Askew & Wilk, 2002: 3)

I shall now systematically enunciate the theoretical premises of the research to apply these statements to the object of study.

1.2 Theoretical premises

The area of enquiry informing the way I construct the field and object of study is the relationship between media and international mobility. The structuring premises outlined below concern the social dimension of media and the construction of belonging in contexts of international mobility. Underlying those premises is the epistemological stance deriving from a fully qualitative research grounded on an ethnographic approach: constructivist and constructionist lines of thinking, tempered with some reservations, as explored below. To be sure, this strand of theorization holds inter-subjectivity at its core by considering reality as constructed by, respectively, the individual and collectivities:

> Whereas constructivism asserts that each individual's way of making sense of the world is 'as valid and worthy of respect as any other,' social constructionism 'emphasizes the hold our culture has on us: it shapes the way in which we see things . . . and gives us a quite definite view of the world' (Crotty, 1998, p. 58). (Baker et al., 2008: 23)

As constructivism "explore[s] the subjective meanings through which people interpret the world, the different ways in which reality is constructed" (Sumner, 2006: 249), it rejects the idea there is a single objective reality to be understood, more truthful than others. In that sense, it takes as equally valid the plural visions of life produced by British lifestyle migrants in the Algarve with varied lived experiences, including those channeled by the media they produce, as well as the different ways of making sense of them. In the same vein, despite the efforts to become acquainted with, soak-in, and do justice to the various migrants' points of view, the researcher's interpretation of the social realities at stake stands as an addition to them, resulting from ethnographically oriented work, even if not able to be more than a mere interpretation.

1.2.1 International mobilities and cultural identity reconstruction

Constructivist takes on identity theorize it as a dynamic, continuous and reflexive process of self-construction. Similar to discussions decoupling culture and place, this conceptualization rejects fixed and bounded frameworks. It favors the idiom of fluidity and flow when it argues against the idea that people "possess" cultural attributes and are, simultaneously, possessed by a (crystallized) culture that dictates their attitudes, behaviors, inclinations and perspectives on life. Accordingly, the post-modern takes on identity understand it across the social sciences as a multi-dimensional construction that is continuously in the making, being revised and built upon (Hall, 2006). However, it is central to maintain sight of structural dimensions organizing such agency and providing the raw materials for identity-work. Creativity is limited and subject positions are inter-subjectively constructed, historically informed, socio-culturally situated and oriented according to perceived advantages and contingencies.

Authors discussing cultural identity in migratory contexts (J. P. Bastos & Bastos, 1999; Bauman, 1996; Gardner, 2002; Rapport & Dawson, 1998; Rosales, 2002; Wilk, 1995) add that processes of international re-location instantiate personal confrontation with naturalized frames of reference and, subsequently, processes of revision of cultural identity. With added references in terms of languages, places, people, ideologies, and everyday realities as lived experiences, people engage in deeper and more conscious construction of life projects and narratives.[26] To make sense of their migrant condition and life' choices, to accommodate for the new dimensions in their lives, and to stand their new ground, people rework elements of their cultural identity. Affiliations and self-distancing result from the management of the variety of subject positions migrants find themselves in along their biographic, geographical and institutional trajectories. Yet, the construction of belonging rests largely on the essencialization and reification of references used in the negotiation of shared heritage amongst peers. Although identity constructions may be more creative, the dimension of ethnicity becomes, then, more central – namely when migrants face

[26] As suggested earlier, these references are also accessible through the media and operate in similar ways – albeit probably with less with less impact or texture - amongst people who do not move but "work" with their imagination.

stereotyped representations of themselves on mainstream media, as discussed by some authors (e.g. Madianou, 2006; Sjöberg et al., 2008).

1.2.1.1 A note on ethnicity

Although boundary setting, chosen and/or imposed, is hardly restricted to migratory contexts, it commonly becomes associated with the dynamics of inter-ethnic relations in processes of settlement abroad.[27] Notably, according to authors such as Barth (1969), Brubaker (2004), Roosens (1989) or Vale de Almeida (2000), ethnicity is an idiom of subject positioning along identification and differentiation lines. Whether assumed (and strategically deployed) or imposed (as an unwanted label), it is hardly fixed.

> … ethnicity is what we all require in order to think the relationship between identity and difference. There is no way, it seems to me, in which people can act, can speak, can create, can come in from the margins to talk, can begin to reflect on their own experience unless they come from some place, they come from some history, they inherit certain cultural traditions. What we've learned about the theory of enunciation is there's no enunciation without positionality. You have to position yourself somewhere in order to say anything at all. Thus, we cannot do without that sense of our own positioning that is connoted by the term ethnicity. And the relation that peoples of the world now have to their own past is, of course, part of the discovery of their own ethnicity. (Hall, 1989: 24)

In that sense,

> Identity is as much about exclusion as it is about inclusion, and the critical factor for defining the ethnic group therefore becomes the social boundary which defines the group with respect to other groups…not the cultural reality within those borders" (from Schlesinger, 1987: 235 cited in Madianou 2006: 523)

> Ethnicity, race, and nationhood are fundamentally ways of perceiving, interpreting, and representing the social world. They are not things *in* the world, but perspectives *on* the world. These include ethnicized ways of seeing (and ignoring), of construing (and misconstruing), of inferring (and misinferring), of re-membering (and forgetting). They include ethnically oriented frames, schemas, and narratives, and the situational cues-not least those provided by the media-that activate them. They include systems of classification, categorization, and identification, formal and informal. And they include the tacit, taken-for-granted background knowledge, embodied in persons and embedded in institutionalized routines and practices, through which people recognize and experience objects, places, persons, actions, or situations as ethnically, racially, or nation- ally marked or meaningful. [emphasis in the original] (Brubaker, 2004: 17)

As various authors have noted (e.g. Bastos & Bastos, 1999; Brubaker, 2004; Roosens, 1989), as an imposed label, ethnicity comprises traits that are selected, decontextualized, fixed and objectified as the core and representative feature of a

[27] As (Banton, 2008: 1272) discusses in an overview of the sociology of ethnic relations, Weber posited migration was a stimulus for the formation of ethnic groups.

group that predicts its actions. It can become a key, albeit unjust, factor conditioning people's chances in local structures of opportunity for it serves to stratify social contexts and to lock people associated with a particular ethnicity in social positions. The unfounded nature of the equation lies in the circularity of the argument and its appeal to biology so as to justify cultural differences that have been found to be socially constructed (Bauman, 1996: 18). Conversely, as a project one invests in, ethnicity may be enriching and rewarding besides enabling the claim to difference. It is subjectively constructed according to a complex combination of one's historic and family's genealogies, civic ideals and situatedly pertinent elements. It adds to feelings of belonging and dynamics of reciprocity amongst peers, which can translate into material support, sense of security and social capital (e.g. Portes & Rumbau, 1999; Portes, 1998, 2004).

In any case, the process of boundary setting entail the working of personal ties with social formations through the association with, or dissociation from, common denominators. These collectivities are often understood on the basis of "ascriptors", to use Frederik Barth's term (1969), such as language, religion, nationality, phenotype, personality traits, historical myths or entertainment styles, among other possibilities. They rest on narratives that crystallize images of home, appropriate stories of pasts that may never have existed, and that respond to the particular social formation's history and context (i.e. acceptance or discrimination in the host country). Notably, the generalizations that ground the association to a collectivity are what is shared and recognized. In that sense, tradition, community and culture are, then, categories that are mobilized in these exercises of boundary making (Bauman, 1996: 197). More significantly, ethnic pathways to incorporation do not exhaust trajectories of incorporation, although they may reinforce (and be reinforced) by others (Schiller, Çaglar, & Guldbrandsen, 2006; Werbner, 1999; Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2008).

While I find it is important to temper the understanding of ethnicity proposed in the articles just referred, I subscribe to their cautious and inquisitive approach. Avoiding methodological ethnicity[28] (and thus not presupposing ethnicity) can

[28] Also known as container theory, methodological nationalism is "an ideological orientation that approaches the study of social processes and historical processes as if they were contained within the borders of individual nation-states." (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2008: 3-4). As apparent in the name of the article ("Beyond Methodological Ethnicity: Local and Transnational Pathways of Migrant

productively identify other types of dynamics structuring the migrants' reterritorialization process (e.g. familial, religious, economic, occupational, class, political, social relations and networks operating both locally, nationally and/or transnationally).

However, this extremely useful approach falls short of paying due justice to the weight of social structures that condition the agency of migrants. To be sure, avoiding taking as points of departure claims to common denominators given by the ethnic category, the perspective productively focuses on processes and social relations instead of culture, identity or functional aspects enabling integration. As such, it finds a way out of the conundrum of analyzing increasing fragmentation that becomes apparent when exploring the social realities and emic perspectives on ethnicity (along religious, language, legal status and other lines) – and which become particularly clear in contexts of superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007a). Yet, to consider "multilevel ties within and across the boundaries of nation-states" and simultaneity (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004) from a point of view overly grounded in individual agency may romanticize individual cases and contexts whilst obscuring larger, background dynamics that transversally structure other people's lives. By considering that "Social fields are the aspect of social relations through which broader social forces enable, shape, and constrain individual migrants and their networks" (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2008: 10), and that they are created by social networks (*ibid.*), the authors emphasize choice. However, certain dimensions of reterritorialization are compulsory and/or limit choice (e.g. legal status/relation with the nation-state). In that sense, Bourdieusian takes on social fields seem more productive for they are able to foreground and clarify the way in which structures play into migrants' everyday lives.

Incorporation"), the authors find the ethnic lens is a product of methodological nationalism. It falls in line with Brubaker's aforementioned contestation of "groupism" and both migration studies and diaspora studies only reify this untenable analytical perspective. To be sure, they argue that migration studies fall in the trap when trying to include second and third generations (by widening the discussion so as to shift away from the migratory journey, they slip into describing any form of agency as ethnic [e.g. ethnic mobilization] to the point of entrapping people in "ethnic minorities". In turn, albeit diaspora studies focus on the possibilities of hybrid identity constructions, they depart from notions of shared ancestry and history of dispersal, which activates "groupist" analyses. Minority media analyses are increasingly concerned with working around this perspective (Georgiou, 2007: 27-28; Rigoni & Saitta, 2012: 3-6).

Ultimately, I draw on Wimmer and Glick-Schiller's (2008: 10) notion of incorporation

> the processes of building or maintaining networks of social relations through which an individual or an organized group of individuals becomes linked to an institution recognized by one or more nation-states.

but giving greater attention to the role of social institutions and power dynamics.

In light of this body of work, the perspective I subscribe to highlights the processual nature of identity construction by focusing on dynamics of identification and differentiation, albeit without losing sight of the social forces informing and conditioning them. Premises informing the construction of the field therefore posit:

a) Identity is understood as a situated, relational process of positioning

As explored above, identity is a positional, conditional and continuous construction. Yet, inter-subjective relations and processes contributing to it entail essentialized notions of culture, community, identity itself. What matters for research, then, is to focus on the relations themselves and to deconstruct processes of essentialization that reify identities and objectify their qualities. As Gardner explains - "The challenge is to show how its construction is fluid, shifting, contextually dependent" (Gardner, 2002: 9) in relation to the subjects that produce it. In this thesis, and particularly in the analysis of the case study, it will be explored how the position of British, and often specifically English, alternate with "expat" so as to underscore a wider group of belonging that is still organized by nationality to the extent it highlights the condition of being a relocated foreigner. These shifts between categories, underplaying one while evidencing another, are telling of stances of connection to place, which are associated with each.

b) People are creative and often aware of the cultural processes they engage with in the construction of their cultural selves, being that their action is conditioned by the realities and structures which position them

Bauman (1996: 5) and Gardner (2002: 9) have very usefully, and complementarily, noted that people may defend notions of identity that shift, resulting from the interplay of social contexts and personal interests. More precisely, Bauman (1996) has discussed how Southallians display a dual discursive competence, enabling

them to work with and around dominant discourses (that presume the overlap between cultures and migrant communities), namely by upholding alternative (or demotic) identity discourses (which question the aforementioned congruence). In other words, they articulate rooted subject positions they alternate between, either flaunting or underplaying their ethnicity as it seems best fit in each situation. In a complementary argument to this idea of subject-position management, Gardner (2002) also rejects the breadth of concepts of "hybridity", "liminality" or "border-zones" that were proposed by authors such as Homi Bhabha (1994) and Paul Gilroy (1993). Averse to the fluidity and transgressive power underlying post-modern conceptions of identity construction, the author (id: 11) qualifies migrants' agency by noting people may not be conscious or free in their nonetheless creative, and often strategic, investments in cultural identity re-making.

To continue the example given in the previous alinea, the shifts between categories are useful to note which migrants can navigate between those subject positions and which are locked out of them. The background framing these dynamics is socially and historically situated and expressed in things such as the target audiences of an English-speaking station, which purportedly intends to serve "the multicultural communities of the Algarve".

c) The construction of belonging entails various dimensions, not being reduced to membership in social formations

On the one hand, one's cultural identity is inter-subjectively produced with reference to collectivities, but not contained by the membership in groups. When inviting us to conceive of "Ethnicity without groups", which "are a variable, not a constant" (*ibid*: 3), Brubaker reminds us that "bounded and solidary groups are but one modality of ethnicity". Collectivities may be contextually significant for the articulation of cultural dimensions of our subjects' everyday lives – namely in migratory contexts - but ethnicity

> works not only, or even especially, in and through bounded groups, but in and through categories, schemas, encounters, identifications, languages, stories, institutions, organizations, networks, and events. (Brubaker, 2004: 4)

The author argues against "groupist" analyses [29] by drawing on a Bourdieusian relational, processual and analytical language (*ibid*: 3) - and, I could add, a dynamic and problematizing approach to the relation between structure and agency – so as to not fall into ontological or methodological individualism.

Methodologically, he also complements Gardner's point, by noting "reification is a social process, not simply an intellectual bad habit" (id, 2004: 10). In other words, he argues that researchers should take it seriously but, when accounting for it, should police themselves so as to not reinforce it (namely by not uncritically adopting categories of practice as categories of analysis). This exercise could go without saying were it not for the challenge of exploring under-researched contexts (the Algarve as a context of immigration) and elusive social categories (i.e. "expatriate", according to our informants, which resonates with the emerging notion of "lifestyle migrant") (Benson & Reilly, 2009).

On the other hand, the construction of belonging is not reduced to a matter of affinities with collectivities even if usually entangled in them. Studies focusing on the notion of "home" in migratory contexts, such as Morley (2000), have productively noted the multidimensional and complex nature of ties developed with places, which become reference points in one's biography. In that sense, the attachment to places as home arises through lived experiences involving feelings of comfort, security or recognition, to name a few. Such a relational dimension is also objectified in houses, objects and other material aspects of sites that are appropriated and, in the process, signify the connection established with place. Instead of a primordial link to a geographical origin, people may then have multiple connections to dispersed places – several homes. These are intertwined with the tension between loss and optimism underlying processes of migration, noted in discussions revolving around "diaspora" (e.g. Anthias, 1998; Gilroy, 2003; Sheffer, 2003; Vertovec, 1999; Watson, 2011), as dis-location is conceived of through re-territorialization. Relatedly, this conceptualization of home and home-making signals the relationship between roots

[29] The author criticizes "groupism", which he defines as "the tendency to take discrete, bounded groups as basic constituents of social life, chief protagonists of social conflicts, and fundamental units of social analysis (Brubaker, 2004: 6).

and routes, as "there" influences "here" – a process which is intensified with the possibilities opened by media technologies.

This helpfully facilitates the tracking of relationships between migrant conditions, the imagination of communities and the negotiation of cultural heritages as repertoires of references are revised, challenged, contested and re-invented. In particular, it is a point of departure to explore a highly individualistic type of mobility, which is largely characterized by a choice of where one wants to live as a proxy of the kind of life one wants to take (namely by exploring the sun, seaside, relaxed pace of living and other amenities of, particularly, the Algarve), as explored in chapter 5.

1.2.2 The social dimension of media

Concerning media, the constructivist approach is helpful to the extent it refuses technological determinism and pays attention to the creative uses people can make of technology as they appropriate them (see, for example, the different cultural uses made of the cell phone in Horst & Miller, 2006). Refusing technologically determinism, it renders clear how "apparently uniform technology devices are pressed into specific cultural service" (Strathern, 1992: vii). To be sure, it reveals how media often serve pre-existing social relationships, as Reis (2006: 21) notes when praising the contributions by Raymond Williams. The anthropologist also reviews illustrative work of authors who explore how technologies are domesticated (e.g. to maintain borders with the outside, in the case of the Amish' use of the phone, or to (re)produce social distinction, in the case of video for a middle-class British family). What is more, by "attacking the taken-for-grantedness of social realities" and "remind[ing] us that the natural order things is not natural at all", constructivist theories direct the researcher's gaze to aspects that are naturalized: to "descriptions [that] are made to seem objective and independent of their producer, and [to] how they are used in particular actions" (Hepburn, 2006: 39). As such,

> They can help specify how - and when - people identify themselves, perceive others, experience the world, and interpret their predicaments in racial, ethnic, or national rather than other terms. They can help specify how "groupness" can "crystallize" in some situations while remaining latent and merely potential in others. (Brubaker, 2004: 18)

This is particularly important in a research about a banalized medium such as radio where issues of ethnicity may come into play.

It is precisely the consideration of the role of media, however, that reveals the epistemological theory's limitations. Related to the danger of sliding into cultural relativism (Sumner, 2006: 93) is the problem of cultural determinism: considering technology is one more social construction (like other phenomena and institutions) and innovations strive or perish according to the interests of different social groups. Furthermore, technologies are translated and apprehended culturally" (Baker et al., 2008: 26). However, despite media's quick and common ability to "disappear in the act of mediation" (Eisenlohr, 2011: 45)[30] (thereby rendering the channeled content as the sole focus of media consumption), this perspective fails to acknowledge that the materiality and affordances of the media technologies themselves may resist cultural appropriation. As Baker et al. (2008: 26) note, compression of time and space, changes in the location and logistics of information, physical access, or lack of access are characteristics dictating the contours of the mediation process. In other words, to the extent that technology contributes to shaping the process of appropriation and consumption, it has a life of its own (Strathern, 1992: xii).

This notion is particularly important when discussing a scenario easily associated with worldliness and international connectivity via new media. Such connectivity is anchored in rural areas where *internet* coverage may require (absent) telephone landlines and in practices of satellite television viewing that are vulnerable to the decisions of major corporations (which cut back the footprint of British channels' coverage in late 2013, therefore cutting access to television content via satellite to numerous regular viewers who reside in the Algarve).

The theoretical perspective adopted is therefore co-evolutionary and posits technology and society mutually inform and constitute each other (Baker et al., 2008; Horst, 2010; M. A. Peterson, 2003; Reis, 2006). Resonating with ideas advanced by Raymond Williams already in the 1970s (Reis, 2006: 23-25),[31] it assumes that:

[30] Like Birgit Meyer (2011), Patrick Eisenlohr explores the importance of immediacy in the context of religious mediations in which media seem to dissolve into the background but yet inform, for example, claims to authenticity or inclusion and exclusion of public spheres.

[31] Reis identifies two main legacies of the author' work. The first, which is pertinent for this point, is a vehement critique of technological determinism, which called for the consideration of historically situated social processes. Williams located the emergence of the press in a social structure whose

> We cannot isolate the role of media in culture because the media are firmly anchored into the web of life, although articulated by individuals in different ways (Bird 2003: 3 cited in Reis 2006: 20)

As such, it sees

> technical change as intertwined with other forms of historically specific social and cultural change as well as resilient structural conditions, such as those defined by age, gender, and socioeconomic status." (Horst, Herr-Stephenson and Robinson, 2010: 30)

Others echo this idea

> The value of anthropological approaches lies in a shared understanding of media as simply one aspect of contemporary social life, no different in essence from law, economics, kinship, social organization, art and religion. (…) Anthropologists categorically reject the common tendency to treat media as separate from social life and in ethnographic case after case highlight the interconnections between media practices and cultural frames of reference. (Askew and Wilk, 2002: 10)

To do so, in this project, the perspective is operationalized by the theoretical framework of mediation.

1.2.2.1 On mediation as a theoretical framework

To be sure, mediation is

> a dialectic concept, which 'requires us to address the processes of communication as both institutionally and technologically driven and embedded (…) At the same time it requires a consideration of the social as in turn a mediator: institutions and technologies, as well as the meanings that are delivered by them, are mediated in the social processes of reception and consumption' (Silversone 2001:10 cited in Georgiou 2002: 3)

This approach adopts a holistic analytic frame that resonates with Williams' proposals to the extent it considers both formal and content aspects of media. The institutional nature and political economy of media industries is to be considered along with the symbolic practices of meaning making that people engage in when appropriating and using media. What is more, the approach usefully opens up the definition of media – which is easily presumed or considered as a problem (Schroder et al., 2004: 76) – although, granted, most research exploring communication processes is focused on technological and/or representational aspects of mediated communication related to

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main traditional institutions (the Church and the school) could not accommodate the need for a wide and constantly updated dissemination of information.

(broadcast, interpersonal and other types of) communication technologies (Boyer, 2012: 383).[32]

Although the term mediatization can better highlight that what is under investigation are media-based transformation of very specific social or institutional practices (Couldry, 2008: 379), the concept of mediation is better suited for my type of endeavor. To be sure, mediatization, even as a "catch all term to cover any and all changes in social and cultural life dependent upon media institutions operations" can (*ibid*) signal more clearly the current prevalence of media as elements permeating a great deal of everyday life (which equates mediatization to other, complementary overarching features of modernity: individualization, globalization and commercialization) (Livingstone, 2009).[33] Yet, it is too deterministic. Cautious about assuming that media-centric logics override other dynamics at play, several authors (Couldry, 2008: 377-8; Livingstone, 2009: 5; Siapera, 2010: 85), inspired by Silverstone (1991, 2005) praise the heuristic potential of mediation to explore "the difference media make" (Siapera, 2010: 75); that is, "the influence they exert over the social world, by virtue of being in it" (Couldry 2008: 379).

All of the aforementioned authors emphasize that the concept of mediation signals the non-linear and dialectic nature of the processes it accounts for, thereby suggesting an interdependence and mutual influence between media and society. In particular, Couldry (2008: 380) makes this explicit by noting the non-equivalent dynamics between processes of production, reception and interpretation. Outlining the unpredictable interrelations and fluxes of mediated communication, he notes that ideas circulate, finding their way back into production and outwards into social and cultural life. What is more, all authors consider that mediation unravels and allows exploring power relations. Livingstone (2009: 6) finds mediation is able to tackle, and invites the investigation of, power relations that are at play, especially when the latter

[32] Media and processes of mediation are not restricted to processes involving broadcast and/or information and communication technologies: objects can mediate processes of meaning making (see, for example, Rosales [2010b] for an introduction to consumption in the realm of material culture), institutional agents can mediate appropriation of place (Akerlund, 2012) and clock-and-calendar time can side with television, state propaganda and writing in the construction of nationhood (Postill, 2005).

[33] This conceptualization is adopted by geographers (e.g. Jansson, 2002) and communication scholars (Nick Couldry & Hepp, 2013; Hjarvard & Usando, 2008).

are naturalized and would otherwise go unnoticed. For Couldry, who proposes the notion of media flows as a way to further elaborate on the notion of mediation, the term leads in the direction of acknowledging and working with situations of asymmetry, discontinuation, lack of causality or symmetry (Couldry 2008: 381).

If these points are particularly useful in the study of minority media, which emerge often at the margins of the mediascape, without frameworks to include them (see section 2.2.2 for the example of the Portuguese case), then the methodological added value of such a framework is particularly suited to an ethnographic approach. The advantages relate to the fact that mediation is situated in between micro and macro processes, although tending more to micro-level analyses (Livingstone 2009: 6). This is the approach adopted here for understanding how processes of mediation converse with processes of cultural identity (re)construction. As Spitulnik (AAVV, 2005: 30) puts it:

> Mediation may well be integral to cultural practices in general, but the ways in which people experience their own participation in these mediations is crucial to any sense of 'culture' even a highly contingent one.

The relational character of mediation (Couldry 2008: 380; Livingstone 2009: 4) highlights that media shape and frame the social and cultural environment they are embedded in as well as the relationships between people and the environment, technology and each other – only to be shaped in the future as media will eventually work differently in a changed environment. As such, the approach urges the contextualization of processes and sites of mediation, assuming media are embedded in everyday life.

> The notion of mediation therefore provides a route into a concern with the delicate, but always historically and sociologically specific, ways in which public (and inevitably private) meanings emerge and merge in the socially and culturally contested spaces of everyday life' (Silverstone, 2001: 11)

Livingstone (2009: 8) further argues that the concept of mediation more readily invites the analysis of the social and organizational arrangements through which the processes of mediation are instituted by highlighting the practices, artefacts and agents used to communicate. These are precisely the elements I want to explore and whose relationships I want to articulate.

Without privileging media effects or active audience's theories, this symbiotic perspective sits, then, at a tension point between theories focused either on media's

ability to produce cultural identities or on the national, ethnic or local cultures' forms of dictating media consumption (Madianou, 2006: 523). It seems suited to tackle it whilst avoiding essentializing media, culture or identity. The premises deriving from this symbiotic perspective that inform the study of media in international mobility contexts are as follows:

a) media intervene in construction of cultural identity in migratory contexts

On various fronts (technological, institutional, symbolic), media weigh on the ability to make sense of international mobility and of reterritorialized lives (Appadurai, 1991: 199; Dayan, 1998: 111; Morley, 2000: 153). They provide infrastructures for interpersonal communications across spatial and temporal distances, platforms channeling the circulation of narratives and ideas, and sites for collective gathering and negotiation – features that contribute to trigger and influence movement as well as to facilitate and inform re-territorialization and international connectivity (Appadurai, 1991: 197-199; Bailey et al., 2007; Dayan, 1998: 110-111; Georgiou, 2003: 5; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005; Tsagarousianou, 2004).

Technologies not only shape the format of media messages (and thus users' contact with media content) but also the possibility to participate in mediated communication with others. In this way, it influences the attribution of meaning to the mediated interaction and the information accessed through it (Peterson, 2003). Additionally, formal features structure storage possibilities, time-space compression modalities, regularity of publication and other processual aspects. Connectivity, along with the ever more common possibility of simultaneity, constitutes the innovation most effectively enabling the intensification and amplification of social dynamics in migratory contexts (ranging from the construction of intimacy to the mobilization for wider civic action). Although not unbounded themselves, media are at the core of increasingly frequent and plural transnational dynamics (development of networks, activities, lifestyles and ideologies spanning various contexts of reference) identified by Basch, Glick Schiller, & Szanton-Blanc (1994) in "Nations Unbound" (Andersson, 2012: 3). To be sure, they enable the maintenance of cross-border ties whilst assisting incorporation into the host context – two dynamics that have been found to be compatible in part because of mediated communications (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004).

Content-wise, at the intersection of mediascapes and ethnoscapes, media enable the connection to collective imaginaries (global, diasporic, from the context of origin, from the country of residence, etc.) and inform processes of cultural reproduction. Mediated communication welcomes, on the one hand, the formation and/or maintenance of collectivities across borders (Dayan, 1998: 110; Georgiou, 2003: 5; Kosnick, 2007) and on the other hand, the re-working of the way individuals envision the world and their position it (Appadurai, 1991:197; Morley, 2000: 197-200). This is valid for all those involved in transnational social fields: those who migrate and those who don't (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Salazar & Smart, 2011), for they all "move between broadcasting systems as they do between languages", to use Madianou's (2006: 523) encapsulating observation. Similarly, this is valid for those who appropriate and use media as well as to those who are involved in the production of media texts, for both draw on texts and/or media-related practices to produce themselves as subjects.

Relatedly, specifically when abroad, media can significantly shape the everyday realities of migrants. National mainstream media often foster symbolic social exclusion through the dissemination and validation of stereotypical representations, thereby enforcing the experience of ethnicity (Carvalheiro, 2006; Madianou, 2006; Sjöberg et al., 2008; Tufte, 2001). In other words, such narratives may problematically inform local structures of opportunities for migrants. In tandem, migrants themselves may take to the media to deal with the social position of the group in the country of residence (Echchaibi, 2002; Matsaganis et al., 2011; Retis, 2006; Riggins, 1992; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005).

b) Mediated self-representation in migratory contexts engages the collective dimensions of identity

Self-mediated representation dynamics, namely in contexts of international mobility, are specific to the extent that they mobilize a particularistic (Dayan 1998) stance of connection to place of collectivities. The projects that are produced (at least in part) by migrants, resorting to public forms of communication (broadcast, online, print) and that re-work cultural codes in the content they produce (e.g. categories such as nationality or diaspora), operate to construct and/or negotiate commonality. In other words, in the discursive and representational realm, media provide material and the symbolic spaces of encounter to affirm and negotiate the narratives concerning

collective cultural identities. Among the subject matters worked through are usually: connections to context of origin; the realities of living in the host country and being identified with a certain group of "Others"; the repertoire of cultural references and values informing ways of seeing and being in the world; and the gaps left open by national and international media on offer, which are filled by speaking directly to the migrants. This is a particularistic connection to the extent it is accomplished from the specific point of view of their geographical, social, economic, political and historical location, thereby differentiating the population in the mediascape: it particularizes the group for the sake of their cultural identity (migrant condition). If a text is always "a reworking of a socially given signifying system (…) "a product of a social order that is rooted in a particularly, historically contingent political economy" (Peterson 2005: 165), then these narratives articulate the singularities concerning these groups. Moreover, these specificities attend to the specific media sociabilities enabled by the technology in question and promoted by the group's social organization, which informs access to and modalities of participation.

Consequently, production and consumption practices of these media are especially intertwined with cultural affiliations. Participating in, and using, these mediated spaces may be symbolically articulated with logics of subscribing to imagined communities and (self) exclusion from public spaces in the context of residence (Hendy, 2000; Morley, 2000a; Jo Tacchi, 2002). In that sense, they may respond to or ignore hegemonic representations about themselves, whilst creating a forum addressing the specific entertainment, political and social interests and needs of the population they are a part of. Provided the possibilities offered by technology, these projects frequently gain international dimensions and articulate connections to peers across borders. Media can then either fuel empowerment or ethnocentric, possibly even racist, points of view; senses of inclusion or exclusion and belonging; and complex identity negotiations that break free from dichotomous tensions between homeland and country of residence (Bailey et al., 2007: 6).

Moreover, they are riddled with tensions revolving around cultural narratives through contested claims of legitimacy, authority, and authenticity. If migrant media practitioners generally find themselves torn between institutional roles and social obligations (Cottle, 2000b; Husband, 2005; M. A. Peterson, 2003; Sreberny, 2005), as borders between producers fade, the dilemmas rise. On the one hand, ability to

represent is structured by production routines and constrained by difficulties faced by media organizations that fight to survive economically. On the other hand, producers must respond to the pressure of peers that influence the type of mediation and the limits of the discourses that are published (Peterson, 2003: 165-166; Georgiou, 2002: 20). Regardless, like consumption, production constitutes an interpretative and expressive practice in which media-makers review references and, provided the specificity of the work, their own affiliations and subject-positions in what concerns cultural membership:

> …as personal and social lives are brought into the active and interpretative consumption practices, so in the production realms are one's references used to produce contents (they bring their own beliefs, personal tastes, and quotidian habits into the show addressing audiences whom they will believe will be close to them). Further, in the play of ethics, aesthetics, technical skills and references knowledge, they produce themselves as social persons in relation to others (Peterson, 2003: 162).

Similarly, consumption is, regardless, embedded in the political economies of contexts of reception, which organize access across, for example, gender and generational lines. The home is a classic example of such contexts (Silverstone et al., 1996). Subject to aspects shaping the political economies of contexts of reception, such as the materiality of technology and circuits of circulation (Eisenlohr, 2011a; Gaonkar, Povinelli, Parameshwar, & Elizabeth, 2003; Meyer, 2011), consumption is also an interpretative practice. It depends on the (ideological, religious or other) frames of reference through which people read media messages (Hall, 2003) and that shape the nature of encounters with media (Gershon, 2010b).[34] Significantly, if media stir connections to imagined communities, by inviting audiences to revisit memories because of songs played on the radio (see, for instance, Tacchi, 2002) or to critically assess one's relation to their host country by watching news over satellite (e.g. Robins & Aksoy, 2005),[35] then modes of address speaking directly to consumers in their own

[34] As Peterson (2005: 124) notes: "People not only use cultural codes to interpret texts but also to shape the nature of their encounter to it". The expectations informing the encounters and uses of media entail culturally specific ideas about what medium suits what kind of communication (e.g. letters are formal, relationship issues are talked over on the phone, work and so on) (Gershon, 2010b).

[35] Projections of media users inform interpretations according to their subject positions. Gardner's research with Bengalis in East London in the 1990s, for example illustrates the nostalgic and romanticized views of the context of origin, among elders who could not return for health and/or financial reasons (Gardner, 2002: 21). In turn, Asu Aksoy and Kevin Robins' (2005) research among Turks residing in London emphasize the textured relation with the context of origin as youngsters

languages and aesthetics intensify those experiences. Yet, perceived proximity may walk hand in hand with tensions organizing social dynamics amongst people whose ties are not necessarily tight, solid, stable or coherent. Media uses then entangle strategies of positioning in networks and public spaces (namely when arranging form of participation granting visibility) whilst integrating personal processes of revision of belonging.

Notably, the role these media projects may play on migrants' lives must be understood in the context of multi-dimensional and full everyday routines, which entertain varied media diets. Belonging is merely informed by practices of production and consumption. Moreover, the latter probably entangle media with other arenas of life that are equally, or more, structuring and expressive of reterritorialization processes. These may range from housing to entertainment and include sociabilities, food, attire, education, cultural consumptions among others. As Dayan (1998: 105) notes, media can then complement the role of other socialization institutions and spheres of belonging that are "in charge of the custody and transmission of filiation and memory", like museums or schools, particularly in the case of more fragile populations undergoing extinction (through assimilation, death, or otherwise).[36] What is more, identification with collectivities, namely through their mediated narratives is distinct from having one's attempt to subscribe to membership validated. In other words, interpretative communities may not entirely coincide with renderings of collectivities.[37]

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discuss Turkish news through constant comparison with the UK (whether because events and affairs they keep accompanying hardly influence their everyday lives in London, or because they prefer British styles of news presentation over what they find to be sensationalist and biased reporting).

[36] The argument holds that some populations are less able to secure their own spaces and logics of socialization, relation to structures and to place. It resonates with Riggins' (1992) argument which posits that minority's media role is largely to ensure ethnic minorities' survival, as apparent in his book's title "The Media Imperative: Ethnic Minority Survival in the Age of Communication".

[37] This taps onto the uneasy relationship between audience and community: if some communities originate from audiences (like fan communities), some audiences originate from communities (Dayan, 1998: 110). The case of mediated self-representation could be conceived of as falling onto the second category: communities that become audiences. Yet, target audience, or intended community, and actual audience do not necessarily coincide despite possible overlaps. Furthermore, "community" is a highly problematic notion that presumes ties of solidarity and obscures tensions that may be central to the collectivity's configuration (see, for instance, Amit & Rapport, 2002; Amit, 2002).

1.3 Objectives, questions and hypotheses

The overarching goal of the research is to explore how locally produced radio can play into the process of reterritorialization and construction of belonging in migratory contexts, particularly amongst a relatively privileged migrant population. In addition to identifying its (relative) significance, the point is to examine the radio-specific ways in which it participates in the process of managing the cultural identity of those who bring it to life in production and consumption realms. In the enquiry about the relationship between media and culture, a cross-cutting aim is also to understand how the specificities of the migrant group informs the production and/or consumption of locally produced radio and, in turn, how the production and/or consumption of radio informs the experiences of these people as "expatriates". In other words, how radio is produced, consumed and used in certain ways given the migratory context it emerges in and, in turn, how the radio promotes certain ways of reflecting upon experiences of mobility.[38] The objectives of the investigation are enunciated below and clarified by sub-questions directing the inquiry.

1.3.1 Main objectives

1. Identify ways in which the radio integrates, assists and/or informs strategies of resettlement for lifestyle migrants

How does radio contribute to – or how is it used in - the incorporation of self-designated "expatriates" into Portuguese society? What kind of integration functions does it serve - and what kind of incorporation does it promote? How does it converse with the specific modality of movement bringing "expatriates" to the Algarve?

Is the radio a project strategically constructed to perform a cultural function? What are the common denominators capitalized on? When are radio production and/or consumption practices ethnic practices?[39] Is ethnicity mobilized in production and consumption practices? If so, what way?

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[38] This formulation aims to "move away from the 'problem' of culture and identity, to consider how it is that they experience emigration, and how they [migrants] think and talk about and make sense of their experiences" (Aksoy & Robins, 2002: 58)

[39] Following the thought provoking arguments of Asu Aksoy and Kevin Robins (2002, 2005), the point is to ask when does ethnicity matter. When is a producer or a consumer not just one more producer

How is listening, participating or otherwise using the radio part of larger strategies of reterritorialization? How does radio consumption compare and fit in with other agents and activities people resort to? For example, does it channel more objectified or hybrid narratives? What kind of expressive and original uses do people engage with when reworking the cultural dimensions of their personal identities?

2. Identify and examine the specificities of local radio produced by, for and with "lifestyle migrants"

To what extent is this radio enterprise different from other migrant radio enterprises? Does it fulfill other functions and ends? Is it used to maintain ties with networks locally and internationally in a different way? What other media does it share cultural repertoires with? And, in that sense, which mediascapes is it inscribed in? What kind of public place and visibility does it claim in the mediascape? What kind of interests and needs does the radio satisfy (e.g. entertainment, information, education, social networking, imagining community) – and how does it do it?

How does it inform an "expat" way of being in the world? What kind of cultural reproduction does the radio take part in? What are the (if there are) reified elements and hybrid constructions – and what are their implications?

What kind of collectivity does it help construct and/or maintain? Who is being represented and addressed? What tensions underlie representations circulated? What logic congregating those people does the radio integrate (e.g. solidarity, identification, professional interest)? Which transnational dynamics does the radio enable (e.g. does it enable participation in a diaspora)?

Which radiophonic sociabilities emerge and how do they differ from other media sociabilities (e.g. in terms of proximity)? How do specificities of oral communication (e.g. jargon, music, modes of address) materialize the connection to the context of origin, the Algarve and/or a collectivity in singular ways? How does radio mediated communication integrate local communicative ecologies?

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or consumer but someone whose cultural belonging is brought into question by the very media and mediation process at stake?

1.3.2 Hypotheses

1. The radio does not contribute to "expatriates"' incorporation into the host context and plays into a strategy of self-exclusion

Although contributing to the appropriation of the place of residence and facilitating reterritorialization, radio adds to an endogamous strategy of settlement that is grounded on cultural reproduction. Like other media produced by and for this type of migrants, it does not potentiate a full integration into local society. It has been suggested that the multi-dimensional process of integration which is usually posed for migrants (including schooling, health, work, civic participation, and so on) is not required of these migrants in the same way nor is it necessarily a goal for them (King, Warnes, & Williams, 2000: 137). As such, I expect There are ties to the context of origin and expectations about life in the Algarve that prevent blending into local structures. Accordingly, As such, I expect the radio probaly provides needed and useful information to settle in the Algarve but does not create stronger and more textured ties to the region or the country – thereby it facilitates a partial and distant connection to place and informs a less objectively (and more subjectively) grounded mode of belonging.

2. The station's specific way of being particularistic (Dayan, 1998) and creating proximity is to contribute to the establishment of an "expat" social position in the Algarve and to the reproduction of an "expat" cultural identity

Dayan's (1998) fortunate expression hints at the ability media have of creating a specific relation to their audience, i.e. contributing to construct them in a certain way. Minority media's singularity is precisely the differentiation of their target audience from the remaining mediascape. In the case of media made by and for relatively privileged populations the particularity is likely to consist precisely in the dynamics shaping their incorporation - in the sense proposed by Glick-Schiller et al. (2006) - which differentiate them from other migrants. This is probably apparent in discourses channeled as well as in the very conditions for, and mode of, operation of the organization of production and consumption.

3. The affordances of radio communication make the station a singular resource for the construction of belonging for "expatriates"

Radio's oral essence, local nature, plastic character and unilinear broadcasting modality lend the medium the ability to create a sense of collective proximity. The use of one's mother tongue and the references to everyday people and places confer a quotidian and familiar quality. In tandem, the synchronous transmission online, that came to complement FM broadcasts by crossing borders, further enhances the feelings of sharing and identification promoted by the experience of listening to the same thing, at the same time (Urry cited in Georgiou, 2002: 16; Hendy, 2000: 120; Tacchi, 2002: 247). In addition to creating a virtual space of encounter whose contours follow the geography of its audience, the radio allows bidirectional communication. Its participatory nature confirms presences orally and ritually (Morley, 2000). This may bring even nearer strangers who live far apart but imagine, or interact on air, with other listeners feeling and thinking similar things. Likewise, it may complement face-to-face interaction between people who share the place of residence and participate in broadcasts.

This type of communication afforded by the radio fits in well with social dynamics nurtured by "expats". These rest on transnational connections and on the banalization of leisure practices that connect strangers often across great geographical distances (see description of lifestyle migration on chapter 5). I expect radio to be particularly able to instill proximity.

1.4 Research design

The project was designed to comprise two sequential phases: an exploratory phase in which I mapped the existing radio initiatives produced by and for migrants in Portugal, and the deeper investigation of a case study. The choice of a single case study approach (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983: 37-44) (instead of a comparative approach) derives from the under-researched nature of the field. As noted earlier, there few studies on both minority radio in Portugal and on the population chosen for the case study. Among the projects found in the mapping, the case of Bright FM seemed most promising (see chapter 3.2) and constituted a deviant case, which is helpful to broaden, contextualize and hone the perspective on standard cases (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 230). With limited time and financial resources, it felt wiser to

adequately explore a reality about which little is known than to engage in comparisons that would suffer from flawed contextual knowledge. The case study approach is also said to be productive for the case of under-researched populations and similar enterprises to the one under research (such as community media) (van Vuuren, 2006), on account of being well suited to tackle the diversity of experiences that may be encountered, namely at the local level.

1.4.1 The mapping

The first stage of research took place between June 2009 and June 2010. After identifying the initiatives existing on nation-wide channels, I moved away from mainstream media to focus on the local radio sector. I took as points of departure both the list of minority media compiled by the High Commissary for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (now High Commissary for Migrations, *Alto Comissariado para as Migrações - ACM*)[40] and earlier studies (Figueiredo, 2003; Salim, 2008). To update and complement them, I drew on the regulating authority's (ANACOM) list of local stations across the country to make a phone survey.[41] The purpose was to learn whether stations had programs produced by and or for foreigners and to enquire about the story of the program, its fit with the station and the synergies with the audience. I successfully contacted 140 of the 347 local radio stations by phone.[42] The short interview schedule I had encompassed the following items: the initiative's establishment history (motivations of those involved; human, technical and financial resources gathered; goals and target audience of the initiative; similar past initiatives

[40] This list was kindly provided upon request.

[41] The directory is available online, at http://www.anacom.pt/render.jsp?categoryId=42701 [last accessed on 15.01.2014]. For this project, I am only considering stations that operate in FM and, given the limited financial resources and time, in continental Portugal. As such, I am not considering radios operating in AM and digital platforms (T-DAB). Online and unlisted radios I also not considered. The only exception is *Rádio Zero*, which is a university station operating mostly online (with some occasional FM broadcasts). This station was included because it is a well-established station, which has visibility in radio forums (e.g. conferences organized in Lisbon by Paula Cordeiro at ISCSP; radio-art activities promoted at the Goethe Institute; international radio-art network RADIA) and operates with a community radio logic to the extent that it welcomes programs by citizens in the Lisbon area.

[42] Failure to contact the others derived from old and wrong phone numbers in the latest version of the database; no one answering the phone; failure to reach an informed practitioner at the station despite repeated attempts to call when directors, coordinators and/or older members were expected to be available.

and reason for their termination) and production dynamics (e.g. relationship with the station, synergies with listeners) (systematized in Appendix I (a) Interview Schedules). As explored in section 3.1, it was necessary to broaden the scope of the enquiry and ask whether the station broadcasted shows about migration and cultural diversity, for it soon became clear that some shows that I would classify as potential case studies, were discarded by radio practitioners themselves unless I pressed for further information.

In addition to the phone survey I listened to the broadcasts online, as most stations have a website with streaming. Following the methodology for the shows on nationwide stations, I also listened to the programs and noted their schedules, playlist structures, language used, hosts' mode of address, location covered in the news when these were provided, spaces for and modes of participation of listeners, discourses addressing communities, genre of music, services and products advertised, and references to other media).[43] In the cases of nine potential case studies, I visited the studios[44] as well as other relevant locations (community centers, restaurants, clubs) and further explored the aforementioned topics with presenters, station directors and, sometimes, listeners who were suggested by the shows' hosts.

Notably, given the volatile nature of a sector that is highly dependent on human and technical resources, the mapping sketches only a portrait of the national radioscape's configuration at the time of research. The assessment was meant to be informative rather than exhaustive. The selection of case studies depended on both theoretical and practical criteria and resembled a project exploring local radio, heritage and the production of tradition in Portugal (Reis 2006). The three previously established selection criteria consisted of the following: being established for more than one year (so as to avoid short-lived initiatives and secure an object of study for the duration of the project); actively engaging the audience (so as to complementarily explore production and consumption dynamics); and reflecting the experiences of mobility and settlement of a migrant population (provided the goal was to research

[43] This task was impossible when the programs resorted to languages that the researcher was not proficient in – and more so when the programs were not bilingual. Eastern European shows in Romanian, Moldavian and Russian could therefore not be analyzed.

[44] Namely in Lisbon, Porto, Aveiro and outside of main centers, in Carregal do Sal.

international mobility and relocation processes more than second-generation dynamics). Results of the mapping are discussed in chapter 3 and presented synthetically in Appendix II. The specific process of choosing a case study is explored in chapter 3.2.

1.4.2 Constructing a radio-(ethno)graphic approach

> the more ethnographic literature on radio has to surmount the problem of defining its object of study. If radio is ether, how do you study the ether? If so much people's lives are impinged upon by the radio, where is the line drawn for purposes of study? (Fardon & Furniss cited in Reis, 2006: 9)

As the quote above posits, the problem of studying radio is the fleeting nature of a medium that rests, essentially, on ether. To circumscribe the object of study, this project's approach tried to relate the practices of production and consumption related in particular to the English-speaking broadcasts. I should note upfront that the station is not straightforwardly produced by and for the British population, on whom the dissertation focuses. The station has always engaged a multi-national team and has also always catered to all English locals, tourists and "the English-speaking communities of the Algarve". As explored in chapter 6, the way the latter are constructed on air (in publicity, agenda and live shows indexing interests and concerns) identifies them as "expatriates", who are mostly Western and Northern Europeans. However, the British have also been the most significant presence in both production and consumption ends, as all decision-makers, presenters, and target audience. They are also the longest standing and symbolically dominant presence in the Algarve, which has received British natives since the mid 20th century (King et al 2000) and still has in the UK its biggest market for tourism and second-home ownership, or residential tourism.

1.4.2.1 On ethnography

I understand that elusive methodology as an inter-subjective research practice geared towards the enhancement of the understanding of "what it means to be human", to use Miller's words (Horst & Miller, 2012), bears a number of dilemmas and poses a series of challenges to the researcher. Generically, it tries to construct an encompassing perspective on a particular field and object of study that is grounded in the everyday, the embedded and the relational nature of the latter. As Mankekar puts it, it entails presenting an account that is revealing about the articulation of subject

positions and processes of meaning-making (Mankekar cited in Peterson 144). It includes to:

> make direct contact with social agents in the normal courses and routine situations of their lives to try to understand something of *how* and *why* these regularities take place (…) participation in and the witnessing of activities and events over time to form a research record lie at the qualitative heart of what ethnography is. [emphasis in the original] (Willis cited Murdock 2011: 379)

And, particularly in the case of media, to:

> track the practices, consciousness, and distinctions that emerge for people out of their quotidian encounters with media; and situate them in the context of a broader universe (Ginsburg 2005: 20)

In other words

> Using an ethnographic approach means that we work to understand how media and technology are meaningful to people in the context of their everyday lives. (Horst, 2010)

Identifying patterns, pressures, constraints, incentives, and complexities to the point of unlocking the native's point of view, constitutes a dilemma: rendering an ultimately subjective practice "rigorous enough to be considered scientific" (Murphy, 2011: 381). One of the inherent characteristics of ethnographic fieldwork, especially the type that includes participant observation (which was the case whenever possible in the Algarve), is the situated nature of the encounters. As Amit notes:

> The scope of activities which an ethnographer can observe and in which s/he can participate, his/her vantage point and premise of involvement are contingent on the nature of the relationships s/he is able to form with those engaged in these situations. (Amit 2000: 1-2)

The contingent nature is informed by the ethnographer's personal characteristics themselves. In this case, a 26-28 year old Portuguese woman presenting herself as a student developing research about the radio and its cultural role. This position often became blurred or altogether overlooked when hands were volunteered to help backstage in theatre productions or to convert an old hotel into a holiday center for the disabled. It also became further positioned when the conversation focused on the ills of the Algarveans rather than the Portuguese. This circumvention of my Portugueseness seemed to be spurred by my fluency in English and the fact I had lived abroad myself for years. Notably, if I became interesting, even respected, when those experiences surfaced in conversation, I often also became unexciting given when it people realized that I did not own any business worth networking with; did not have a story of "why I ended up here and have just stayed"; did not share other conditions embedding me socially, like offspring attending

school[45]; and was a single young woman not looking for relationships. What is more, the strategy to "follow the radio" in order to get to the people for whom it is meaningful meant that I travelled constantly back and forth across the Western and Central part of the Algarve partly because the coverage of the radio, which is boasted as covering the whole of the Algarve by the radio team, but, in fact fades around Olhão. More importantly, it meant accompanying social dynamics among people who could remain more in the western or eastern part of the Algarve, but conceived of it as a single region, as they traversed it for quotidian matters frequently given the facility of the highway A22. In other words, active listeners and the social networks I ended up following did not bring me further West than Praia da Luz and East than Olhão (I only occasionally visited Faro). As such, instead of a single context and place of research, the field was composed by a variety of sites I tried to make regular visits to (listed below) and variably textured relationships. The result included shorter, and sometimes more intense, periods of spending time with people.

Various anthropologists have developed strategies to deal with the multi-sitedness of fieldwork, which usually entails greater distances between sites of research[46]. Although immersion in the field can be re-defined and circumvented in media ethnographies (namely in the case of digital ethnographies – see Murphy Murphy [2011: 391-394] for a discussion) the "ethnographic validity" rests still, as it has since Malinowski and Geertz, in detail and density. To be sure, thick description means to "invoke the complex specificness' (Geertz 1973, p.23, cited in Walcott, 1995: 96) of the research process and communicate in some substantial and candid way the grain of the field."(Murphy, 2011)

[45] Perhaps the studies most resembling to this dissertation are Karen O'Reilly's ethnography of "The British on the Costa del Sol: Transnational Identities and Local Communities" (O'Reilly, 2000) and Kate Torkington's study of the "Discursive Construction of Place-Identity among British Lifestyle Migrants in the Algarve" (Torkington, 2011b). The research entry points of both these researchers are, however, quite disparate from my own: O'Reilly and Torkington are British themselves and re-located either temporarily or permanently to the context of research, bringing or constructing a family there. Their positioning allowed them to carry out work along the lines of insider's ethnography, thereby accessing more readily (and amongst more people) the predisposition to go further into lived dilemmas, difficulties with institutions and so on.

[46] Notably, when authors write of multi-sited research they usually discuss much greater geographical distances (e.g. transnational networks).

Authors like Sanjek (1990, cited in Murphy 2011) and Spitulnik (2010) build on this and specify both the need to render fieldwork explicit and to make it revealing. To be sure, Sanjek highlights the importance of making the construction of the field explicit by detailing decisions that contributed to constructing it (such as choices to attend events and perform activities) as well as the assortment of relationships animating time in the field. Spitulnik (2010: 6-8) adds the idea of an "interrogated field" and of a "rhizomatic mode of exploration" in order to construct the field and to bind the object of study. The author defends the need to situate media in ever larger fields of social practices (that surround and intersect with media) by favoring not only a "wide lens" that grasps various forms of framing of social practices, but that also views these expanding frames as dynamic. In other words, that interrogates the very context it describes whilst acknowledging that social reality is not neatly divided into categories, but rather enmeshes, overlaps and contradicts them.

Therefore, all authors advocate that ethnographers must unpack the cultural histories of the issues, objects and fields they study by guiding the reader, step-by-step, as they revisit the experiences. Notably, such writing acknowledges both decisions made in the field and post-fieldwork (e.g., clarifying which direction was chosen to explore and why). It also entails description of discomfort experienced in the field and the foregrounding of vulnerabilities as well as typical struggles of ethnographers, such as the negotiation of ethnographic identity (Murphy, 2011: 388). Yet, reflexivity is not reduced to analysis of the self. It is part and parcel of the interrogated mode of research, which profusely asks questions about observed discourses and practices, so as to identify categories under use and how they are related (Schroder et al., 2004: 79; Spitulnik, 2010). All in all, media ethnography requires a situated type of writing, engaged with empirical examples and theoretical cues, historically contextualized and framed in terms of pertinent agencies (e.g. power blocs within audiences, the state, industry, transnational and international discourses on communication [Mankekar 1998: 42 cited in Ferreira, 2008: 17]).

1.4.2.2 Operationalizing mediation

To operationalize the framework of mediation I opted for an approach concerned with both practices and the symbolic and discursive dimensions embedded in the production and interpretation of representations. Indeed,

> mass mediation is never only about texts and their interpretation; it is always also about the social practices by which people appropriate media texts to accomplish the work and meaning of everyday life. (Peterson 2003: 158)

To do so, I constructed a two-pronged tactic that consisted in considering radio as both a cultural product and social practice (Spitulnik, 1993: 293).[47] To be sure, as a product, I understood that radio was comprised of content: discourses and representations channeled and radiophonic spaces of encounter, "on air". On that front, the unit of analysis consisted of the broadcasts themselves – in particular the programs involving most interaction with the audience (live shows in English). As practices, I focused on both activities of production and of consumption. Besides exploring the logics organizing relations at and with the station, I explored consumption by focusing on media uses.

This is not to say I discarded moments of reception, modalities of appropriation, material aspects of media, or contextual discursive material (i.e. representations circulating in mainstream media about the context and population at stake, which is to say the Algarve and the foreign, mostly British, "expatriate" population). I strived to be attentive to all of the latter and took note of them whenever relevant. Yet, I did not focus on them as systematically as on the units of analysis. Ultimately, I tried to grasp how people inhabit the radio and bring it to life, whether in production or consumption realms, drawing on it to manage their subject positions and social relations.

Before delving into the methods applied, it is important to note that I understand production as an expressive practice and the audience as a relational concept. That means that I consider the institutional, technical and technological dimension of producer's roles (that organizes the relationship between media practitioners performing the various roles of, for example, show host, station director, commercial department agent, regular collaborator, sponsor, etc.) in dialogue with the social dimension (nuancing the latter with gender, class, age, generation dynamics). In doing so, I try to

[47] In the seminal article calling for the configuration of an Anthropology of Mass Media, the author suggests there are various ways in which to approach, explore and understand media: as material objects, cultural products and social practices.

> turn our attention from the specificities of roles as functions within the organization of media production and to ask what else goes on, within, around, and through the relations between men and women occupying these roles (Peterson 2005: 179)

In tandem, I understand the audience as a relational construct so as to explore the multiple modalities of engagement with the radio and with others through the radio. This conceptualization leaves the kind of conjugations and interactions that are important to understand media consumption open ended (Peterson 2003: 127-138) – thereby inter-relating technologies, environments, situations, consumption objectives (e.g. conscious search for pleasure, surprise, connection in the text or communication practice), activities of consumption, patterns of interaction (through or because of) the radio, and interpretation of broadcasts. It also enables the verification of how the audience is constructed (e.g. through modes of address in the radio texts and/or media sociabilities and/or other modes, both on and/or off air), which is useful for discussing the "community-making" potential of a minority medium.

These options resulted in part from the main research strategy: to "follow the radio", to use Marcus (G. Marcus, 1995) popular trope, branching off from the broadcasts, recorded on the computer and from the studio into car-rides, the homes of people I interviewed, events announced and covered on air (e.g. musical theatre plays), business fairs, as well as shops and restaurants of businesses advertising on air. To be sure, it also resulted from the foreseeable difficulties in finding a way into the study of reception. I changed strategies after announcing the research on air, as I had done in other stations that seemed promising case studies, and receiving no manifestations of interest by listeners.[48] I then not only actively sought listeners through snowball sampling but also widened the notion of audience so as to be open towards dynamics beyond regular listening to the radio. In other words, instead of waiting to find listeners and then learn about forms of engagement with the radio within and beyond listening, I took another route to uncover them: delving into radio-related activities, events, conversations, and relationships.

Therefore, I considered the people involved in production to be those who were involved in the making of radio content and institutional dynamics. These came

[48] As explored in chapter 4.1, the radio was going through difficult times when I arrived in the field and was often criticized for the amount of pre-recorded playlist time on the programming (see). This was possibly part of the reason why I received no manifestation of interest from listeners.

to be organized in the following categories: show hosts (whether team members or external collaborators), administrative staff, commercial department staff, technical staff, directors, advertisers and announcers. I considered the audience members loosely, as the audience materialized through particular communicative uses, as noted by Schroder et al. (2004: 80). Listeners (regular or occasional) then added to those people who did not consider themselves listeners but admitted to (or I observed them) having conversations and doing things because of the radio.

1.4.2.3 Data collection methods

My method triangulation was fairly typical in what concerns media ethnographic studies. It consisted mostly of observation (and participant observation when it made sense and was possible[49]), which were recorded through copious field notes, recorded interviews, and informal conversational interviews in naturalistic settings. These transversal methods were triangulated with other strategies, as detailed below. Notably, the outline below hides the messiness of fieldwork. For example, some key interviewees were "but" occasional guests in one of the live shows, yet also worked as counselors in the area and provided highly valuable insights into the interpersonal dynamics specific to the type of mobility at stake. Advertisers were also very often listeners. Although it was not planned, and fieldwork did take place mostly in the Algarve, I took advantage of attending workshops in the UK to visit two listeners in their UK contexts. Following unexpected connections in different areas of enquiry (production, context, consumption), I found myself following particular directions (namely, the field and dynamics of "charity" mediation [see chapter 6.3]).

- **Contexts**

In order to best situate the study I engaged in document and content analysis as well as interviews with pertinent actors. Notably, the first were thematic analyses

[49] At the station, for example, it was not always pertinent to engage in participation. Helping with the Christmas charity campaign (by helping to sort and deliver the presents people left at the station for orphanages) and conceding to saying the weather in Portuguese on air when asked to, were the most participative forms of observation. Usually, that method consisted in getting involved in conversations, group outings for lunch, fitness classes and walks with other women in the team, and other quotidian activities. Other instances of participant observation will be detailed throughout the ethnographic material.

aimed at having a sense of dynamics at play. As such, they were not exhaustive in terms of systematic collecting or exploring data.

Interviews with local media practitioners – I approached the local stations that were operating in Bright FM Algarve's coverage area (4) as well as the (4) main English-language newspapers (printed and online) and some magazines (2)

Content analysis of media texts

- Portuguese news about the British and other "Lifestyle migrants" residing in the Algarve (collected as they hit the headlines during the course of the research)
- News about the Algarve in British and American media (collected according to references of the Tourism Board's online portal and the works of other researchers[50])
- Local English-language media news on life in the Algarve (collected according to the relevance attributed to the topic by the people I worked with)

Sound walks – percolating along central public places where people described the radio would be playing: namely the strip (a main road in Albufeira). The observation of whether the station was playing was, however, part of the general observation protocol.

- **Production realm: at and beyond the station**

Analysis of documentation: such as the station editorial project, licenses, strategy commissioned to an external consultant, advertisement sales material (sheets with types of products and prices).

Interviews: founder; decision-makers; technical, commercial and administrative staff; show hosts – including current and past team members; regular and occasional guests of live shows.

(Participant) Observation: mostly at the production and broadcast studios and at the office. Additionally, observation was carried out at events promoted by the radio on

[50] These works included historical reviews of tourism in Portugal and the Algarve (available in dedicated websites, such ashttp://www.centenariodoturismo.org/ and http://blog.turismodoalgarve.pt/, and books (Mangorrinha, 2012) overview. Additionally, the included the work of researchers considering the UK as a sending country (O'Reilly 2000, 2001).

which there was some sort of presence, such as live coverage or animation (e.g. inauguration of a British supermarket chain, yearly summer music festival, business fairs the station participated in) and at the visits to clients where negotiation took place. Additionally, mingling extended to Christmas dinners and everyday lunch outings.

- **Consumption realm: out and about**

As noted above, I focused on people who use and participate in the radio in various forms. As such, research was not reduced to priming the relationships with a handful of self-reported regular listeners. It did involve visiting, interviewing and maintaining a stronger connection with people varying across lines of age, gender, occupational status and time of residence in Portugal – a sample that was meant to be informative about possible modalities of consumption rather than representative.[51] Yet, additionally, it involved volunteering and joining events and activities as well as paying regular visits to some people's homes and shops. Such events and activities included volunteering with theatre groups (namely helping backstage with props or costume changes) and charitable organizations (which meant spending time at their installations with their team, whether cementing walls or translating content for websites), joining physical activities such as dancing and walking/running with organized but open groups, and attending a myriad of events (inaugurations of charity shops, Christmas fairs, entertainment shows, quiz nights, and so on). Throughout these routines, I took advantage of opportunities such as going on car rides and exploring the conversation whenever the station was mentioned.

1.4.2.4 Emerging directions of study: "charity"

As the dynamics animating the mobilization for social solidarity appeared to be ubiquitously present (from having specific sections in newspapers to featuring regularly on air and engaging various people for significant amounts of time), I explored the contours of the social organization underlying the different dynamics it involved. Although focused on the processes of mediation (so as to situate the radio's role in "charity" work), I enquired more generally so as to allow space for people to

[51] The point in following a maximum variation case selection strategy (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 230) to "obtain information about the significance of various circumstances for case process and outcome" (*ibid*).

signal what they found was relevant. Research entailed attending events (e.g. inauguration of "charity" shops, fairs, dinners and quizzes to fundraise for causes), interviewing representatives of organizations and informal groups engaged with alleviating need directly or fundraising to assist the latter, and visiting such organizations.

1.4.2.5 Data analysis: Communicative Ecologies

The overarching approach to data analysis was Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Given the exploratory nature of the research and the ethnographic approach chosen, the goal was to allow categories to emerge from the field. Key notions that I expected to be mobilized were treated as emic (e.g. community, culture, tradition, ethnic, migrant, home) as were others that were used daily (e.g. "expat", "charity"). In order to better work through the vast and multi-dimensional amount of data, and to better situate the role of Bright FM Algarve in the management of cultural identities, I resorted to the approach of communicative ecologies (Baker et al., 2008; Hearn & Foth, 2007; Jo Tacchi, Slater, & Hearn, 2003; Wilkins et al., 2007). To be sure, my understanding of the conceptual operative framework is closely related to the understandings of media ecologies, as discussed by Fuller (2005) and, particularly, Foth and Hearn (2007) as well as Horst, Herr-Stephenson and Robinson (2010).[52]

Notably, the ecological metaphor has been associated with earlier concerns about media effects from the technological deterministic perspectives of authors such as Harold Innis, Marshall McLuhan, Friedrich Kittler, Joshua Meyrowitz or Neil

[52] The concept of media ecologies, which is more centered on communication technologies (ranging from broadcast media to ICT's and small media), has been cautioned against for being a "slippery term", as Joel Slayton put it in the Foreword to Fuller's book on Media Ecologies. Indeed, the term can be used to focus on either (or all) context, function, and/or materiality of media (Slayton in Fuller, 2005: x) and engages terms (e.g. information ecologies) which "are highly susceptible to interpretation as part of the jargon effluvia of the early twenty-first century" (Fuller, 2005:3). To be sure, media ecologies have meant: combined efforts in computer supported work, workforce arrangements, and route of information (e.g. position within a system and inter-relations channeling flows), to name a few (Fuller, 2005: 3-4). Yet, although from a materialist centered perspective, Fuller (2005) echoes Horst's (2010)'s use of the term to underscore the embedded and relational nature of mediated communications.

Postman (Fuller, 2005: 4; Horst et al: 31).[53] The authors I draw on extend its use, shifting the focus to the structure and context of media (Fuller, 2005: 1-4; Horst, Herr-Stephenson and Robinson, 2010:31). The metaphor is perceived as useful because it invokes the conjugated (and non decomposable or separable) dimensions of a system (technical, social, cultural, and place-based) (Ito et al, 2010: 18). Significantly, media ecologies are inter-related amongst themselves (and mutually influence each other) for they can be individual (i.e. one person's ways to access and participate in information circulation) or collective (i.e. a group defined by interest, geographical location or other affinities) specific and situated possible and preferential modes of information sharing).[54] However, logics of delimitation may vary, focusing on the social, technical, and cultural contexts that structure media engagement depending on whether such engagement is centered on locality, institutions, networked sites, interest groups or others (see Ito et al 2010 for concrete examples). Like other ecologies, media ecologies are

> ...dynamic systems in which any one part is always multiply connected, acting by virtue of those connections, and always variable, such that it can be regarded as a pattern rather than simply as an object. (Fuller, 2005: 4)

When echoing the biological metaphor, they can therefore add in terms of heuristic potential by directing research to time and space dynamics, population growth and life cycles, networks, clusters, niches, and even power relationships (Foth and Hearn, 2007: 1). The added value of the approach results also from an easy articulation with other concepts proposed by media scholars (e.g. Dayan's (1998) notion of "media

[53] Legacies of these authors include the equation of, for example, transport infrastructure and gossip to broadcasting technologies as media – an idea by the Canadian scholar Harold Innis dating much further back (for a comprehensive and clear introduction to Innis' work see Subtil, 2006).

[54] Wilkins et al (2007) illustrate this as they take individuals as a point of departure and of analysis to understand collective communicative ecologies. They work with individual uses of media to assess which communicative ecologies people navigate and draw on for different purposes when making decisions about their everyday lives (e.g. where to go or who to trust in their local communities – see also Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach 2011: 208). They underline that communication ecologies depend on the goals people have – and one person may have different communication ecologies for different goals they want to satisfy (e.g. find out about the national health system and how to enter it; find out about the new building in the neighborhood) (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach 2011: 208). In turn, considering the aggregated information flows, the authors note dynamics of storytelling: the discourses circulating tell stories about meaningful narratives for people involved whilst the type of connections enabling such circulation story-tell the type of collectivity at stake and its social organizational dynamics.

cluster" – a group of media used in combination for a particular purpose - or Sreberny-Mohammadi & Mohammadi's (1994) notion of "small media"). In combination they operate to bridge micro and meso levels.

As such, complementarily, a communicative ecology consists of:

> ... a milieu of agents who are connected in various ways by various exchanges of mediated and unmediated forms of communication (Tacchi et al., 2003).
>
> From a communicative ecology perspective each instance of media use is considered at both individual and community level as part of a complex media environment that is socially and culturally framed. (Hearn & Foth, 2007: 1)

In other words, the communicative ecologies approach is focused on situating communicative processes and technologies in the social dynamics shaping the information flow amongst a particular population. It builds a holistic perspective consisting of a "socio-cultural framing and analysis of the local context which communication occurs in" (Hearn and Foth, 2007: 1). For that purpose it considers the conjugation of media institutions, communicative processes and activities, channels, and agents involved in sending, routing and receiving information. The approach tries to identify dynamics specific to contexts and people by considering not only human and non-human actants, but also differentiated communicational interests and needs shaping the flow of information. Relationships and interactions are therefore at the core of what constitutes a mapping exercise enabling conceptualization.

Although not losing sight of structural and structuring issues (e.g. age, gender and other dimensions informing access, ownership, use of media), the relational focus of the conceptual framework makes it less media-centric and more socio-centric. In other words, as Horst et al (2010: 36) emphasize, more than measuring, for instance, frequency of use, the approach is qualitative and grounded in situations and contexts. For instance: it does not focus one single media platform, but rather the combination of technologies used by a single person. On that line of thinking, it presumes people may have multiple media identities and not one stable mode of engagement with all technologies. Moreover, whilst exploring forms of engagement with media, it inquires, instead of presuming differences and specificities in relationships with family or friends.

Additionally, another generic and transversal element of a communicative ecology is the combination of elements in context. Fuller's image of Dadaist artists

and collage artists assembling apparently unrelated elements in a painting signals the ecological perspective's added value: to render visible the inter-relatedness of all elements, especially when it is commonplace and naturalized (Fuller, 2005: 4, Horst, Herr-Stephenson and Robinson, 2010: 31). For example, people who know about the banality of computer technologies and sites like Facebook, but do not own laptops, have filtered access, ownership, and participation through them etc. – yet, their own non-computerized activities may be influenced by computer mediated encounters. This possibility is useful to relate production and consumption, for example. By exploring information flows and the networks they travel through, the communicative ecologies approach also accommodates the multiplicity of roles that actors may have. For the present dissertation, the added value of such an approach also lies in the space and significance that radio, a "forgotten medium" (Pease and Dennis year), has. Radio's ability to speak more directly and intimately than visual media (which entail perception and understands messages as external to the viewer) or its openness (Meditsch 1999: 253 cited in Reis, 2006: 51), for one cannot close one's ears as if they were eyes, becomes more clearly highlighted as radio sides with other media in individual communicative ecologies.

The perspective adopted is based on the reading of the cited works collectively. Given the different uses researchers have made of the approach,[55] I took the liberty to draw from all so as to meet research needs. To study Bright FM Algarve, I added dimensions to concepts and included notions proposed by other authors. Although the latter do not explicitly work with communicative ecologies, I find their contributions are productive additions (and needed ones to capture dynamics in the field).[56] I use the three main operative concepts below to grapple with contexts of

[55] To be precise, Jo Tacchi and her colleagues from Australia (2003, 2006, 2008) have studied the appropriation of new media in development contexts. In turn, Holley Wilkins and her colleagues in California (2007) researched locally produced media in migratory contexts – or "geo-ethnic media" as the authors prefer designating it. The special edition of the Journal of Electronic Communication, edited by Greg Hearn and Marcus Foth (2007) also hint at other possible applications of the communicative ecologies' approach: in the home, in social movements or in the urban connections to public internet. Matthew Fuller (2005) edited a book collecting works providing theoretical reflections and examples of media ecologies grounded on the materiality of art and technoculture.

[56] I use operative concepts such as conditions of communication (Matsaganis et al., 2011: 214), sociotechnical frames, patterns of interaction and interpretation (Tacchi et al., 2003: 134-135), interpretative communities and media sociabilities (Peterson, 2003: 148), media ideologies (Gershon, 2010b). These are organized under the three main operative concepts noted below. Additionally, I

reception (individual level) as well as contexts of production (organizational' level), being that I directed research to understand dynamics related to Bright.

1. The social organization of media

Forms of organization concerning means of communication, both in reception contexts but also institutional and political economy aspects (e.g. media's relation with other media or with the state, as well as the social dynamics and hierarchies within the media organization itself) (Tacchi et al., 2003: 15-16). This construct concerns the rules and regulations structuring communication, as well as the activities of communication as they are situated in context. In practice, it entails considering three aspects: 1) media repertoires (i.e. mixes of media available and used regularly, and in combination, by subjects) (Tacchi et al., 2003: 15-16), 2) the context of communicative practices (namely in what concerns other people present, the person's role in that environment, as well as frequency, routines, expectations and difficulties concerning specific modes of communication), and 3) the activities of communication per se.

2. Media sociabilities

"Mediated relationships that can complement and interact with face-to-face relationships and that are specific to the medium at stake" (Peterson, 2003: 148). This construct tackles the relationships people establish with each other in, through and/or because of the media. It is concerned with patterns of interaction (Tacchi et al., 2003: 134-135), with varying channels of communication, frequency of contact, types of relationships and capitals and codes used in the relationship. It presupposes that codes, and knowing how to use them, operate to regulate membership in imagined communities. Codes are negotiated but comprise a variety of references constituting what is appropriate, valued, etc. (linguistic, social, presentation and interaction norms; general culture facts; etc.) (Peterson, 2003: 148).

3. Signifying practices

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added the production dimension to the social organization of media, which was focused on consumption according to Tacchi et al (2003: 15-18).

This construct addresses the dimension of meaning-making in the people's relationships with the media and with each other through and/or because of the media. It is largely rendered concrete in discourses about the media and the relationships at stake but also in non-verbal practices that may be indicative of one's position, interests, understandings, interpretative communities, valued capitals and so on, which help to identify people's way of making sense of the mentioned relationships.

I used these principles to organize information about the communicative flows within and around Bright. However, to analyze the audience's modes of relating to Bright, I focused on the individual level to identify how radio figures in people's particular everyday contexts. Like Wilkins et al (2007), I took it as an entry point in order to, piece by piece, capture more collective dynamics.

PART I

CULTURAL SONORITIES OR MINORITY VOICES? CONTEXTUALIZING BRIGHT FM ALGARVE IN THE MINORITY RADIOSCAPE IN PORTUGAL

2 ON THE RELATION BETWEEN MEDIA AND INTERNATIONAL MOBILITY

The relation between media and international mobility has increasingly been recognized as key to understand our current social reality and the central role that media technologies and related processes of mediation assume in the contemporary world. Indeed, as Georgiou (2001: 64) notes, media are part of the first context of socialization – the home – and their impact breaches the boundaries of that space onto the public sphere informing understandings and outlooks on life and the world. Additionally, to use Livingstone's (2009) expression, the "Mediation of Everything" becomes apparent when executives expect to watch CNN in a Middle East's hotel, families turn on channels distributed by satellite to watch soap operas, or when domestic housemaids working abroad send video letters to the children they left with relatives at home. If people and media mutually inform and adapt to each other in processes that entail reconfiguration of space, place and culture, then this is also (if not more) the case when people engage in international mobility. Therefore, media provide a particularly privileged lens through which to observe processes of individual and collective cultural identity construction and negotiation in migratory contexts.

This chapter explores the relation of media and international mobility to situate the analysis of Bright FM, a radio station produced to a large extent by, for, and about (lifestyle) migrants. It starts by articulating the role of various types of media in processes of international relocation. It then turns to the specific media initiatives at stake: public communications media made (mostly) by, for and catering to migrants. It explores the issues concerning mediated self-representation in projects produced in a migratory context. Following that discussion, it justifies the choice for the middle-range concept of "minority media" to construct the object of study (a radio station). To situate the discussions in later chapters, it delves into the issues of representation of cultural diversity that inform the emergence of minority media and their space in the European mediascapes. It finally discusses the roles that minority media media can play for migrants.

2.1 Media as forces and resources fostering international mobility

One can argue that, on a macro-scale, media are fueling globalization processes. Building on Benedict Anderson's work (1991), Rial (2004: 51) argues that new media fosters globalization in the same way that the printing press advanced nationalism. Relatedly, one could add that, in addition to connecting people across borders by stimulating their imagination about elsewhere (Appadurai 1996), different types of media (both new and "old") are also intrinsically connected to mobility processes that are a key dimension of globalization. Migratory processes, in particular, are situated at the intersection of dynamic media- and ethno-scapes (Appadurai, 1996) and, therefore, are specific to the contexts that embed them, to the actors mobilizing them and to the relationships among the latter (Morley, 2000: 7-11).[57] Media contribute to all: trigger mobility; inform routes, trajectories and destinations; offer resources that facilitate the journey; and provide tools to deal with the migratory condition, both by maintaining transnational connections and engaging with the new context of residence (Hamel, 2009).

Literature on destination images, largely developed within the field of tourism mobilities (S. S. Marques, 2009), has been documenting and conceptualizing the power of mediated perceptions to allure people to move. Evidence of media images ability to drive movement grows as the very settings of stories showcased in popular films, TV series or novels, as well as the literal sets constructed for films and TV, have been transformed into tourism destinations themselves (Zanforlini, 2012: 434; Balsamo and Etchevery 2012: 72). Examples include the sets of the "Lord of the Rings", "Harry Potter" and "The Smurfs", which have transformed the localities they were built in.[58] Examples more pertinenet to the case study this thesis focuses on

[57] Appadurai uses the notion of "mediascapes" to refer to the globalized cultural fluxes that new information and communication technologies channel. The concept also stands for situated analyses that recognize disparate points of view and varied appropriations. Such analyses also acknowledge the interdependence of media practices and the conditions structuring them at the local, national and international levels (Ginsburg, 1994: 367).

[58] Juzcar is infamous for insisting on maintaining the blue painted on all the "smurf" houses so as to attract tourists, which was fueled by the premiering of the film's sequel in loco. This has been discussed in mainstream media: http://abcnews.go.com/ABC_Univision/photos-spanish-town-stay-smurf-blue/story?id=19761575 [accessed August 11th 2013] and http://www.theolivepress.es/spain-news/2013/07/22/smurfs-2-to-premiere-first-tomorrow-in-juzcar-the-blue-town/ [accessed August 11th 2013].

include "A Place in the Sun" (UK's Channel 4), a television show nurturing the wish to own a second-home abroad – currently, a fairly common practice amongst the British (Finch, 2010). In practice, such media present the cultural and environmental contexts available, exploring the local flavors of what ultimately remains an idealized relaxed and comfortable pace of life (see, for instance, McElroy, 2008).

Relatedly, media provide information that may ultimately shape decisions of when, how and where to move. If media content contributes to familiarizing foreigners with a place's culture and history, making acculturation seem less difficult after moving (Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011: 59-60), online forums and directories, such as those focusing on Portugal and the Algarve, precede re-location to the extent they connect people who are thinking of moving to a particular place with local (transportation, property finding, educational, employment, health, safety, and so on) service providers and current and/or past residents. Perhaps more effectively, in addition to publicly circulating representations, which may not correspond with all of the realities that are to be faced (see, for example, Mai [2005][59]) interpersonal media channels play a major role. Intensifying the chain-migration dynamics, conversations via Skype, email, chat programs or phone decrease the perception of risk.

What is more, media offer concrete resources that facilitate mobility. Government sponsored employment portals, like minority media themselves, may contribute to the attraction of international workers (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach 2011: 60) by providing information on the job market and how to access it that is tailored to foreigners. Moreover, the online universe not only fits well with flexible modalities of work, which entail occasional international commuting and working at a distance, but assist in entering job markets as platforms such as LinkedIn are more and more formally used and perceived to have credibility. Beyond work, other services simply aid in the planning and execution of the journey. Banking

[59] Nicola Mai's article discusses the roles of media in both stimulating Albanians' relocation to Italy and then reflecting and contributing to social exclusion. More specifically, Italian television consumption constituted a window to the outside world during a closed-off communist government in Albania (1950s-1991) and fueled an attractive social imaginary about life in Italy. These imagery was drastically distinct from the representations circulating on the same channels about Albanians who moved in mass following the collapse of the communist regime.

services make it possible to travel without carrying large sums of money as well as to send financial assistance to those travelling. Internet cafés provide access to, for example, maps, transportation information, and contacts with people and/or institutions in the context of origin and of destination. At an extreme, audio software allows committed people to learn how to say some basic words and expressions to ease the process of travelling and settling elsewhere.

Finally, media can present resources for dealing with the migratory condition. At a large, societal level, both governments and international organizations (i.e. International Organization for Migration) draw on media so as to shape public opinion about migrants and advertise strategies for integration, intercultural dialogue and so on. Individually, people inscribe themselves in networks and maintain their participation in them besides drawing on media content to make sense of their experiences and their place in the world. Through interpersonal media (e.g. Skype, email, social networks) they can engage in a more present way in both key and quotidian moments of their families' lives (e.g. participate in household decisions or virtually attend life-events, like weddings). Through transnational media, they have the possibility of keeping up with current affairs about the home context as well as exposing their children to specific (linguistic, geographical and cultural) references that contribute to a bicultural upbringing. In tandem, through national media they can learn about avenues to access and incorporate themselves into major institutions of social life. Ultimately, different types of media assist in the construction of a coherent interpretative lens through which to weave together their plural and apparently unrelated lived experiences (Ros, 2007 and Diminescu, 2008 cited in Hamel 2009).

2.2 The particular field of minority media

To introduce the type of media initiatives under study it is pertinent to circumscribe them at this point to media that connect migrants among themselves, with peers dispersed through the world, and with the contexts of origin and/or residence by sustaining public communication. As noted previously, the present discussion of minority media does not consider the media projects of indigenous

minorities, which concern specific histories and issues.[60] They create virtual spaces where people can come together as communities, whether online, over satellite, on air or in other sites that reach across borders (e.g. video and cassette tapes and the printed press). At the same time, these media also provide both an infrastructure for the circulation and a site for the negotiation of ideas and references that are specific to the roots and routes of the audiences gathering in these virtual spaces of encounter.

This chapter explores the field of minority media to set the scene for the mapping and the analysis of the case study. It starts by noting the difficulties of circumscribing the plethora of initiatives falling in the category. After discussing the dimensions of variation among initiatives and the terminologies applied to theorize them, I justify the term chosen to conceptualize the radio initiatives mapped and the selected case study (minority media). To situate the latter, the following section outlines the emergence and issues pertaining to minority media in Europe. It discusses the evolution and rationale of policies addressing (and regulating for) the mediation of cultural diversity. The particular case of Portuguese legislation concerning, namely, radio initiatives is then presented. The third and fourth sections explore the roles minority media performs by delving into the issues of mediated self-representation.

2.2.1 Dimensions of variation and the problem of terminology

As noted by various authors (Bailey et al., 2007: 2; Blion 2007: 65-66; Cogo 2012; Cottle, 2000; Cunningham and Sinclair, 2000: 20; Dayan, 1998; Georgiou, 2002: 16-18; Husband and Downing, 2005: 56; Madianou & Miller, 2011; Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011: 6-7; Riggins, 1992; Rigoni & Saitta, 2012; Siapera 2010: 103; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005: 482; Tsagarousianou, 2004: 61), media made by and catering to migrant populations can vary tremendously within and across communities in terms of:

- **technology** used, for these media vary across a number of platforms. They range from broadcast media (domestic/national, local and satellite television, radio broadcasts) to internet forums and various types of "small" media (Sreberny-Mohammadi 200?) (e.g. newsletters, magazines, video and

[60] For discussions of these cases see, for instance, (Alia & Bull, 2005; Ginsburg, 1991b, 1994, 1997b, 2000).

cassettes) among many others means of communication. Subsequently, these media vary in terms of the types of relationships they establish and sustain. While they are always collectively produced and/or consumed, they may be more public or private and interpersonal in nature. Moreover, given the specific affordances and limitations of different technologies, they vary in the way of establishing and sustaining those relationships. Nevertheless, most include an online dimension given the recent innovations that have intensified the convergence of different media.

- the **scale** at which they operate, which depends on whether media are produced, distributed and consumed locally, nationally or transnationally. Media organizations can range from small, local, family-owned businesses in the context of one residence to large multi-national corporations with branches dispersed through the different countries where the target audience can be found (such as the Indian oriented satellite television channel Zee TV). As Georgiou (2003, 2005, 2007) notes, to think about media made by and catering to migrant populations one must consider the local level (where the everyday is lived and which informs the interpretation of dominant discourses, fostering - or not - participation in the society while keeping cultural distinctiveness), the national level (where multiple communities occupy the public space, according to both the specific standing of each and the general regulations influencing the mediation of cultural diversity) and the transnational level (where migrant networks span more freely and where online or satellite media sustain communities).
- the **formality and professionalism** as well as the related **funding and ownership structures** supporting the enterprises, which underlie varying frequencies of publication.[61] Typically, smaller media struggle against the impending risk of insolvency and have a more amateur character. Some projects may consist only of a few hours of programming in established media

[61] Major trends in this regard include: the predominance of smaller media; consolidation of collaboration among media that cater to similar communities; and acquisition of media organizations by large corporations established in the countries of origin of the target-audience (Matsaganis et al., 2011: 165).

channels, as is the case with the multi-lingual slots of programming of the German Radio MultiKulti or most of the projects identified in the mapping presented in chapter 3. In contrast, larger corporate organizations may thrive to the extent of constituting competition to renown mainstream media (as happens with the Spanish speaking channel *Univisión in the United States*) (Matsaganis et al., 2011: 112; 159). The first type of projects is often dependent on donations and volunteer work; related to minority associations, recreational groups, religious institutions or charitable organizations; and may be entitled to state subsidies when engaging in non-profit projects. Although many stations resort to advertising for revenue, an excessive focus on advertising is seen as detrimental by causing "the loss of cultural integrity in the struggle for commercial success within national borders and beyond" (Karim, 1998: 8)[62]. Additionally, in some cases the project may have a "one man paper" character and become dependent on the persona and personality of the venture's author. On the other hand, the second type usually capitalizes on privileged access to a niche audience, is explicitly commercial in nature and contributes to the constitution and promotion of an ethnic market in conjunction with other businesses. Most commonly, media fall in between these two types, combining elements of both.

- **the content and the audiences** it is tailored to**.** These initiatives vary in terms of the genres, aesthetics and formats that different types of content (news, entertainment or other) may encompass. Moreover, content may vary according to a number of possibilities of "geo-ethnic" affiliation of the audience, to use Matsaganis et al.'s (2011) expression. Topics may focus on one or many local communities given that the latter share the same language, social standing and/or other (cultural) features. What is more, content also

[62] Karim (1998) proposes thinking of the realities of minority media production (or ethnic media, to use his term) and acknowledging the tendency to resort to commercial market models so as to fit and survive in a global media market. In other words, he proposes exploring transnational links these media establish to create and sustain communities while integrating dominating media models. As such, it is an alternative approach to the post-colonial studies' empowering ideas of diasporic projects as sites of resistance. Yet, he emphasizes that an exxagerated focus on commercial aspects loses sight of cultural coherence by noting that audience surveys are intended to prove to advertisers the potential to chose that media as a marketing strategy, advertisements seem infomertials, and little space is given to arts, culture and civic statements.

varies over time as it caters to the shifting interests of second and third generation and/or to newcomers from different regions, religious groups, social classes or other distinctive affiliations (Georgiou, 2007: 24; Matsaganis et al.'s, 2011: 85; Rigoni & Saitta, 2012: 5; Robins & Aksoy, 2005; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005: 435). To add to that, content variation may further reflect changing policies concerning migrants' access to entry and residence in the country (e.g. restrictions in the circulation of people may result in the re-orientation of minority media content from newcomers and their settlement needs to residents and their negotiated identities [Matsaganis et al. 2011: 54]), or institutional volatility (e.g. the turnover of producers, whose family and professional life may distance them from the media projects, or the dwindling of resources. Finally, audiences are also increasingly difficult to pin down as media literacy and new technologies increase the access to media content and media production. With mixed media diets, consumption is "far from linear and predictable" (Georgiou 2007: 23) and the production of meaning sits in the inter-relation between production and consumption, blurring the lines between the two (Georgiou 2007: 23-24).

Such variations make it difficult to move beyond vague definitions capturing the breadth and the specificity of this type of media. In fact, as discussed below, there is no internationally recognized category reserved for initiatives concerned with migrant populations. Accordingly, these media have been conceptualized in various ways, depending on the perspective of analysis and the specific characteristics of the population. Conceptual approaches have focused on the dynamics of migration and mobility, transnational connection and communication, identification and belonging, inclusion and exclusion, public spaces and the public sphere(s), participation and voice, and struggles for the control of meaning (Georgiou, 2002, 2005; Rigoni & Saitta, 2012; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005: 438); alternative voices and new forms of civic participation in the public sphere (Browne, 2005; Cogo, 2012; Halpern, 2012; Retis, 2006; Siapera, 2005); issues revolving around the political economy and cultural industries framing the space of action of these media (Kosnick, 2007, 2008; Riggins, 1992); production practices and institutional dynamics (Cogo, 2012; Husband, 2005; Silvano et al., 2012); and the role of these media, both locally and transnationally, in the negotiation of cultural identities, whether through essentializ

(Moura, 2010; Naficy, 1993; Silvano et al., 2012) or more dynamic constructions (Bálsamo & Etcheverry 2012; Ferin 2012 Migrações; Echchaibi, Schein 2002; Yang 2002; Tufte and Riis 2001). Complementarily, studies drawing on user-centered and reception approaches that discuss the consumption of minority media higlight how varied media diets are and sometimes also explore migrants' reactions to mainstream media representations of themselves (Madianou, 2006; Sjöberg et al., 2008; Tufte, 2001). If researchers found the field was under-explored between the mid-1990s and 2000s (Cottle, 2000b; Cunningham & Sinclair, 2000; Georgiou, 2007), there is now a plethora of studies to build on.

However, one can identify two main strands in the research field. One emphasize the strategies of visibility in the public space, and concern the inclusion of cultural diversity in local and national imaginaries (e.g. Georgiou, 2003; Retis, 2006; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005), although discussions have noted such struggles can be articulated at the transnational level and have to be re-framed with that scale in mind (Kosnick, 2007, 2008).[63] A second strand studies exploring the importance of media in the dynamics of cultural reproduction, identity negotiation and construction of belonging within processes of international mobility. These foci are inter-related and usually overlapping as both concern issues of representation, whether through recognition or re-cognition, to use Abu-Lughod, Larkin and Ginsburg's (2002) expression. As Olga Guedes Bailey, Cammaerts, & Carpentier (2008: 65) note, these media are involved in struggles for pluralistic representation *while* fostering processes of reimagining the self and belonging within and across spaces.

Still, terminology used in the literature varies - at times within one text as Georgiou [2007: 22], notes. It includes "migrant media" (Kosnick, 2008), "exilic media" (Naficy 2003), *media des diversités*/diversity media (Blion, 2009) and, more commonly, designations involving the notions of ethnicity and diaspora: ethnic (Karim 1998; Salim 2008), geo-ethnic (Wilkins et al. 2007; Matsaganis et al 2011), minority ethnic (P. Lewis 2008; Husband 2005; Morley 2000) and ethnic minority media (Riggins, 1992; Rigoni & Saitta, 2012);and diasporic media (Cunningham &

[63] The transnational symbolic and material quarrels with media institutions and governments as to uphold and legitimize a minority's narrative (as in the case of the battle of Muslim Turks residing in Germany with a transnational satellite (Kosnick 2007).

Sinclair, 2000; Dayan, 1998; Echchaibi, 2002, 2011; Fazal & Tsagarousianou, 2002; Georgiou, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2012; Sreberny, 2005; Tsagarousianou, 2004). Often times they are also subsumed under wider categories of "community media" and "alternative media" (Siapera, 2010: 94). All these designations pose different sets of problems when considering them as possibilities to classify the media projects at stake. Unhelpfully, migrant media do not include second-generations (which are an important segment of, namely, Portuguese-speaking African populations in Portugal). Exilic media highlights a nostalgic connection to the homeland deriving from a somewhat forced migratory move that was not usually verified during the mapping. Terms resorting to notions of ethnicity and diaspora are unhelpful to construct the object of study at stake because they qualify media projects either through overly restrictive or excessively open and vague lenses.

2.2.1.1 Ethnicity based lenses

In short,[64] terms referring to ethnicity are charged with the theoretical baggage of discussions in turn of the concept. Granted, as an analytic instrument to think through social reality, ethnicity has heuristic potential to discuss processes of reconstruction of cultural identity in migratory contexts, and of the mediation of diversity. It provides an idiom that not only allows negotiating subject positions but also renders clear the contingent character of mechanisms fostering the construction of belonging (Barth, 1969; Bauman, 1996; Roosens, 1989). However, it seemed unhelpful to approach the construction of the object of study, in an exploratory project, with preconceptions about the ethnic dimensions of production and consumption processes, and about the relations that members of the populations under study establish both within the societies they reside in and beyond. To be specific, the reference to the ethnic dimension when characterizing media projects evokes a series of ascriptors that are often lumped together in order to describe minorities – who often do not subscribe to such a reified, static and contained repertoire of references. Given that what is "ethnic is a matter of quoting", and what matters are the relations articulated by boundary-setting more than the "cultural stuff they enclose" (Barth,

[64] This discussion is explored in more detail in Rosales & David (2010).

1969: 15 cited in Madianou 2006: 525), it is necessary to ask, case-by-case, to what extent is there an investment in ethnicity, and to what extent does it justify classing the media projects as efforts to assert such ethnicity?[65]

In other words, the point is to assess how the media in question (in this case, radio shows and stations), as media products/ventures, play into the ways people live out ethnicity in their daily routines. To investigate the impact of the media in the ways people think of themselves, the social contexts they are in and their affiliations with the latter, as Madianou (2006) argues. Notably, these media may not be the prime channels and spaces for the negotiation of shared frames of reference and reworking of memory (Ginsburg, 1997)[66] and their uses involve a series of parameters that are not reduced to ethnicity (Madianou, 2006: 522). Similarly, they may not be the fora to manage and discuss the inclusion or exclusion of populations in the host context (Silverstone and Georgiou, 2005: 438). This is to say that it is important to maintain the possibility that media consumption or production is social rather than ethnic (Aksoy & Robins, 2002; Madianou, 2006). Affirming them essentially as ethnic conceals the forms of rethinking lives and identities that are not expected or obvious configurations born out of continuity - it does not make space for hybrid, new possibilities (Echchaibi, 2002: 39). Even when people essentialize and objectify their cultural difference the point is to observe how they do it, whilst being cautious about using categories of practice as categories of analysis so as to avoid further essentialization (Comaroff 1996 cited in Madianou 2006: 524). This line of thinking is further explored in chapter 3.2, when I justify the selection of the case study.

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[65] As Anthias (1998: 567) notes, people make differentiated investments in the ethnic dimension of their identity so as to move within their social networks according to what Hall (2003: 222) designates "politics of positioning". Echoig such a line of thinking, Dayan (1998: 106) holds that there are multiple continuities between processes of identification and external labeling amongst the various possibilities of combining narratives of, about, with and for minorities and majorities.

[66] The absence of other social institutions that ensure cultural reproduction, such as museums or schools, may confer accrued importance to minority media in migratory contexts (Dayan, 1998: 105). However, these other institutions, along with other sites and practices, may more centrally serve such functions than minority media. Ultimately, all media can serve to rework cultural identity to the extent people appropriate its contents to imagine possible lives and make sense of lived experiences and one's place in the world (Appadurai 1996; Morley, 2000: 7-9), nurture sociabilities and act on account of their relation to the media (Postill, 2010). This type of reasoning has brought Riggins (1992: pp) to assert that, ultimately, all media are ethnic media.

2.2.1.2 Diasporic based lenses

In turn, the notion of diaspora also raised conceptual issues.[67] Although it provides avenues to skirt some of the shortcomings of the connotations of ethnicity, it has been so widely discussed and appropriated that it has became quite flexible at the expense of losing some accuracy that is necessary to describe and classify the type of media initiatives at stake. The added value that "diasporic" brings as a qualifier of media result from an enhanced ability to capture dynamics taking place across borders given its focus on transnational (imagined or experienced) relations (Anthias, 1998; Clifford, 2000; Gilroy, 2003; Hall, 2006; Vertovec, 1999b).[68] Notwithstanding that the nation-state is an organizing context for migratory processes and projects besides constituting an important frame of reference for migrants themselves (Georgiou, 2003: 25; Dayan, 1998: 110), minority media enterprises must be considered amongst practices which include (and may privilege) the transnational dimension of their lives (Kosnick, 2007: 168). Perspectives using diaspora (in more recent renditions of this concept's understanding) can address this given they emphasize circulation, connectivity, continuity and change in the processes of community formation and configuration.

To be more specific, this movement-based standpoint entails thinking through dynamics of dislocation and reterritorialization more than through dynamics of uprooting, echoing recent tendencies in the literature (Appadurai, 1991: 192; Clifford,

[67] I use Vertovec's (1999) systematization of the literature in what concerns the principle uses and meanings of the concept: a transnational social formation; a metaphor for a mode of collective consciousness; a mode of cultural and social reproduction. As such, diasporic experiences are related to three main dimensions: first, relations with the country of residence (which are often simultaneously associated to difficulties born out of experiences of exclusion and dreams of future projects); second, the relationship to country of origin (which is often nostalgic provided the return is continuously postponed); and finally, connection to the group of peers (who supposedly share roots and migratory trajectories and, therefore, allegedly subscribe to a collective narrative that is supported through the media).

[68] It does, then, outdo ethnicity discussions' quick association with the national context given that the latter become a buzzword in the context of management of diversity in nation-states. As discussed by various authors (Gilroy, 2003: 54; Tsagarousianou, 2004: 64) thinking through mobility from the perspective of ethnicity privileges the national scale even though the concept of ethnicity was largely discussed and established in efforts to understand dynamics of globalization and make sense of social relations and multiple subject-positions in migratory processes. More than discussions about relationships with co-ethnics who are dispersed throughout the world, debates drawing on the term have thus focused on the position of minorities in relation to national majorities and other minorities in the same country or region of residence (Georgiou cited in Tufte, 2012: 12).

2000: 257; Gilroy, 2003: 57). Relatedly, diaspora privileges the multiplicity of frames of reference and trajectories rather than points of departure or arrival in the multiple trajectories of diasporic populations (Georgiou 2003, 2007, 2012). This transnational dimension weighs in processes of inclusion and exclusion (Anthias, 1998; Clifford, 2000; Georgiou, 2003; Tsagarousianou, 2004) by spurring the management of identifications across borders and balancing out segregation at the local level. Therefore, it also signals tensions and differences that riddle populations, which questions any simple conception of homogenous groups (Olga Guedes Bailey, Georgiou, & Harindranath, 2007: 14). Authors advocating for the conceptualization of minority media through the concept of diaspora (e.g. Bailey, Georgiou and Harindranath 2007: 1; Echchaibi, 2002: 40; Siapera, 2010: 96) argue that the notion is therefore better suited to identify and theorize the emergence of complex experiences and subjectivities, and perhaps new ways of being and belonging.

However, diaspora loses descriptive power when it conveys vast and abstract realities. As a "mode of consciousness" (Gilroy, 2003; Hall, 2006; Vertovec, 1999b), connecting dispersed people through a common narrative, the concept is stretched to the point of surpassing the international mobility processes that this project wants to study. To be specific, people participating in the construction and negotiation of a diasporic collectivity may have only travelled virtually, via the media, without having ever actually moved (Olga G. Bailey et al., 2007: 14; Fazal & Tsagarousianou, 2002; Georgiou, 2003: 8; Morley, 2000a; Rigoni & Saitta, 2012; Tsagarousianou, 2004). Notwithstanding the importance of media images in the way people make sense of their lived experiences in locales with global frames of reference (Dayan, 1998: 106; Georgiou, 2003: 56; Karim, 1998: 4; Morley, 2000a: 255; Siapera, 2010: 96; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005: 436; Tsagarousianou, 2004: 61), or the importance of immobile people who inform and participate in the reproduction of collective identity narratives weighing on migrants lives (Clifford, 1997: 245; Vertovec, 1999a: 9), the perspective of diaspora seems unhelpful to examine experiences of movement and reterritorialization.

More specifically, diasporic lenses underline the plurality of affiliations and modes of belonging that people construct through the media (Tsagarousianou, 2004: 61; Vertovec, 1999: 8-9), which are often thought to foster hybrid identity constructions (Gilroy, 2003: 237; Hall, 2003: 67). When participating in those media,

people contribute to the reformulation of collective narratives as they take part in the constant search for coherence amidst the multiple references and contradictory feelings that characterize the diasporic experiences (Gilroy, 2003: 268; Hall, 2003: 225; Dayan, 1998: 111; Clifford, 1997: 245).[69] Yet, as Aksoy & Robins (Aksoy & Robins, 2002; Robins & Aksoy, 2005) note, talking about media's role in "enabling dislocated belonging" requires further scrutiny. In the authors' view, such perspectives unhelpfully suggest that consumers within diasporas equally conceive of, and participate in, imagined communities:[70]

> The problem with diasporic media studies is that its interests and concern generally come to an end at this point. The inquiry is brought to a premature halt, with the ready acceptance that transnational broadcasting does in fact, and quite unproblematically, support the long-distance cohesion of transnational 'imagined communities' - and without ever confronting what it is that might be new and different about the experience of transnational broadcasting (...) The problem is simply that the theoretical categories available to diasporic media and cultural studies make it difficult to see anything other than diasporic forms of behavior. Individuals are derived from the social orders to which they 'belong'; they amount to little more than their membership of, and participation in, any particular 'imagined community'. (Aksoy & Robins, 2002: 7-8)

Different structural conditions and contextual contingencies operate to limit some people's capacity to "reach across two cultures" (Bauman, 1996: 2) and proceed to freely, consciously, constantly and creatively select, negotiate and recombine the images and discourses channeled in the media (Georgiou, 2003: 14; Vertovec, 1999a: 24). Moreover, transnational connectivity and media made by and for minorities have been known to call for, and contribute to, the consolidation of conservative, essentialist, secessionist and even fundamentalist identity configurations – and not a cosmopolitan and tolerant attitude associated with takes on diaspora focusing on

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[69] Diasporic experiences are associated to the maintenance of multiple and de-centered ties to various spaces that all members inhabit, even if they experience them differentially (Tsagarousianou, 2004: 54; Georgiou, 2003: 56; Clifford, 2000: 245). These articulate contradictory feelings of tension, loss and hope that dislocations and processes of reterritorialization entail.

[70] The conventions concerning migration are usually drawn from a checklist proposed by Cohen (R. Cohen, 1995). They include: movement of a large amount of people, a shared degree of injustice, a sense of home remembered positively so as to remake the homeland if necessary, a movement of dispersal that is extended over a long long time, among other features (Marienstras 1989 in Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach 2011: 10) as well as the myth of a shared origin and past; a primordial and positive connection to "home" or other connections to the history and geography of the group (Georgiou, 2003: 16). Although Cohen tried to improve the criteria so as to make them more flexible and able to account for more variation, he was still criticized for grasping a reality that is based on flux and dynamic transformations in a "photographic", therefore static and momentaneous, way (Tsagarousianou 2004: 55). Ideal-types of movement and groups, as some authors noted (Anthias, 1998: 562; Georgiou, 2003: 16), always incur the danger of essentializing.

hybridity processes (Appadurai, 1991: 198; Dayan, 1998: 110; Featherstone 2001: 98; Georgiou, 2003: 14; Gillespie, 1995; Moring, 2006: 20; Morley, 2000: 122).

2.2.1.3 The usefulness of the notion of minority media

To conceptualize the role of radio projects produced in migratory contexts, it seemed more appropriate to use a middle-range concept (Merton, 1968) that would be both open enough to avoid presuppositions about the realities at stake but sufficiently specific to circumscribe the type of media phenomenon under study. Minority media, which has been used by various authors discussing the type of initiatives under study (ex: Cottle, 2000; Siapera, 2010; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005) besides similar media projects of non-migrant minorities (see the work of Faye Ginsburg (1991, 1994, 1997, 2000) or Alia and Bull (2005) on indigenous populations' media) presented such a possibility. Notably, in this study, minority media is not used in the perspective of authors discussing politicized contexts (e.g. Ginsburg, 1991; Napoli, 2001).[71] To construct the object of study, it seemed more productive to combine it with other well established notions that assist in thinking through the minority qualities associated with the media initiatives under study.

Among these are, first, mediascape and ethnoscape (Appadurai, 1991: 191), which concretely capture the dimensions of mobility, connectivity and proximity that render the concept of diaspora useful to discuss the mediations of diversity in migratory contexts.[72] "Small media" (Sreberny-Mohammadi & Mohammadi, 1994) is also useful to assess radio's secundarized place in mediascapes, as the author's discussion suggest media which occupies but a small space in the mediascapes can play significant roles.[73] This is further suggested by Dayan's (1998) discussion of

[71] Ginsburg (1991: 107) emphasizes the minority status of actors involved in production and consumption of "minority media", thereby encompassing both "indigenous *media"* and "ethnic minority *media"* in that category. Napoli (2001) also centers his analysis on the subordinated condition of minorities in terms of access to productions and issues of representation, namely in the USA.

[72] The notions of mediascape and ethnoscape emphasize precisely the overlapping of landscapes that intertwine, in this case, the diverse cartographies of media and cultural belonging. Simultaneously, they underline the importance of crisscrossed gazes informing all production, distribution, reception and the very way of conceiving of cultural "Others".

[73] Focusing on media such as cassette tapes and pamphlets, the authors concluded that citizen-produced, ran and distributed public forms of communication played a crucial role in the circulation

"particularistic media", which denotes the unique capability of these initiatives to mediate self-representation. Although focusing on these projects' roles in diversifying and fragmenting mediascapes by maintaining distinctive spaces,[74] Dayan indicates the ability these media have to respond to interests and express points of view that are situated. Such a capability to particularize can therefore cater to the emergence of relationships of belonging that minority media sometimes assist in creating and negotiating (referred to as hyphenated-identities and the pan-identities by authors like Matsaganis et al [2001] and Echchaibi [2002]).

The term "minority media" was ultimately particularly useful to qualify the station chosen as a case study. In practice, avoiding presuppositions of what kind of investments in ethnicity are at stake was important to understand Bright FM, which entertains a fluid relationship with ethnicity to the extent that dimension was, for the most part, not recognized or activated by the radio's producers. To be specific, Bright FM was explicitly presented as not constituting a collective effort to rework cultural identity although ethnicity was instrumentalized at times, as explored in chapter 4.1. Furthermore, Bright FM's audiences, which are relatively privileged populations, would hardly be considered ethnic both by themselves and other Portuguese and foreign residents in the Algarve – which makes it more useful to associate the adjective "minority" to media, and not to "ethnic" (apparent in the expression ethnic minority media). Additionally, there were no clear signs of fostering a diasporic mode

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of ideas and mobilization of people during the Islamic revolution in Iran, in the 1980s. The use of this concept is, however, distinct from the work of the authors. The point is not to highlight the participatory and civic nature underscoring the ability of media operating at more local scales and not through broadcast structures to conscientialize, politicize or mobilize people for causes. Instead, the term serves, first, to describe the mediascape, by alluding to a wide stock of media forms (i.e. not necessarily broadcast-based) coloring and participating in the relationships people establish with place and with each other, which are particularly catering to English-speakers in the Algarve. Additionally, as will be shown, it underscores radio's lesser salience in media diets and in the mediascape (through the allusion of "smallness") while capturing the significance of its role. To be sure, Sreberny-Mohammadi and Mohammadi (1994) highlight a "minor", yet not trivial, role for the media they examine.

[74] Dayan (1998) sustains that "particularistic media" segment audiences when focusing on different cultural references. For the author, these media maintain preexisting communities and fragment the mediascapes rather than having the power to muster "imagined communities" (Anderson 1989). Other authors have argued otherwise by showing how some mixed identities and pan-identities can be produced and sustained through the media as a result of common experiences in the context of residence (e.g. Ehchaibi 2002; Georgiou 2003) and by insisting that collectivities constantly rethink their frames of reference and common denominators.

of consciousness on air, despite the qualification of the British population (making up the majority of producers and consumers of Bright FM) as a diaspora (Finch, 2010). The term minority media operated as a useful theoretical tool to bind an object of study that challenges definition and circumscription.

The discussion now turns to the development of minority media in Europe and the research field that analyzes them.

2.2.2 Minority media in Europe

Minority media's emergence and operation result, in Europe, from the intensification of international mobility and subsequent diversification of urban contexts of residence, where such media tend to emerge (Fazal & Tsagarousianou, 2002; Georgiou, 2007). Projects are started as responses to the inability of available mainstream media to sufficiently address issues, concerns and interests that are particular to the minorities. On the one hand, national media tend to presuppose and reproduce images of a homogenous society, although efforts have been taken to more accurately represent the cultural diversity of the populations. On the other hand, transnational satellite and online media present perspectives from across national borders,[75] often missing the ability to address the situated realities migrants live in. This section explores the regulatory frameworks within Europe and in Portugal managing the representation of migrants in the public space and their possibilities to produce their own media.

2.2.2.1 Policy frameworks and the emergence of minority media

Ideological trends and the policies they inform set the context for minorities' presence in the mediascape to the extent that, on the one hand, they establish the approach to cultural diversity apparent in the mediascape, and, on the other hand, they regulate minority media projects' legal and financial support.

Immigration and initial concerns

[75] These include but are not restricted to broadcasts from the country of origin, through national channels with international broadcasts (such as RTPi in the case of Portugal), or through trasnationally oriented spaces like world news channels (such as Al-jazeera) or websites catering to diasporas.

The emergence of minority media is largely related to the dynamics of international mobility. In Europe,[76] the presence of guest-workers in the 1960s and 70s prompted governments to draft specific programming, in various languages, catering to their needs. Until the advent of satellite, migrants relied upon mainstream media for reports on current affairs in their home country, instructions about how to send money to their relatives, and other information regarding the "bare necessities of temporary settlement" (Matsaganis et al., 2011: 59; Tsagarousianou 2001). However, these media efforts, did not foster integration as workers were expected to return home after their contracts ended (Kosnick, 2007: 150; P. Lewis & Scifo, 2007: 38-39; Matsaganis et al., 2011: 189). The permanence of some immigrants and the arrival of others rendered it clear that policies to address their presence would have to be drawn. Since then, different attempts to regulate and include, as well as to reflect, diversity in the media have juggled ideologies promoting assimilation, anti-racism integration and pluralism.

These have been underscored by moral panics which were more apparent in the regulation of access to media from migrants' countries of origin. To be specific, transnational broadcast media, namely television channels (available through cable networks and satellite), have stirred debates about the ability of media to influence migrants' predispositions to integrate into the host society. As various authors discuss (Aksoy and Robins 2000; Georgiou 2012, 2005; Slade 2010; Madianou 2006; Georgiou 2012; Karim 1998; Olga Guedes Bailey et al., 2007: 2; Georgiou, 2005: 481-2), migrants' consumption of satellite television was believed to reinforce their ethnic attachments to the country, language and customs of origin. The consequences of such a forum for cultural retention would include discouraging migrants from trying to integrate and contribute to generating tensions amongst ethnic groups, thereby challenging social cohesion. These concerns about, ultimately, cultural identity and host societies' cultural stability, fueled not only moral panics but also effective measures to regulate and restrain broadcasts, namely since the mid -1990s

[76] The North American and Australian contexts have faced similar issues insofar as they are immigration contexts. However, their cases are significantly different to the extent the issues of media and cultural diversity also concern indigenous minorities: land ownership, social and political recognition, and cultural identity re-construction (for discussions see, for instance, Alia & Bull, 2005; Ginsburg, 1991, 1994b, 1997, 2000; Husband & Downing, 2005; Ruby, 1991; Turner, 2000).

(examples include the proposition of a ban of Arabic news channels in cable networks in Denmark and France, as Georgiou (2012: 2) and (Matsaganis et al., 2011: 138) note). These have not curbed consumption as viewers turned to satellite dishes (Matsaganis 2011: 138), but contribute to making satellite dishes symbols of segregation (Georgiou 2005) despite researchers' efforts to counter such concerns (Riggins, 1992: 276; Siapera, 2010: 101; EBU 2011: 17). Research has repeatedly documented that migrants' media diets are quite varied (as noted in Sreberny's suggestive title "Not only, but also"), the consumption of satellite media does not necessarily signify a straightforward identification but can entail a plural, critical mode of engagement deconstructing ideas of home (e.g. Aksoy and Robins 2000), and people's media consumption only partly inform their relation to the contexts they dwell in and/or symbolically inhabit (Matsaganis et al 2011).

If European responses to immigration initially presupposed assimilation (Horsti, 2009),[77] in terms of media policies, this meant restricting the use of foreign languages in the national public sphere. In the 1980s, as diversity became an undeniably intensifying reality, regulations changed. Measures were taken to assimilate new cultural voices into content content and production practices (e.g. unbiased journalistic reporting, educating the population about difference and including cultural "others" in the mediated national imaginaries, hiring minority professionals in media organizations) (Ferin, 2008: 26; Horsti, 2009: 9-10).

Multiculturalist policies

Despite these efforts, the failure to fulfill minorities' informative and entertainment interests and needs, coupled with a representation of foreign populations perceived as still unsatisfactory and unfair, contributed to the emergence of local minority media. Additionally, by the 1990s, both analysts and policy makers agreed that migrants would best be served by spaces to respond to their wants and

[77] These responses concern national policies and country-specific structures, contexts and dynamics, which bear most weight in defining the factors shaping minority media although they are informed by inter- and non-governmental organizations working at a supra-national level (e.g. UNESCO and the Council of Europe) which establish frameworks of policy and practice (Matsaganis et al. 2011: 175; Georgiou 2005: 484).

cater to their tastes, quite literally in their terms (and languages) giving them visibility. In some countries, subsidies were awarded for minority media initiatives, as societies were seen to benefit from these additions to the mediascape (Blion, 2009: 65; Kosnick, 2007: 151-152). Such policies gave rise to initiatives like Radio Multikulti, a state-funded station which operated from 1994 to 2008 in Berlin with broadcasts housing shows from various migrant populations, in their languages (Kosnick, 2007; Vertovec, 2000).

These multiculturalist strategies, which yielded a linguistic and cultural mosaic in the mediascapes, were criticized for reinforcing compartmentalization and tolerance (instead of acceptance) of cultural difference (Sreberny, 2005: 444). In addition to the lack of communication resulting from the multiplicity of television and radio programs and channels catering to specific populations, inclusion of diversity in mainstream media translated into casting migrant media practitioners to perform jobs on the basis of their ethnicity – a criticism that would still be valid today.[78] The burden of representation has weighed on practitioners performing the minority role on sitcoms and soap operas,[79] writing drama scripts about cultural encounters, and reporting on ethnic topics. Sreberny (2005: 447) designates this process as a "ghettoization" of minority and migrant media practitioners in mainstream media, for individuals are perceived as a members of a cultural group before being considered as media practitioners (Kosnick 2007: 151-152), thereby blurring the differences between a "journalist that happens to be black" and a "black journalist" to use Clint Wilson II's (2000: 97) phrasing.

In this sense, multiculturalist policies have, ultimately, reflected the problems of cultural relativism: by ushering people to turn to their own groups and traditions they favor the essentialization of cultures and the fragmentation of both the social life and the mediascape (Hall 2001 in Georgiou 2005: 487; Horsti, 2009; Sreberny, 2005: 443). As such, multiculturalism's underlying premises unfoundedly conceive of

[78] See the campaign explicitly asking "the Western World" to question stereotypes of African (-origin) men in Hollywood filmes promoted by the organization Mama Hope: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qSElmEmEjb4

[79] Well-identified stereotypes of black people, for example, present them as entertainers, dependents or troublemakers (Cottle citing a number of studies 2000: 8).

culture as a set of unchanging rules people fully and homogenously live by, instead of resulting from contextual, contingent choices that integrate larger processes of identity construction and are relational in nature, for

> … culture is 'not an imposition of fixed and normed identities, but a dialogical process ***of*** making sense with and through others' (Baumann, 1999: 117) so that 'different cultural identifications can and will, in a multicultural society, cut across each other's reified boundaries' (1999: 119). (Baumann cited in Sreberny 2005: 444)

Additionally, these policies also shed light on the backdrop in which minority media have operated and on some dynamics that minority projects have also emerged to cope with. For example, the preference for "safe" topics in mainstream media, which generally shun xenophobic representations and praise stories of successful integration have been noted to unhelpfully reproduce superficial portrayals of minorities. Such well-intentioned efforts provide illustrations of cultural celebration rather than sites for participated dialogue about cultural differences and encounters (Moylan 2008: 110). Moreover, they contribute to reifying the alterity of those represented instead of deconstructing it (Blion, 2009: 66; Cottle, 2000b: 11; Husband & Downing, 2005: 30; Sreberny, 2005: 540-2). Additionally, such representations also implicitly suggest that social inequalities do not play into representations of cultural difference, which thwarts efforts to tackle social conflicts (Cottle, 2000: 8; Siapera, 2010: 2).[80] To that extent, diversity is mainstreamed: allowed insofar as it does not challenge structures of power (Ruby, 1991: 61). As is discussed in section 2.2.3, minority media projects are uniquely positioned to counter such simplistic representations and their implications. Such criticisms to strategies of representation remain pertinent despite policies that emphasize on cultural diversity.

Cultural Diversity in focus

To overcome multiculturalism's shortcomings, policies generally shifted towards a more inclusive approach to cultural diversity that contemplates intercultural dialogue and rests on the idea that cultures and identities are dynamic. To be sure, programs drafted to foster cultural diversity (such as the Compendium of Cultural

[80] An interesting example studied is "The Cosby Show" which illustrates little about social structures underlying the everyday lives of the protagonists and, therefore, ultimately suggest that if other black people live different and worse lives, they are not trying enough (Cottle, 2000: 31).

Policies and Trends in Europe, a project developed by the European Institute for Comparative Cultural Research in partnership with the Council of Europe to collect information and monitor national cultural policies) provide working definitions of these notions. Cultural diversity is seen as pertaining to:

> a) the *pluralistic ethno-cultural or linguistic identity and origin* of cultural creators, producers, distributors and audiences;
>
> b) a *diversity of artistic and other cultural content* which, in principle, *diverse audiences* can have access to through the media or other distribution channels;
>
> c) the *diversity of actors* which are responsible for or involved in decision-making and regulating in different fields of the arts, the media and heritage(s), particularly as regards funding artists and their works." (emphasis in the original) (Available on-line: http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/cultural-diversity.php [last accessed August 26th, 2013]).

Complementarily, intercultural dialogue presumes and fosters multi-directional communication for the sake of transformation of those interacting and for the sake of the possibility of creating new cultural expressions that ultimately result, for example, in changed behavior patterns. In that sense, it

> is a process that comprises an open and respectful exchange between individuals, groups and organizations with different cultural backgrounds or world views (…) to develop a deeper understanding of different perspectives and practices; to increase participation (or the freedom to make choices); to ensure equality; and to enhance creative processes. Such dialogue ideally takes place in a 'shared space' where attempts are made to address unequal power relations between those belonging to majority/minority groups." (Available on-line at http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/intercultural-dialogue.php) [last accessed August 26th, 2013])

Based on the premise that integration is necessary for social cohesion, the current policy priorities include securing the recognition of minority identities, avoiding misrepresentation of Others, and reconstructing representations of mediascapes and societies as inherently plural. More specifically, legal efforts concerning media and cultural diversity implicitly sustain three encompassing principles to manage cultural diversity in the media: the prevention of hate speech and racist as well as xenophobic remarks,[81] the promotion of diversity and inclusiveness,[82]

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[81] Documents focusing this realm include the Council of Europe's

Parliamentary Assembly's Recommendation 1768 (2006) The image of asylum seekers, migrants and refugees in the media (available online at http://assembly.coe.int/main.asp?Link=/documents/adoptedtext/ta06/erec1768.htm [retrieved 4th July 2013]

the Reccomendaton No. R (97) 20 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on "Hate Speech" (available online at http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/hrpolicy/other_committees/dh-lgbt_docs/CM_Rec%2897%2920_en.pdf [retrieved 4th July 2013]).

and the stimulation of intercultural dialogue.[83] They are specifications of general principles advocated in the European Convention of Human Rights of 1953 (which, in article 10, stipulates that any person has the right to freedom of opinion and expression as well as the right to receive and transmit information, through any type of media, and across borders)[84] and the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (which establishes confirms "the right of migrant workers to

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[82] Such documents include the Council of Europe's

- Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (available online at http:// http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/157.htm [retrieved 4th July 2013]);

- European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (available online at http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/148.htm [retrieved 4th July 2013]);

- Recommendation 1277 (1995) on migrants, ethic minorities and media (available online at http://assembly.coe.int/Main.asp?link=http://assembly.coe.int/Documents/AdoptedText/ta95/EREC1277.htm [retrieved 4th July 2013])

- Reccomendation CM/Rec(2007)2 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on media pluralism and diversity of media content, (available online at https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=1089699 [retrieved on 4th July 2013]

[83] These documents include: a) the political documents adopted at the 7th European Ministerial Conference on Mass Media Policy (Kyiv, March 2005) on "Integration and Diversity: the new frontiers of European Media and Communications policy" (available online at: http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/media/doc/MCM%282005%29005_en.pdf [retrieved 4th July 2013]); b) Reccomendaton No. R (97) 21 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on The Media and the Promotion of a Culture of Tolerance (available online at http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/hrpolicy/other_committees/dh-lgbt_docs/CM_Rec%2897%2921_en.pdf [retrieved 4th July 2013]). In more general terms, including but going beyond the media, the Council of Europe also put forth:

- the Declaration on Intercultural Dialogue and Conflict Prevention adopted at Conference of the European Ministers of Culture - 20 - 22 October 2003 in Opatija, Croatia (available at http://www.coe.int/T/E/Com/Files/Ministerial-Conferences/2003-Culture/declaration.asp [retrieved 4th July 2013]);

- the Faro Declaration on the Strategy for Developing Intercultural Dialogue (available at http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/CulturalConvention/Source/FARO_DECLARATION_Definitive_Version_EN.pdf [retrieved 4th July 2013]);

- the White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue (available online at http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/publication_whitepaper_id_en.asp [retrieved 4th July 2013]);

[84] The text of the convention is available online at: http://www.gddc.pt/direitos-humanos/textos-internacionais-dh/tidhregionais/conv-tratados-04-11-950-ets-5.html [last accessed September 20th 2013].

receive, as far as possible, regular information in their own language, covering both their country of origin and the host country")[85].

Underlying these concerns is the idea that media has a role to play in the symbolic inclusion of migrants into host societies by acting as a social and cultural institution that intervenes directly into the processes of meaning making about everyday life while enabling the participation in economic, social and other processes. As Georgiou notes, this approach entailed a revision of a conception of social exclusion as based on static, simplistic and economic-oriented definitions of poverty so as to understand the complexities that underscore it, such as mechanisms of inequality articulating divisions in gender, ethnicity, age, and so on. Nevertheless, the author argues for a greater recognition of the cultural and the quotidian dimensions in the concept of exclusion. She argues that informal processes can weigh on everyday lives along with structures operating to exclude migrants. Subsequently, she holds media can have a role to play when considering those material and symbolic frames together:

> More recently, debates on exclusion have highlighted its complexity but there is still an underestimation of the cultural and the everyday. The dimension of the cultural highlights the need for a discourse for tackling exclusion that considers formal and institutional processes – like employment, education – as well as informal and communication processes that take place in everyday life. (…) debate around exclusion and the media highlights the continuous and everyday character that exclusion can take and suggests that the informal mechanisms of communication and cultural engagement in everyday life are necessary for tackling it (…) The social divisions based on ethnicity, gender, disability etc. relate to both material and symbolic processes (Anthias, 2001). This means that ICTs and the media have a dual role as mechanisms that enable or obstruct participation in economic processes and as mechanisms that tied to ideas, ideologies, stereotyping and cultural procedures that directly or indirectly maximize or minimize boundaries around groups. Legislation on citizenship, culture and communication is also then relevant to the processes of recognition and inclusion (Georgiou 2003: 18-19)

In practice, the ideas of enabling and fostering inclusion through the promotion of ideologies fighting exclusion and through the transformation of the media in tools to engage with economic and social processes are apparent in programs that index the positive impact that representations can have in the mediation of cultural diversity. For example, programs like Media4Us[86], Media for Diversity

[85] The conference took place in Helsinki in 1975 and gathered the High Representatives of various European countries, including Portugal. The text is available online at: http://www.osce.org/mc/39501?download=true [last accessed September 20th 2013].

[86] Media4us (Media for us) aims to enhance the general public's perception on migration by making immigrants and their integration efforts more visible in society. The project lasted from 2011-2013

Inclusiveness European (MEDIANE)[87] and Media for Diversity and Migrant Integration[88], which resonate with the work of NGOs (e.g. the Mediam'Rad initiative[89]), actively engage not only with the prevention of racism and xenophobia but, particularly, with attempts to raise awareness of the inequalities that migrants face, for the sake of an enhanced mutual understanding among different populations (see Ferin et al 2009: 34-37 for a review of earlier programs). The point, which was already stated as an advice to policy making in 1968, in a report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders of the USA, is to address issues of inequality:

> major concern with the news media is not in riot reporting as such, but in a failure to report adequately on race relations and ghetto problems . . . In defining, explaining and reporting this broader, more complex and ultimately far more fundamental subject the communications media, ironically, have failed to communicate. (Kerner 1968: 382 cited in Cottle, 2000: 8)

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and was funded by the European Union's Integration Fund for Third Country Nationals. It aimed to encourage immigrants' participation in the democratic process, by developing a transnational comprehensive new multi-media strategy that fostered the presentation of views and opinions of immigrants on national and local developments in national media outlets, national round tables in which immigrants exchange their views and opinions with consultative bodies, local authorities and others, in order to enhance the general public's perception on migration. The outcomes of the project are available in its website, "Perspectives": http://www.media4us.eu/ [accessed August 13th, 2013].

[87] The project is a joint European Union (EU)/Council of Europe (CoE) initiative aiming to increase diversity in the media so as to counter the invisibility and misrepresentations of some populations. It offered the media and their professionals (journalism students and trainers, journalists, media managers, etc.) the opportunity of committing themselves to sharing professional practices, either during European or thematic encounters or on one-to-one basis, through European Exchanges, and through the construction of a Media Index on diversity inclusiveness. Whilst indirectly, minority media have been supported through this initiative.

[88] The MEDIVA project seeks to strengthen the capacity of the media to reflect the increasing diversity of European societies and thus foster a better understanding of immigrant integration processes at a time when social cohesion and integration policies are put to the test by an acute economic crisis. The method consists of consolidating media knowledge and assessing media practices across the EU (namely by creating a searchable database of studies and projects assessing the media capacity to reflect diversity and promote migrant integration (looking at 5 aspects: content of news, news making and program production, recruitment, employment, training) and connect the people involved in a network.

[89] Mediam'Rad is a joint initiative of the Italian NGO for human rights COSPE, the Dutch migrant association Mira Media and the French research institute PANOS. The goal is to promote partnerships and collaborations between minority and mainstream media so that the first can provide expert knowledge in dealing with issues that are increasingly challenging in Europe. (Matsaganis et al, 2011: 17). Authors such as Kosnick (2007: 151) have reported on similar initiatives in places like Berlin (Kosnick, 2007: 151),

Such programs then give texture to the idea of promotion of diversity inclusion and of intercultural dialogue by, first, focusing on balanced, alternative and above all complex representations.[90] They materialize and extend Cottle's idea about erroneous, negative and pernicious images:

> media representations of 'race' are a product of social and discursive processes mediated through established cultural forms; they are not a foregone conclusion and they most certainly are not beyond challenge or change." (Cottle 2000:10).

For example, transcultural appeals consist of promoting more humanistic representations of cultural "others", as people who do good and bad things like everyone else, so as to advance awareness and understanding of the cultural Other, ultimately fostering identification (MEDIVA 6-7). Additionally, mainstream media's role in fostering inclusion can be related to: providing information for immigrants and minorities without segregating them as audiences; representing them proportionally, adequately and without defamation in all genres (and not only news); employing migrants in all levels; and the way immigration and migrants are constructed in relation to the host society (European Broadcasting Union - Strategic Information Service, 2011: 17).

In line with European guidelines to promote the inclusion of diversity, in Portugal journalists have been regularly receiving training,[91] so as to improve reporting (e.g. contextualizing events in a neutral fashion, not revealing the nationalities of people reported on in situations of conflict, and seeking sources among migrants' associations' leaders so as to complement the perspectives provided by the police and the authorities regulating border control and foreigners entrance in the country) (Cunha et al., 2004: 97, 2006). Additionally, recruitment policies have tried to include minority members in production structures (Ferin e Cunha, 2008: 26).

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[90] Two examples of media products succeeding in giving realistic, sensitive, humorous and deep depictions of migrants and minorities are the British television sitcom "Goodness Gracious Me" and mini-series "White Teeth" (EBU 2011:18).

[91] Recognizing the importance of media to fight stereotypes and foster interculturality in the Presidency of the Council of Ministers Resolution nº 63-A/2007, a series of initiatives have been sponsored, such as seminars about Media, Immigration and Diversity for journalists so as to improve reporting. These seminars were organized by ACIDI, the High Commissary for Immigration and Intercultural dialogue in partnership with CENJOR, the center for journalists' training, in early 2010 in Faro, Porto and Coimbra. Resonating with the MEDIVA's program strategies (MEDIVA 6-7), all universities, associations, journalist trade unions collaborated to enhance reporters' knowledge of immigratin realities (i.e. legal matters).

In spite of the predominance of stories associating migrants to crime, illegality and sensationalist narratives based on security concerns, the latter are not only presented as perpetrators but also as victims (Ferin Cunha et al., 2008: 114). Similarly, migrants are increasingly present not only in news bulletins, but also advertisements, documentaries and fiction genres, [92] besides being featured in television and radio programs that focus on their contribution to making the 21st century Portugal (e.g. "*Nós*" (RTP1) and, "*Gente Como Nós*" (TSF).

However, there are shortcomings to these policies. For example, most have no binding power provided they are usually put forth by the Council of Europe. More importantly, policies are universally concerned with all minorities, whether characterized by religious faiths, sexual orientation, physical and/or mental disabilities, etc. Projects fostering the right to self-expression, such as the aforementioned MEDIVA program, promote increased access to media production by providing training, assisting with networking and facilitating exchanges. They target cultural, linguistic, ethnic, religious or other minorities with the same goal of enriching the public arena with a plurality of presences, histories and perspectives. Horsti (2009) underlines that this new narrative can be dangerous to the extent that efforts to fight against exclusion and power inequalities of cultural minorities lose strength amidst so much diversity.[93]

To be specific, it is unclear "what counts" as diversity in terms of the limits to the expression of different ways of thinking and being. As equality supersedes positive discrimination, migrants in positions of need lose leverage to balance slanted opportunity structures.[94] What is more, as intercultural dialogue poses various obstacles to mutual understanding, and requires shared responsibility for the cultural

[92] Although advertisements in foreign languages, usually target migrant populations, nationally produced soap operas also have started to reflect on intercultural relations and national history (for example, in "*Fascínios*" (TVi) the Portuguese connection to Goa and India is explored).

[93] Other authors extend the argument while similarly criticizing the concealment of processes of power differences (e.g. (Titley & Lentin, 2008).

[94] Sreberny's (2005: 450-2) interviewees provide a good example: even though they felt that minority practitioners often hardly stand on the same footing of their colleagues in commercial media enterprise, they were unable to earn special funding for their projects because of such equality standards.

encounter to be transformative (Appadurai, 2006; Cabecinhas & Cunha, 2008), diversity becomes a matter of competence (Horsti, 2009). One is supposed to learn how to deal with it and racism is presented as an individual problem (despite instances of institutionalized "new" or "subtle" racism, as it is called).

These aspects, which shape the context in which minority media operate, therefore complicate the possibility to present critical perspectives on culturally diverse social realities. Cultural diversity discourses establish cultural difference is something to celebrate, but at the same time suggest that it can be a problem that must be managed. In that sense, the discourse also feeds the illusion that social tensions and fault lines are rooted in recent post-immigration realities, as if European societies were ever neatly organized and harmonious (European Broadcasting Organization - Strategic Information Service, 2011:17). This has not prevented – and partly seems to respond to - strikingly essentialized representations of cultural Others resurfacing after September 11.

Other factors informing policy frameworks

On a final note, it must be underlined that policies interact with other structuring dynamics, which are equally ideological, such as global markets and media concentration and deregulation processes. Moved by competition, the latter contribute to shaping, for example, the availability of international and transnational media in various contexts. Moreover, these processes have led to public funding cuts by triggering a decrease in governmental financial support to the locally produced media initiatives under study (Georgiou, 2007: 24; 2003: Horsti, 2009: 9).[95] For

[95] To account for the different situations across the world in which policies result from political and/or economic interests, Riggins (1992: 8-9) proposed five models:

The Ingerationist model awards minorities with government funding so as to foster a feeling of closeness to the favorable state. Yet, the policy focuses on populations with little proficiency in the host country's language and requires monitoring. Such a "superficial commitment to multiculturalism" has been applied in Australia and is compatible with the second model.

The Economic Model, or "Shallow Multiculturalism", is oriented to the economic benefits that policies may yield more than it is concerned with cultural preservation. Investments in a better educated population are expected to translate into a more productive working force and higher Gross Domestic Product. Giving the example of Canada, who took a long time to grant licenses for minority language

initiatives with less financial support, production costs become prohibitive, and media projects have thus often emerged in the commercial sector, or have had to turn to advertising revenue to fund their operations despite often resembling community media projects (Lewis, 2008; Riggins, 1992). Some authors criticize the dwindling governmental support by noting that advertising interests funding operations can impact on the media's work (Kosnick, 2007), as is common across the world with other minority media (Alia & Bull, 2005; Naficy, 1993, Siapera, 2005).[96] Some media practitioners and multicultural and media associations therefore mobilized and submitted a "Manifesto for Minority Community Media" to the Council of Europe in 2004. It called for the legal recognition and support of initiatives produced within member states and pertaining to "immigrant and other ethnic minority communities" (Echchaibi, 2011: 53; Georgiou 2003: 44). [97]

2.2.2.2 The space and place for minority media

Specific recommendations on minority media enterprises have been put forth at a European level for the cases of ventures that operate as community media. This followed a trend of researching, protecting and promoting citizens' media. Studies

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media and highly regulates them, the author argues such multiculturalism policies ultimately promote, then, a transition into assimilation.

The "Divisive Model" consists of a governmental strategy to create tensions between two groups, as it happened in Algeria under French colonial rule.

The "Preemptive Model" concerns the creation of minority media by the state before initiatives emerge so as to secure some control. In this way France prevented the establishment of Basque and Breton projects, for example, until the *rádios libres* that were born in response were legalized in the early 1980s (Cheval cited in Matsaganis et al., 2011: 195).

Finally the "Proselytism Model" pertains to attempts of targeting minority audiences with political, religious or other approaches that are strongly based on values.In Southern Chile *Mapuche* Indians were reached out to through the Catholic Church, for example (Browne, 2007 cited in Matsaganis et al, 2011:197).

[96] Nevertheless, Siapera (2010: 103), notes the political strings and bureaucratic obstructions that governmental funding also burdens production with (e.g. the political agenda underlying the Korean TV in the USA and the aboriginal media in Australia are examples of this).

[97] Provided the NGO organizing the drafting and signing of the Manifesto no longer has its website, where the Manifesto was available, online (http://www.multicultural.net/manifesto/index.htm [accessed 8 August 2008]), the text is added as Appendix IV. Several references to the Manifesto, both online and in the literature (e.g. Echchaibi (2011: 53-54), Georgiou (2003:), mention the aforementioned link.

have been commissioned by the Council of Europe and the UNESCO since the 1970s to map and conceptualize citizens' access to media production, as some titles' denote (Berrigan's "Access: some Western models of community media" in 1977; Bordernave's "Communication and rural development" in 1977; Beaud's "Community media?" in 1980) (Jiménez & Scifo, 2010; P. Lewis, 2008).

To be sure, community media, often referred to as the "third sector" are media that have neither commercial nor public service purposes per se and that respond to the interests and needs of specific populations (whether circumscribed by geography or interest). Despite many possible designations and formats,[98] they can largely be characterized by a non-profit orientation, community ownership and control, and the constant encouragement for participation from the community itself.[99]

In Europe community media are largely related to disadvantaged minorities, among which many are migrants (Lewis 2008: 27). Accordingly, more recently, mappings specifically include minority media. Moreover, steps taken towards policy

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[98] Different designations relate to the contexts in which such media emerged and the way in which they responded to those contexts, which entail ideological options. As discussed by Lewis (2008: 11-12) and Scifo and Jimenez (2010: 1-2), free, pirate, associative, community, local, neighborhood, participatory, radical, citizens', alternative are some adjectives used to qualify these initiatives. At times designations more clearly specify the populations being catered (student, university, campus, hospital, diasporic, ethnic media).

[99] One relevant definition is made on the Declaration of the Committee of Ministers on the role of community media in promoting social cohesion and intercultural dialogue, adopted at the 1048th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies held on 11th February 2009:

"Community media may share to a greater or lesser extent some of the following characteristics:

• Independence from government, commercial and religious institutions and political parties;

• A not-for-profit nature;

• Voluntary participation of members of civil society in the devising and management of programs;

• Activities aiming at social gain and community benefit;

• Ownership by and accountability to the communities of place and/or of interest which they serve;

•Commitment to inclusive and intercultural practices" (available online at https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=1409919 , accessed 16.09.2014).

The definition is helpful because it signals the possible variation within these principles, for initiatives are not always entirely not-for-profit or voluntary based, for example, provided they aim at social gain.

making in support of community media also address minority community media (see Jiménez & Scifo [2010: 5-6] for a review). Overtime, and in combination, they have stressed the importance of minority community media for social cohesion and intercultural dialogue besides urging states to create policies in support of the establishment of community media.

The most significant of these documents are the Declaration of the Committee of Ministers on the role of community media in promoting social cohesion and intercultural dialogue,[100] and the European Parliament's resolution on Community Media in Europe (2008/2011(INI).[101] As Jimenez and Scifo (2010: 6-7) note, these have found some echo on other resolutions of the European Parliament (namely on media concentration and the importance of supporting community media for the sake of media pluralism[102]) and on the European Commission's rationale to develop a Media Pluralism Monitoring instrument (recognizing that obstacles to the existence and operation of minority community media, such as lack of legal framework and financial support, hinder cultural media pluralism – a standpoint shared by researchers as well (e.g. Matsaganis et al 2011: 191; Figueiredo 2003: 12). Although not binding, the EU Parliament's resolution establishes a standpoint about community media (and, therefore, minority community media) when it:

> 1. Stresses that community media are an effective means of strengthening cultural and linguistic diversity, social inclusion and local identity, which explains the diversity of the sector;
>
> 2. Points out that community media help to strengthen the identities of specific interest groups, while at the same time enabling members of those groups to engage with other groups in society, and therefore play an important role in fostering tolerance and pluralism in society and contribute to intercultural dialogue;
>
> 3. Stresses also that community media promote intercultural dialogue by educating the general public, combating negative stereotypes and correcting the ideas put forward by the mass media regarding communities within society threatened with exclusion, such as refugees, migrants, Roma and other ethnic and religious minorities; stresses that community media are one of the existing means of facilitating the integration of immigrants and also enabling disadvantaged members of society to become active participants by engaging in debates that are important to them;

[100] Adopted at the 1048th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies held on 11th February 2009, it is available online at https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=1409919, accessed 16.09.2014.

[101] Available online at http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P6-TA-2008-0456+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN (accessed 16.09.2014).

[102] Resolution on Concentration and Pluralism in the Media in the European Union.

…

15. Advises Member States, without causing detriment to traditional media, to give legal recognition to community media as a distinct group alongside commercial and public media where such recognition is still lacking;

16. Calls on the Commission to take into account community media as an alternative, bottom-up solution for increasing media pluralism when designing indicators for media pluralism;

17. Calls on Member States to support community media more actively in order to ensure media pluralism, provided that such support is not to the detriment of public media;

18. Stresses the role that may be played by local, regional and national authorities in supporting and promoting community media by providing suitable infrastructure, together with support within the context of programs encouraging exchanges of best practice, such as the Community "Regions for Economic Change" (formerly Interreg) program;

19. Calls on Member States to make television and radio frequency spectrum available, both analogue and digital, bearing in mind that the service provided by community media is not to be assessed in terms of opportunity cost or justification of the cost of spectrum allocation but rather in the social value it represents;

21. Recognizes that the sector could make more use of Community funding schemes in so far as they contribute to the objectives of community media, through the implementation of a number of specific programmes, such as those of the European Regional Development Fund and the European Social Fund as well as the opportunities for educating and training journalists through the Lifelong Learning Programs and others; stresses, however, that funding must come principally from national, local and other sources;

2.2.2.3 Legal framework for minority radio in Portugal

Discussions about minority media are largely absent in Portugal. In addition to two studies focusing on minority media - the national report for the European project "Diasporic Minorities and their Media in the EU: a Mapping" (Figueiredo, 2003),[103] and a study commissioned by the High Commissioner for Migration and Intercultural Dialogue[104] (Salim, 2008) – there are only a few Undergraduate and Masters's dissertations (e.g. (Brito, 2013; Teixeira, 2006) and the occasional section on media addressing migrants in more encompassing reports on media sectors (e.g. Bastos et al., 2009; Rebelo, 2008). Other contributions focus on other mediations than broadcast ventures (namely, rap and hip-hop music among Afro-descendants in Lisbon that discuss issues of visibility and inclusion through these media practices)

[103] The EMTEL: *European Media and Technology Everday Life Network* was a project financed by the European Union and coordinated by Dr. Myria Georgiou and Professor Roger Silverstone from the London School of Economics. Spanning between 2000 e 2003, it brought togheter partners such as the Universities from Liége, Brussels, Amsterdam, Delft, Trondheim (Georgiou, 2003: 3).

[104] The entity is now designated High Commissioner for Migrations (*Alto Comissariado para as Migrações*).

(Simões & Campos 2011) - which, however, is only related generically to migrations involving Portugal. Even less directly, in an effort to centralize information about different media projects related generically to migrations involving Portugal, researchers at the Center of Studies on Migration and Intercultural Relations (CEMRI, Universidade Aberta, Lisbon) created a database of images and sonorities. This includes but is hardly restricted to initiatives by, with and for migrants. [105]

Most studies analyzing the mediation of migration concern the representations of migrants in mainstream media (Ferin Cunha, Policarpo, Monteiro, & Figueiras, 2002; Ferin Cunha, Santos, Valdigem, & Filho, 2006; Ferin Cunha & Santos, 2004; FIlho, 2008; Lisboa, 2010; A. M. Oliveira et al., 2010; F. Oliveira, 2012; Ormond & Cádima, 2003; C. A. Santos, 2005) although some researchers focus on the reception and reaction to the latter (Carvalheiro, 2006) - namely through the use of social media to comment on representations channeled by main newspapers (Cruz, 2013). Additionally, some studies have focused on the importance of (national and transnational) media consumption in the process of settlement and cultural identity (re)construction of migrants (namely from Nepal (Branco, 2012) and Brazil (Valdigem, 2006).

The scarcity of studies about minority media is not surprising given that concerns with migrants' media expressions are most common in countries that have been traditionally immigration destinations (Matsaganis et al., 2011: 265) which has only been the case of Portugal, most evidently, since the mid 1970s. [106] Existing

[105] The project was founded in 2008 by researchers working with CEMRI (Center of Studies on Migration and Intercultural Relations), based at Universidade Aberta (Lisbon). The database is meant to enhance immaterial heritage related to migrations and Portugal as well as to develop an openly editable platform that promotes a deeper reading of the materials referenced, the realities they showcase and their production dynamics to be used potentially as a teaching tool. All projects listed are meant for the general public, thus including but not being restricitd to migrant audiences. If some concern migrant and minority populations in Portugal, others focus on cases of Portuguese emigration. It is available online on http:// ism.itacaproject.com [last accessed June 19th 2015].

[106] Immigration in Portugal became a significant political reality since the mid 70s, when a lot of Portuguese returned from the former colonies as these underwent Independence movements. Migrants arriving from Cape-Verde, Angola and Mozambique were joined by Brazilians in the 1980s. Yet, it was in the late 90s that the biggest waves of immigration were felt. Big construction works (such as the infrastructure for the world exhibition, Expo '98, and the stadiums for the European Football Cup in 2004) attracted people from Eastern Europe, who had just been granted circulation rights in the EU.

studies document the importance of media in contexts of Portuguese emigration, which was more discussed previously and has been resurfacing in the past few years. They explore the media produced by and for Portuguese living abroad – in Canada (Silvano et al. 2012); USA (Ferreira 2009); Argentina (Moura 2010b); France (Antunes Da Cunha 2002; Antunes 2002); and Brazil (Lepetri 2011). Related to these dynamics, the circulation between Portugal, Brazil and other Lusophone contexts has inspired research about communication in the diaspora as well as the mediated relations and constructions of Lusophony in intercultural contexts, which is not new.[107]

Accordingly, there is no legal category or exception that safeguards migrant and minority communities' access to media production. Portugal has also not yet adopted community media into their national policies and mediascapes. Nevertheless, there is no legal impediment preventing community-oriented media to exist[108] or preventing foreigners from producing media. The restrictions in the previous constitution thwarting the possibility of migrants owning media in Portugal have been gradually lifted with the negotiations for Portugal's entrance in the European Economic Community.[109] The Radio Law change in 2001 to transform the obligation

[107] One illustrative publication focused on the Lusophone connections is Anuário Internacional de Comunicação Lusófona (http://www.lusocom.org/pt/pag/livros/) , which had various issues about "*Lusofonia* and the Network Society", "Lusofonia and the Culture-World", "Public Media and Lusophone Media Spaces" and "Interfaces of Lusofonia", between 2010 and 2014.

[108] According to the latest mapping of community media in Europe, which was conducted in 2012 by the Community Media Forum Europe (CMFE) and the European Platform of Regulatory Authorities, Portugal had only three stations registered as community radios (http://communitymedia.se/europe/table.htm [last accessed on April 27th 2013], out of an European total of 2237, and was not one of the 17 countries legally acknowledging community media. These stations are possibly the three university radio stations identified in the report commissioned by the Council of Europe (Lewis, 2008), which are granted a special license resembling community media in that they are forbidden to include publicity, can only broadcast self-produced content and must serve the local population (Radio Law 54/2010, Article 9). They could also be the three stations registered with the European Section of the World's Association of Community Radio (AMARC), which include an association supporting migrants (Associação ACE-Etnia) and two stations (http://amdb.amarc.org/public_list2.php?admreg=EOU [last accessed Aprl 27th 2013]).

[109] The original version of the 1976 Constitution prohibited foreigners from owning publications and, subsequently, restricted ownership of journalistic companies, for example. Although permissions regarding publications changed already in 1982, they were only fully cleared for television in 1998. Currently, there are no hindrances for owning radio, press, television or journalistic companies. Differentiated treatment seems to consist mostly of considering publications owned by non-Europeans as "foreign publications". whereas In contrast, any European citizen is treated as a

to promote Portuguese language, culture and identity into a general guideline also contributed to this openness.[110]

If, as Karim (1998: 6) notes, the matter of a place for minority media in the legal framework and in the national mediascape is not straightforward in general, in southern European countries it has been particularly complicated (Gaya 2002 cited in Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach 2011: 191). Similarly to Spain, Italy or Greece, Portugal was traditionally an emigration country and took some time to adjust its legislation to the recent reality of having become an immigration country. As such, recognizing the number of migrants in the media only became an issue after the entrance in the new century, following the recent arrival of more numerous immigrants.

The preoccupations with alignment with directives such as UNESCO's 2005 Convention on Cultural Diversity and related recommendations by the Council of Europe,[111] resulted in specifying concerns with the protection of interests and rights of minorities, children, young and under-represented groups in media reforms (Sousa & Costa e Silva 2009: 95-96). This is felt, namely, in the work of the ACIDI, which supports the Presidency of the Council of Ministers in the drafting, execution and evaluation of policies. Founded in 1996 under a different name, the office has made communication a priority and has taken measures to improve migrants' access to information about legislation and support (for instance by establishing a direct SOS Migrant phone line in 2003), promoting awareness of cultural diversity through its publications (a bulletin and a series of studies and dissertations which it commissions and supports), providing journalists with content (press releases, photographs, etc.) of events in addition to training on cultural diversity reporting, sponsoring a television

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Portuguese national (under law Nr. 18/2003, of June 11th, that stipulates free competition and trade amonst European Union members).

[110] This guideline is explicit in Article 32 of the Radio Law, on the general duties of radio operators, clause f, and Article 6 of the same Law, point 1, on the cooperation between the public broadcasting service and the other radio operators.

[111] Pertinent recommendations include Nr. 1277 on migrants, ethnic minorities and the media (1995) (http://assembly.coe.int/Main.asp?link=http://assembly.coe.int/Documents/AdoptedText/ta95/EREC1277.htm [last accessed on April 27th 2013]) and Nr. 1768 on the image of asylum seekers, migrants and refugees in the media (http://www.assembly.coe.int/ASP/XRef/X2H-DW-XSL.asp?fileid=17482&lang=EN [last accessed on April 27th 2013])

and radio program advocating for intercultural dialogue (*"Nós"*) and fostering media initiatives for programs meant to prevent criminality and to foster the integration of youngsters residing in vulnerable neighborhoods (e.g. *Radioactive* project in program *Escolhas*[112]). Significantly, it has also put forth recommendations to improve the representation of migrants in mainstream media, such as the position papers on references to ethnicity, nationality or religion in news pieces[113] and comedic pieces,[114] or the comments on the revisions of Radio Law, which is directly relevant to this study.[115] Additionally, regulating and monitoring bodies' tools to enforce media operators' accountability to pluralism guidelines became more concrete (i.e. clearer assessment criteria (Sousa & Costa e Silva 2009: 96).[116]

More consequentially, the Radio law was last updated in 2010 and reflects some of the aforementioned changes. To be sure, in terms of content, local radio operators and the public broadcasting service are obliged to safeguard content diversity in tandem with preventing discrimination, thereby specifying general principles stated in the national constitution (in particular, in article 26).[117] As such,

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[112] More information on the website: http://pt.radioactive101.eu/

[113] Please refer to the following document: http://www.cicdr.pt/images/stories/posicao_meios_cpom_social.pdf [last accessed on April 27th 2013]

[114] Please refer to the following document: http://www.cicdr.pt/images/stories/pdfs/comunicado_humor.pdf [last accessed on April 27th 2013]

[115] Please refer to the following document: http://app.parlamento.pt/webutils/docs/doc.pdf?path=6148523063446f764c324679626d56304c334e706447567a4c31684a544556484c304e50545338784d304e4655304d765247396a6457316c626e527663306c7561574e7059585270646d46446232317063334e68627938334e44646d4e4752694e7931695a474d774c5451335a6d45744f54426d5a6930344e6a5135596a633159546b31596a6b756347526d&fich=747f4db7-bdc0-47fa-90ff-8649b75a95b9.pdf&Inline=true [last accessed on April 27th 2013]

[116] In Portugal, *Entidade Reguladora para a Comunicação Social* (ERC) is the main Regulator Entity for the Media, even though the duties of overseeing content are shared with other entities, such as ANACOM. ANACOM oversees the management of the electronic and postal spectrum, *Autoridade da Concorrência* shares responsibilities for sage guarding compliance with competition rules and *Gabinete para os Meios de Comunicação Social* is the state agency for the media, contributing to policy making, implementation and evaluation (Helena Sousa & Lameiras 2013: 138).

[117] If the article 26 of the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic provides "legal protection against any form of discrimination" when considering "individual personal rights", Law 54/2010 of December 24th, specifies that neither local operators nor the public service can "invite hatred based on racial, religious, political, ethnic, skin color, national, gender, sexual orientation or impairment" in order to "respect the fundamental dignity, rights and freedom of the human person" in Article 30, points 1 and

although less explicitly than the legislation regulating public broadcasting service, [118] directives for local radio operators, which are most significant for this study, bind them to observe the diversity of their audiences and therefore cater to their cultural, economic, social specificities – which one can understand to mean catering to migrant populations included therein.[119]

In terms of access to production, concerning radio in particular, the nationality of people composing the entity that legally represents the owner (*pessoa singular ou colectiva*) is irrelevant given that the person is legally residing in the country. What matters is the location of the register concerning the media company and its ownership.[120] Legal concerns relate to the promotion of diversity in sources and

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2. The Contract of concession of the Public Service Radio Broadcasting, in clause d) of article 4 (about the mission of the public service through radio broadcasting), states that RDP should "fight any forms of social, cultural, religions, ethnic and sexual exclusion and discrimination". The national Constitution text can be found online, in Portuguese, at http://www.gmcs.pt/index.php?op=fs&cid=126&lang=pt [last accessed on April 29th, 2013].

[118] Specifying the contract of Concession of Public Service Radio Broadcasting, which establishes that RDP should "respond to the minority interests the various categories of the public" (Article 4, clause d), Law 54/2010 of December 24th determines the duty of the public broadcasting radio service, in article 49, number 2, clause a), to "provide a varied and encompassing programming that is accessible and directed to the whole population, while promoting cultural diversity and taking into account the interests of minorities". Clause e) further specifies the duty to "Guarantee the transmission of programs of cultural, educative and informative nature for specific publics, including those composing the various immigrant communities in Portugal" (my translation). The Contract of the Public Broadcasting Radio Service, dated June, 30 of 1999, was established between the government and the operator *Rádio Difusão Portuguesa* (RDP) and is available at http://www.gmcs.pt/index.php?op=fs&cid=106&lang=pt (in Portuguese). [last accessed on April 29th 2013].

[119] In what is known as the Radio Law, Law 54/2010 of December 24th, in article 32 (which determines the general obligations of radio operators) point 3 stipulates the obligation of local radio operators to provide programming that is relevant for the audience in the local coverage area, meeting pertinent social, economic, scientific and cultural contours of the population. ("*Constitui ainda obrigação dos serviços de programas generalistas ou temáticos informativos de âmbito local a difusão de programação, incluindo informativa, com relevância para a audiência da correspondente área de cobertura, nomeadamente nos planos social, económico, científico e cultural*"). Similarly, article 12, determining the purposes of radio broadcasting activity, restresses the comittment with the local population in clause b). The Radio Law, of December 24th is available, in Portuguese, at http://www.gmcs.pt/index.php?op=fs&cid=1547&lang=pt [last accessed on April 29th, 2013].

[120] Accordingly, articles 15-17 of the Radio Law do not mention any constraints to accessing radio production related to nationality. Instead, they mention it is imperative that the media company focuses on the activity of communications (unless the project has a humanitarian character); that only the state can grant broadcasting licenses; and that there may not be any sponsorship from political parties so as to safeguard editorial independence.

content. For example, articles 4 and 30 also define the maximum number of licenses and programming services that can be owned by one entity.[121] This operates to limit the possibilities of concentration, which, however, some authors argue is not constrained enough.[122]

Neither promoting nor restraining – an ambivalent backdrop

Therefore, the key issue in the Portuguese legislation seems to be a difficult balance between cultural particularism and universalism. Resonating with the conundrum underlying the very phenomenon of minority media (Silverstone & Georgiou 2005; Georgiou 2005; Rigoni & Saitta 2012) the law obliges media to simultaneously promote cultural diversity and national identity. On the one hand, regulations establish the importance of catering to the particularities of the various publics in the population served by the radio. To be specific, the public broadcasting service is assigned the duty to devote some programming explicitly to the interests and needs of migrant populations (Radio Law, Article 49, stipulating the obligations of the public broadcasting service, clauses a and e). Local radio operators, such as the one under analysis, are also mandated to attend to the particularities of the local audience (Radio Law, Article 12, on the purposes of the radio broadcasting activity, clause e). Furthermore, the Radio Law welcomes locally produced content that responds to those specificities (Article 8, on the types of programming), thereby apparently welcoming programs made by migrant populations residing in a given context.

[121] Article 4 states that it is forbidden to own local radio licenses superseding 10% of the total number of licenses allocated in the country; over 50% of licenses attributed to a given region or frequency band, nor over 50% of a given kind of programming in a certain local context. Article 30 determines that the same programming can be simultaneously broadcasted in no more than 4 stations and only if there are more than 100 km separating them.

[122] Some authors find that legislation is kept general enough to protect Portuguese media companies and the state itself. Namely, Sousa and Costa (2009: 99) have criticized ownership regulations highlighting that they do not put into practice the overt preoccupation with source and content diversity, as the title of their disapproving article suggests ("Keeping Up Appearances: Regulating Media Diversity in Portugal"). Sousa & Costa e Silva (2009) discuss the Portuguese political history and configuration of media policy network to conclude it resulted in an orientation to serving both the interests of multimedia groups that formed over time and of the state itself.

On the other hand, the legislation clearly indicates that both public service broadcasting and local radio operators should foster Portuguese language and culture,. Most notoriously, besides this tacit indication that Portuguese should be the language of broadcasts, the stipulations restricting language diversity pertain to music selection. To be precise, according to articles 41, 43 and 44 of the Radio Law, 25% of the music must be in Portuguese, reflecting Portuguese traditions and sonorities or constituting a contribution to the Portuguese musical heritage. Moreover, 35% of that amount should have been released in the last year and 60% should have been produced in a European country. Also affecting broadcasts, the Advertising Code[123] limits the use of other idioms to campaigns targeting foreign audiences (Article 7, point 3), and if the term or expression used is crucial for the meaning of the message (Article 7, point 4).

The issue is, then, one of ambivalence. The law neither promotes nor forbids media made by and for migrants and minorities. In practice, although radio initiatives made by, for, with and/or about migrants would seem to contravene the legal framework, the regulating bodies do not pose obstacles to their emergence and operations. They have even been occasionally praised as examples of "good practices" of incorporating cultural diversity into the media. According to the Director of the Juridical Department and the Coordinator of Inspections at ERC, decisions about the inclusion of minority programming are made case by case. What is at stake is the station's initial project, for too many hours of programming focused on particular communities and in different languages constitute deep alterations to the broadcasting project licensed – and would require, therefore, a revision of the license. Short programs reported by stations to ERC have been aproblematically taken note of when providing added value. In other words, there is no need to revise the license when the spaces in question serve to better represent the local population by giving space to a recent group. The underlying logic is that radio programming must still privilege the overall local population of the municipality and not overly focus on one community.

[123] The Advertising Code, or *Código da Publicidade*, established by the Decree Law nr. 330/90, of October 23rd, is available online at: http://www.gmcs.pt/pt/decreto-lei-n-33090-de-23-de-outubro-codigo-da-publicidade [last accessed May 6th 2013].

While most initiatives are simply not recognized officially as different types of media (and therefore do not benefit from specific – minority - legal status), Bright FM Algarve was awarded a bilingual license. The station is therefore allowed to broadcast in English even though it must respect Portuguese music quotas and other requirements of local stations with a "generic" (*generalista)* programming service.[124] It is a unique case in that it was also legally entitled to broadcast at length in a foreign language: other local stations owned by foreigners found in the mapping use (Brazillian-)Portuguese and the exceptional case of Lisbon-based *Rádio Paris Lisboa* is distinct in that it provided a sort of international public service with daily re-transmissions of *Radio France Internacionale's* broadcasts (and not local programming in a foreign language).[125] In contrast, the logic underlying Bright FM Algarve's permission to use English resulted from the very local nature of the station. According to the founder, who requested the license in 1992, and the station's process, which the ERC's Director of the Juridical Department and Coordinator of Inspection kindly shared and discussed with me, the rationale for attributing the license lies in the "service to the population it [the station] caters to", which includes "[Portuguese] locals, English residents and others" (Points 7 and 8 of ERC's Deliberation Nr 79/LIC-R/2009, renovating the license). This resonates with the position of the founder, who emphasized the service that the station provided to the country by "making foreigners feel at home" and stimulating the local tourism-based economy (see chapter 5.2 for detailed discussion).

The case of Bright FM Algarve suggests a few interpretations of the situation of minority media in Portugal. Firstly, the very formalization of a legal exception signals the underlying incongruences in the legislation between the overt preoccupation with source and content diversity and the promotion of national identity. It was necessary to open an exception given that the law did not foresee such

[124] In Portugal, local stations may either provide generic programming, so as to cater to the whole range of publics in their audience, or a "thematic" (word or music based) programming. Rádio Paris/Europa Lisboa was awarded a thematic musical license provided it showcased a genre "deemed insufficiently produced in Portugal" (jazz). This dispensed the station from complying with the quotas of Portuguese music, a fact that is unrelated to the language issues under discussion.

[125] *Rádio Paris Lisboa*, which became *Rádio Europa Lisboa* before that broadcasting project ended in 2011.

situations. This is still the case although the law became more flexible in the meantime. The exceptional nature of the license, based on the case-by-case decision-making process outlined earlier, indicates the lack of legal provisions for media made by and for migrants given there is no rule to decide which projects are deemed acceptable or not (it is not supposed to happen, but it was formalized – only in this case). At the same time, it seems to signal a delay in adjusting the policy framework to a multicultural reality. Only by submitting the new program project to ERC's consideration can stations that circumvent legal indications to promote Portuguese language and culture establish whether they stand opposite or complementary to the Radio Law.

All in all, BRIGHT FM's situation indicates a need for legal reformulations that create structural conditions for media made by and for migrants to exist. At the moment, such initiatives must fall second to the service of the local population. Understandably, only when there is a generalist radio service for all can there be specific broadcasts for a few. Yet, this curtails the possibilities for migrant populations to produce media that respond directly to their needs and interests and that they can use during the process of reterritorialization to both settle in the new context of residence and/or to collectively negotiate their cultural identity in a migratory context. In other words, this legal setting is not actively promoting the rights of migrants to communicate. The fact that programs for and by migrants may be integrated into the radioscape on a case-by-case decision-making process only accentuates this need provided the procedure does not rely on a clear principle. Although it is beyond this discussion what a legal place for minority media should be, I strongly find that the community media framework is a commendable option provided it privileges the social and cultural purposes of the initiatives while allowing populations that are hardly contemplated in mainstream media (Brites et al. 2009; Cunha et al. 2006) and often lack resources to kickstart and maintain their media to do so. In any case, recognizing and regulating for the possibility of existence of minority media is important, as aforementioned put forth.

In sum, minority media exist in Portugal regardless of the lack of specific legal recognition of its specific contours. Encompassed mostly in the local media category, and regulated accordingly, they are initiatives of migrants and minorities who establish, most commonly, newspapers and radio stations or shows for their peers. On

the one hand, legislation concerning cultural diversity attempts to respond to the interests of migrants and minorities. Most explicitly, the public broadcasting service is assigned with the responsibility to create programming directed at the latter, which usually involve the participation of migrants in the production process. It has indeed been noted that there are more foreigners taking part in the production of media in general (Ferin Cunha 2008: 26). Concerning content, both the public broadcasting service and local operators are mandated to secure diversity and avoid any form of discrimination. Moreover, there are no impediments preventing foreigners from starting their own media enterprises. Limitations relate mostly to the possibilities of concentration and sponsorship of political parties. In the case of radio, restrictions concern particularly quotas of music in Portuguese and the language of broadcasts.

However, there are no provisions facilitating the emergence and flourishing of minority media. In practice, there is no financial support or legal incentive for minorities from the state. State assistance consists of trainings for journalists on how to represent diversity, which can be useful for minority journalists and media practitioners but are not helpful in finding the necessary resources to kickstart the projects.[126] Additionally, there is an ambivalence concerning the simultaneous promotion of cultural diversity and national identity in the legislation, which becomes clearer in the tension between policy and practice. Bright FM Algarve presents a special case that raises the question of the need for legal provisions for minority media.

2.2.2.4 Synthesis of section Minority media in Europe

Media play a central role in a world where the social fabric is increasingly weaved by the virtual and physical circulation of people and their cultural universes.

[126] Training media practitioners for representing diversity has been one of ACIDI's goals and "good practices", especially since 2010. Notably, these seminars and workshops are not tailored to minority media practitioners. On the contrary, they are meant to transversally educate a whole range of professionals (working mainstream and non-mainstream media). The trainings were organized across the country, from Braga to Faro, and have brought together people involved in programs of education for interculturality (such as Entreculturas), in associations providing assistance to migrants (such as the International Organization for Migration), and in academic research about representations of difference in the media (i.e. Prof. Isabel Ferin Cunha, who has been a prominent and pioneer name in research about the intersection of media and migration). For a listing of these seminars see http://www.acidi.gov.pt/noticias/visualizar-noticia/4cdbf65f78cf9/seminarios-media%2C-imigracao-e-diversidade [last accessed on April 28th 2013].

The increase of immigration in Europe made that reality apparent, which led to the need to draft policies to better account for, as well as to foster, cultural diversity in the mediascape. These policies accompanied the ideological shifts that informed official stances towards cultural Others: from assimilation, through multiculturalism to intercultural dialogue. The various shifts privileging different modes of representation signal the importance of images inscribed in the public sphere in mediation of international mobility, which are discussed in the next chapter.

Moreover, although these policies largely concern mainstream media, they also regulate the space and support awarded to the migrants' media initiatives. In Portugal, however, specific legislation for minority media has not yet been drafted. In practice, the legal framework neither promotes nor restricts minority media initiatives. Therefore, minority radio is addressed on a case-by-case basis. In other words, minority radio is generally regulated by the radio law and by the publicity code besides being individually considered for matters that are not specified elsewhere. Notably, the station under study was given an exceptional license to broadcast in Portuguese and a second language although it was not the first or only initiative combining Portuguese and a foreign language on air (see section 3.1.2).

This scenario situates the case study chosen for the dissertation to the extent it is an essentially commercial initiative that fits into a group of media projects that specializes in the international circulation of relatively privileged people and, in some cases, tourism-informed mobilities. These media targeting highly mobile professionals, retirees who want to enjoy later life in the sun, tourists, globetrotters who alternate periods of work with leisure, or other relatively affluent migrants who prefer to buy a second house abroad, are more easily conceptualized in the framework of global media even though they are produced both locally and transnationally (Machin & Leeuwen, 2010; Murphy et al., 2003; Siapera, 2010; Urry, 2000). This thesis contends that they are minority media regardless of these differences – especially in the case of locally produced projects, such as Bright FM.

What is interesting to note at this point is how this station, and the population it caters to, seems to stand aside from the issues of representation influencing the policies about media and cultural diversity. As is explored in section 3.2.3, they have only recently been featured on mainstream media and not under the same delicate and/or negative light that most migrants usually are. Still, Bright FM was

exceptionally awarded the first (and for a long time, the sole) bilingual license that Portuguese authorities awarded to local radio stations – which seems to have been the first and closest action to support minority media in a country lacking specific legislation recognizing and regulation such initiatives.

2.2.3 Representing cultural diversity in the public space

To better understand what issues underlie the context of minority media, this section focuses on the dynamics explored in the strand of research occupied with the representation of cultural diversity in the public space. It explores the significance of mediated representation in contemporary societies and how minority media projects can contribute to dynamics of representation of and about migrants in the public space. It further fleshes out the complexities involved in the processes of mediated self-representation.

To be sure, mediated representation is symbolic in part because it reflects larger trends of inclusion and exclusion (while taking part in) larger processes of inclusion and exclusion, as Georgiou (2003) explores. As alluded to earlier, minority media have emerged in part in response to the under and mis-representation of minorities in mainstream media. When minority media diversify the mediascape, the issues they address therefore not only the negative and/or superficial representations of themselves circulating in mainstream media but the very possibility for greater inclusion(s) through visibility in the public space. This has encouraged the coining of minority media as the voice of minorities – which some media projects assume themselves.[127] Yet, exploring the dimensions of self-representation – representation *in* the media and representation *through* the media – further demonstrates the complexities of mediated self-representation.

The following discussion of mediated self-representation is pertinent to the choice of Bright FM as a case study and helps to situate the case as a counterpoint to most minority media initiatives.

[127] That is the case for "New vision – "the independent Refugee news and information service" calls itself "the voice for the voiceless", (Georgiou, 2003: 45)

2.2.3.1 The power of mediated representation

In spite of media policies promoting intercultural dialogue there has been an increase of xenophobic ideas and attitudes in Europe in recent years, which media images helped to construct, as reports document and warn against (e.g. ERCOMER & Ter Wal, 2002; EBU 2011; Ferin et al 2004, 2006, 2008). Public events which allude to xenophobic trends include the sanction on the full Islamic dress for women in public in France (2011), the referendum supporting a national ban on minarets in Switzerland (2009), the proposition for a ban on Arabic satellite channels in Denmark because of the perception that satellite dishes were symbols of segregation (2010), the riots in France and in the UK (2005 and 2011 respectively) among others listed by Georgiou (2012: 12). In Portugal, two media events building and reproducing stereotypes stand out. One is a media fabrication a mass mugging in a Lisbon beach in 2005[128] which became known as the "Beach Rampage" ("that never was", to use the title of a documentary about the incident) [O arrastão que nunca existiu],[129] and that constructed youths from African origin as probable criminals. The other was the mobilization of a group of women, self-designated as the "*Mothers of Bragança*", which rallied against Brazilian women's alleged immorality, and that the media reported on.[130] Although these are essentially issues of representation, such events can

[128] The event was reported as a mass mugging on one of Lisbon's beaches, Carcavelos. The succession of breaking news pieces in the following days presented the incident as an organized assault on beach-goers by approximately 500 black youngsters. The reports created panic about potential replicas of the event in the overcrowded beaches of the Algarve in the following months. Police reports reduced the story to objective facts: many of the accused youngsters were running away themselves, carrying their own things, scared by the confusion that had settled in. Ferin et al (2008: 34-37) analyze this media event with reference to the classic British work on media generated moral panics "*Policing the Crisis*".

[129] The investigative reporter Diana Adringa produced a poignant documentary discussing the fabricated nature of the accusations and alerting for the dangers of stereotyping. A subtitled version of "The Beach Rampage That Never Was" can be found on Youtube at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9pfS50Ycguw [Last accessed August 27th, 2013].

[130] "Mothers of Bragança" was initially the name of a northern women's movement who organized a campaign in 2003 to expel Brazilian women from the city of Bragança. Brazilian women were accused of prostitution. More than the denunciation of brothels and prostitution networks, the issue was the association of Brazilian women with a sexualized and immoral image which reflects common perceptions and informs interpersonal relations. Studies have noted the substantiation of these representations in media content (Filho, 2005; Pontes, 2004; C. A. Santos, 2005) and the complaints of Brazilian women who find they must deal with the stereotypes in interpersonal relations on a daily basis (see, for instance, Padilla, 2007: 125-9).

influence not only public opinion but also policy making. At a European level, Georgiou (2007) notes that the events mentioned above affected the policing of cross-border circulation and everyday life, particularly in the case of Arabic speaking populations, whose religious practices, dress codes and media consumption came to be debated in the public arena).[131]

Such dynamics are not new or exclusive to Europe. Cottle (2000: 7-8) alludes to a wealth of previous studies noting not only the exclusion of cultural Others from mainstream symbolic spaces but also the negative, even xenophobic, light under which they are represented from the 1950s through the 1980s (namely in the USA, as well as the UK). As he notes, media appropriates intercultural relations that are produced historically and socially, namely through international mobility and its (dis)encounters, and redresses them from the point of view of the majorities and of hegemony.

Upholding, ultimately, assimilationist principles, media portrayals have generally constructed migrants as "others" and associated them with social problems (e.g. higher housing prices and higher competition in the job market, public health scares, increase of single-parent families and drug abuse, lack of achievement values, dependence on welfare benefits and affirmative actions, and similar issues fueling moral panic) (Cottle, 2000: 2; Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach 2011: 189). Similar reflections about Portuguese media include: (Costa, 2010; Cruz, 2013; Ferin Cunha et al., 2002, 2008, 2009, 2006; Ferin Cunha & Santos, 2004; FIlho, 2008; Ormond & Cádima, 2003). More commonly, cultural traits of "others" are portrayed negatively, essentialized and assumed as natural in the same way biological differences and racism were (Cottle, 2000: 7-8; Lewis, 2008: 27; Riggins, 1992. 2; Siapera, 2010: 174-5; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005: 434). The "other" is often depicted as inferior and/or dangerous in both journalistic pieces and entertainment shows (Cottle, 2000: 24). Characters who are dependent, childish, violent, criminal etc. often have a skin color or an accent, which ultimately furthers the alterity of the cultural "other".

[131] For discussions concerning media consumption in particular see also Slade (2010) and the remainder of the special issue of the journal Journalism.

Such scapegoating and ethnicization of migrants is problematic because of its implications in terms of social and cultural reproduction. As noted in the European Broadcasting Union, the media play a vital role that is not reduced to mirroring reality, but informing (whilst being informed by) social relations:

> Immigration and integration are not simply topics which media must address more scrupulously as given objects but a process in which mass media is a powerful player, not merely charged with providing a depiction of 'the mainstream' of culture and society but functioning as the principle artery and content of that stream and thus capable, virtually alone, of 'naturalizing' cultural practices, languages, customs, beliefs, products and people. Media similarly has the perilous power to de-naturalize and 'other' people and things, and create a false and tendentious, idealized or nationalistic image of what is "native" and normative, against which artificial norms, things and people can be designated alien, foreign, and disruptive arbitrarily. (European Broadcasting Organization - Strategic Information Service, 2011: 16-17)

Repeated framing and stereotyping consolidates and authorizes representations that gain power as they are reproduced and naturalized. Accordingly, research has also found that people's images of cultural Others are often largely built through media representations (Georgiou 2003: 43). Significantly, representation regimes are often strategic, both reflecting and reproducing political and economic interests, especially in times of crisis (Husband & Downing, 2005: 30; Cottle, 2000: 9). Crystallized in ideologies, images and beliefs, media images inform, and mask, slanted opportunity structures and differences of material inequality (Gardner, 2002: 3; Cottle, 2000: 8; Georgiou, 2002b: 25). They stipulate who to include and exclude from audiences and (usually national) constituencies, for "it is in and through representations (…) that members of the media audiences are variously invited to construct a sense of who 'we' are in relation to who 'we' are not" (Cottle, 2000: 1). Ultimately, representations and associated discourses can underlie oppressive and discriminatory realities and cultural racism (Cottle, 2000: 2; Alia & Bull, 2005: 71). Studies about perceptions of migrants in Portugal, which have documented the widespread stereotypical representations of migrants, feelings of social distance and ambivalence, and sometimes racist views (e.g. Cabecinhas 2002; Cabecinhas & Cunha 2008; Lages & Policarpo 2006), have alerted to the power of media especially as many people lack direct contact with migrants and construct their ideas based on (mostly) television images (for a discussion see (Ferin Cunha et al., 2009). Accordingly, as is common (Cogo, 2012: 48; Cottle, 2000: 3; Georgiou, 2002b, 2007: 25; Siapera, 2010: pp), migrant audiences have been found to complain about the lack of representation, and mis-representation, of their peers on mainstream media (Brites

et al., 2009: 244-260) as well as with generalized prejudice (Carvalheiro 2006: 73–93).

Moreover, these images weigh on migrants who develop and shape their self-representations and identities also partly based on the media (Sjoberg and Rydin 2009:19). Some may feel excluded while distancing themselves from such dominant discourses (Cottle, 2000: 8; Georgiou, 2002b: 25) and seeking information also in alternative media channels, such as Al-Jazeera as critical news consumers (Gillespie, cited in Slade, 2010: 728). In interpretations of media discourses whereby audience members elaborate on issues of participation in society and citizenship (see, for instance, Georgiou, 2002b, 2012; Madianou, 2006; Mai, 2005; Siapera, 2005), there is an overlap of two types of representation: political representation and representation in the media which adds texture to feelings and dynamics of exclusion (Georgiou 2007: 25). In a different way, others may be predisposed to accept, rather than challenge, such representations (Van Dijk cited in Carvalheiro, 2006: 79; Gardner, 2002: 3). Therefore, they may incorporate some of the negative images about themselves and their peers into the way they read cultural differences, and act in (and about) intercultural relations (see, for instance, Carvalheiro 2006). As aforementioned, positive images circulating in the mainstream media to counter this situation may not suffice to establish more textured and complex images of migrants as dominant representations.

Granted, media are but one element in the construction and sustenance of ideologies promoting or preventing inclusion: as Husband and Downing (2005: 30) note, institutional, historic and economic forces must be also be taken into account. In the case of one of the Portuguese events noted above, the beach rampage,[132] some citizens welcomed the mediation of such perspectives. As the anthropologist Miguel Vale de Almeida (Vale de Almeida, 2006) noted, although Portugal had not witnessed disturbances and conflicts at the scale of those happening elsewhere in Europe (e.g. the hijab conflict in France in 2005, national debates following Theo Van Gogh's murder in the Netherlands in 2004, the polemic about the cartoon depicting the Muslim prophet in Denmark in 2005/6), which had repercussions in media discourses

[132] For a discussion of importance of representations in the experiences of Brazilian women in Portugal see (Padilla, 2007)

(EBU 2011: 9-15), the terrain was ready to articulate cultural difference in xenophobic ways. The author specifically unpacked the symbolic power of disseminating fabricated criminalizing claims about minorities marked by color (migrants and second-generations from Portuguese speaking African countries), on the national holiday dedicated to the Portuguese state: June 10th (2005). Bringing Portugal's colonial past and recent establishment as an immigration country to bear in the contextualization of the event, Vale de Almeida shows how the actual event need not even happen in order to trigger its symbolic, practical consequences. Complementarily, Ferin Cunha et al (2008: 36) note the event took place in a moment of social crisis and transformation of the dominant economic model, which supported the perceptions of an increasing violent society.

2.2.3.2 Minority media diversifying the mediascapes

As already mentioned, the media's inability to represent and relate to migrants' cultures and daily lives led many to start their own media projects (Cogo 2012: 48; Husband & Downing 2005: 56; Kosnick 2007: 151; Georgiou 2002a: 22). Alternative media spaces produced in migratory contexts provide information, space for sociality and debate, and entertainment otherwise not available in the mediascape. As apparent in the mapping (chapter 3), and noted by authors like Kosnick (2008) or Moylan (2008), in doing so they do not necessarily seclude themselves or exclusively focus on "internal" issues (Husband 1994, Riggins 1992, Cottle 2000). They add to the mediascape, complementing mainstream media with different content that is pertinent in that national context, whilst signaling the diversity of the components of contemporary European societies (Blion, 2007: 69). They can also "critically 'speak to' majority social and political formations of which they formed or have formed a part" (Kosnick 2008: 4)[133]. Blion (2007: 69) prefers the designation "medias des

[133] When discussing the importance of transnational communications for Turkish minorities residing in Germany, the author highlights that minority media projects can be directed at the contexts of origin and converse with the discourses that are hegemonic there. In that sense, Kosnick (id.) criticizes the idea proposed by Hirshman that people who are unsatisfied with the established powers either speak up against them (voice) or leave those realities by migrating (exit). Kosnick proposes a possibility of doing both through minority media when exploring the case of a Kurdish minority's TV channel that gained popularity in Turkey to the extent Turkish national media created space for Kurds so as to compete (after trying to shut down) the European-based minority projects. The author further complexifies the discussion by delving into the cultural politics underlying strategies of positioning of other Turkish minorities in Germany.

diversités/diversity media" precisely because this title "corresponds better to the way these media see themselves and the contributions they make within their respective worlds".

Besides complementing the public space with the addition of public sphericules (Gitlin, 1998), they contribute to processes of inclusion and/or visibility through representational practices. Specifically, they activate the two aforementioned inter-related dimensions of representation: representations in the media and political representation (an analysis inspired in Spivak's work (1988)[134] and discussed within the field of minority media by Georgiou (2007) and Kosnick (2004, 2007, 2008).

2.2.3.3 Inclusion and visibility in the public space

One the one hand, minority media diversify the mediascape by inscribing migrants in the public space. Given most minority media's transnational reach, when bringing new topics, languages, references and points of view to the mediascape, minority media provide new modalities of connectivity and expand the nature of communicative exchanges in the public space (Rigoni & Saitta, 2012: 8). Moreover, by creating spaces that invite the virtual gathering of audience members, they open up the possibility for the latter to act as both consumers and producers.The narratives channeled are likely to bring to bear on the collective self-representations the audience's various trajectories, multiple attachments, modes of relating to the place of residence and even points of contention about what binds them together. The result involves complex images that are textured alternatives (and sometimes direct challenges) to depictions circulating in mainstream media – regardless of whether these are negative, stereotyped representations or positive, but superficial, narratives that tell the stories of successful migrants, showcase festivities and explore cultural exotica (Cottle, 2000: 31; Georgiou 2003: 58-59; Moylan 2008: 110).

In that sense, for the populations they cater to, minority media can operate as stable points of expression and reference (Kolar –Panov 1996 and Ogan 2001 in Georgiou 2007: 25), providing a sense of community (Georgiou 2001), a sense of

[134] To analyze the politics of representational practices of the subaltern, Spivak distinguishes between the two meanings of "speaking for someone/something": speaking about the people or issues at stake (therefore merely describing an instance or state of affairs) and speaking in the name of people or issues (therefore entailing a sense of political delegation).

inclusion and participation in their host societies (Manifesto for Minority Community Media [Appendix IV], Riggins 1992) and a connection to their context of origin and diaspora (see Kosnick 2007, 2008 for an example). For the general audience, minority media representations can become part of the backdrop to appreciate cultural difference when they present the gaze of the cultural "Other" over shared realities (Cunningham and Sinclair, 2000: 3; Georgiou, 2005: 496; Georgiou, 2003: 44),[135] and refuse essentialized discourses by giving visibility to the plurality of (versions of) self-representations (Georgiou 2003: 58), ultimately "educating" people about minorities and cultural diversity (Alia & Bull, 2005: 154-156; Husband & Downing, 2005: 37; Matsaganis et al., 2011: 17). As the senior editor of a radio station hosting several minority programs put it:

> The idea behind this all, we are realizing now. Just to be there, we are changing minds. Just to be on air, just that German listeners are listening to people with an accent and are getting used to it. And they're seeing: hey, it's normal. (Interview with Senior Editor of Radio MultiKulti, Wolfgang Holler, on 14 January 1999 by Steven Vertovec (2000: 22)

On the other hand, minority media can foster inclusion by providing spaces and frameworks for agency and giving light to issues otherwise ignored as Matsaganis et al (2011:16) note. They can make the general public more aware of the economic, social, cultural and political issues and dynamics arising from the diversity of today's societies - e.g. on citizenship rights, immigration reforms, the role of migrants in economy (Alia & Bull, 2005: 154-156; Husband & Downing, 2005: 37; Matsaganis et al., 2011: 17). In that sense, minority media may present complementary and competing perspectives on the relations between minorities and the majority and invite debates otherwise unavailable (if not restricted and self- censored) in mainstream (national or larger, transnational) media (Georgiou 2007:17; Matsaganis et al 2011:16-17). As such, they destabilize majority-minority relations and "create a setting for increased participation through difference" by "challenging exclusion and addressing questions of multiple inclusions" (Georgiou 2003: 58-59). In practice,

[135] Georgiou's (2005: 496) insightful discussion focuses on Said's Orientalism's thesis and concerns mostly the so-called third country nationals. The encapsulating play on words that the author uses, drawing on Robertson, is therefore "interpretations of the West by the rest" to underscore the counterpoint of processes Othering non-western subjects and cultures: an analysis and challenge to power relations from within European borders. This proposition therefore lacks the perspectives of European cultural Others in a given national territory, which may not put similar challenges, but have the potential to be equally revealing about social, cultural and political dynamics.

through collaboration with mainstream media (promoted by Mediam'rad, for example) or directly, minority media can then become mouthpieces for the populations they serve, giving visibility to the issues that matter to them in their terms.

An example of such dynamics is Persembe, a supplement to the weekly German newspaper Die Tageszeitung which informed Germans and Turks alike (in both languages) about the Turkish minority in Germany, in between 2000 and 2001 (Rigoni, 2002). The issues put forth often touched upon the topic of integration and the rights of migrants to full economic, political and cultural participation in society (see Rigoni 2002). Similarly, New Vision "the independent Refugee news and information service", is a website catering to (mostly) Ethiopian refugees in the UK and the Ethiopian diaspora. Besides providing information to navigate everyday life in the UK it challenges the associations of refugees to problems (Georgiou 2003: 45). In a more engaged way, Hispanic radio was key for immigrants in the United States to discuss the upcoming immigration policies in 2006 and organize demonstrations: DJs actively stimulated debates on air and rallyied people to take to the streets in protest (Matsaganis et al 2011: 16; Georgiou 2007: 11).

2.2.3.4 The problem of "voice"

Significantly, the possibility of minority media to be the "voice"[136] of minorities needs to be qualified (Silverstone and Georgiou 2005; Kosnick 2007, 2008). Although ultimately playing political roles by creating alternatives, possibly addressing issues otherwise not raised and, in some cases, challenging institutionalized ideas of otherness and the power structures underlying them, minority media are typically not radical, oppositional, or intrinsically subversive as a result of making space for cultural particularism (Rigoni & Saitta, 2012: 3). In other words, they are not necessarily counter-public spheres (Fraser, 1992). In fact, some

[136] To be sure, voice has been conceptualized, and connoted, with the process of social empowerment through the affirmation of an alternative perspective in the public sphere. The concept has been used often to discuss dynamics of empowerment, namely in developing countries (Couldry, 2010: 1; Tacchi, 2005: 26) and issues of reflexive agency and civic participation (e.g. elaborating on messy the process of *articulating* a voice, rather than celebrating gaining or having one), emphasizing its inherent plurality and variable efficacy (as it ranges from "faint grumbling to a violent protest" (Hirschman 1970:16 in Kosnick 2008:4). For discussions see, for instance, Couldry (2010) and Kosnick (2008).

authors would contend that minority media are usually conceived of "as at best tangential to the dominant public sphere" precisely because of cultural and linguistic particularisms (Titley 2008: 4). Moreover, even if mobilizing towards claiming recognition and/or rights, these media may not reach or have an impact on the decision-makers who could address the issues raised. Siapera (2010: 109) suggests that, more commonly, these media may be agenda-setting within the minorities they cater to and may be training grounds for audience members to engage with the public sphere. The author further notes that political involvement through minority media is uneasy and complex, stirring conflicts of interest among audience members with different political inclinations (id: 81).

Moreover, projects may not harness diversity within the population being catered to, thereby reducing the plurality of the population served to one "voice". If it is a challenge to represent the diversity of any population, given the inherent heterogeneity and tensions making it plural (Sreberny 2005), this is further complicated in media that are often controlled by a small group of people (Georgiou 2003: 59-64). As Moylan (2008: 117) notes, minority media can therefore mirror the problematic dynamics of community media in which those in control make a case for alternatives and plurality in the public sphere while containing and underplaying internal dissent so as to "present a unified voice".

Furthermore, while representations are always partial and ideological at heart (Hall 2003), they become problematic when resting on conservative and essentialized (sometimes even fundamentalist) images of the people at stake and/or their host contexts, which can also be found in minority media (Gillespie, 1995; Kosnick, 2008: 16; Moura, n.d.; Riggins, 1992: 15; Siapera, 2010: 108; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005: 438 ; Georgiou 2003: 62-63). Ethnocentric and reified notions of culture can be mobilized, whether conscious and unconsciously, for an array of purposes (Cottle, 2000b: 3; Cunningham & Sinclair, 2000: 20; Ginsburg, Larkin, & Abu-Lughod, 2002: 10; Spitulnik, 1993: 31) : e.g. tailoring content to fit commercial logics for the sake of revenue and the survival of the media project (see, for example, Davila [2002]) as well as negotiating relations with the majority population.[137]

[137] The mobilization of more straightforward and coherent narratives about cultural cohesiveness, homeland and identification are powerful appeals to the construction of belonging and the

Notably, although media practitioners may strategically seek visibility or prestige amongst peers they may also find themselves amidst dilemmas of a moral, social and professional nature when minority audiences are the ones eschewing pressure over the type of narrative to broadcast and the limits of what is appropriate to showcase, silence or highlight (Silverstone & Georgiou 2005, p. 435; Tsagarousianou 2004: 61).[138] Additionally, productions frequently benefit from the support of nonminority media technicians, for migrants are often amateurs and lack some skills and experience (Lewis, 2008; Matsaganis et al., 2011). This further complicates the idea of "voice". In this sense, as some authors caution against, there is a need for the verification of whose voices are being projected, whom them claim to represent, and what they are saying (Silverstone and Georgiou, 2005: 437).

A helpful discussion of minority media and migrants' voices is Kosnick's (2004, 2007, 2008) analysis of Kurdish and Alevi Turkish minorities' media projects based in Germany, for the author examines these questions. Kosnick complexifies the straightforward assumption that participation in the public sphere translates directly into inclusion and plurality in the public sphere. The author shows that these media were sites for migrants to express their minority cultures and perspectives (which were shunned by the Turkish state), but were also targets for political governmental pressure of the Turkish state and, subsequently, European governments precisely because they reached across borders, to Turkey, where their audiences grew. Kosnick further stresses that these media, which resisted such institutional pressures, were also

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reproduction of imagined communities, especially for those confronted with displacement. In turn, embracing the identity of the "other" to manage relations with the dominant group may be part of larger strategy of incorporation in society. Authors take different perspectives on the implications of this strategy. Bauman (1996) focuses on migrants' agency and the "dual discursive competency" they develop, whether upholding more demotic or dominant discourses, which enables them to engage in two worlds simultaneously (Morley, 2000: 167) by mobilizing notions of culture, community and ethnicity (Baumann, 1996: 11-12). In contrast, Prins (2002) argues that essentialized images in documentaries about indigenous people's rights create a "paradox of primitivism", as they may be powerful and effective forms of political agency but at the same time do distort the cultural processes that indigenous peoples are committed to preserving.

[138] As Ginsburg (1997: 123) discusses, it is important to consider who are the cultural brokers who represent and present the group through the media they produce. They serve as agents of cultural translation who may inhabit two universes of references and may thus be torn between them when acting as representatives.

contested from within, by the various audiences and producers. For example, some media agendas tried to attract German audiences by conversing with popular representations about Muslims' conservatism, which they re-framed by distinguishing liberal Alevi postures from traditional Sunni ways. In turn, others focused on their hyphenated identity as "Berlin-Turks" so as to appeal to other (namely Suni) Turks living in Berlin. Kosnick's insightful discussion points to the plurality and complexity of strategies of visibility for minorities, who inhabit transnational spaces namely through their media. The author emphasizes the multi-positionality of minorities across different scales and the need to understand their discourses as situated points of view, rather than straightforward claims about the people they represent as a function of their cultural membership (Kosnick, 2007: 159, 2008:13):

> Mainstream accounts of migrant media are ill equipped to deal with strategies of articulating a 'voice' (…) because they often implicitly assume that any public utterance made by a member of a migrant group will represent it in the double sense of 'speaking for' and 'presenting', authenticated by virtue of his or her ethno-cultural membership. (Kosnick 2008: 15)

This discussion signals the importance of context in the mobilization of voice as a lens to understand the representational practices for inclusion of migrants. The term has been drawn on both in the academic literature and in policy. In the literature it is worh noting that some of the initial research on minority media was produced by authors working primarily on social movements. These include, in particular, authors concerned with indigenous minorities and their plights for land ownership, symbolic recognition and other rights (see, for instance (Alia & Bull, 2005; Ginsburg, 1991, 1994, 1997; Husband & Downing, 2005; Ruby, 1991). Among those focusing on international mobility, some emphasize the importance of visibility in the public space as a strategy to resist assimilation policies and retain culture (as suggested in the title of Riggins (1992) seminal work "The Media Imperative: Ethnic minority Survival in the Age of Communication"). On the other hand, the notion of voice was mobilized within the very European policies of multiculturalism, which rested on the premise that migrants would be best served if they produced their own media. An example of such policies is the story of Radio Multikulti, which received awards for promoting diversity but was highly criticized for encouraging essentialization, given that producers justified their work with their cultural belonging and promoted cultural

retention (Kosnick, 2007: 159; Vertovec, 2000: 22-23). [139] As Kosnick discusses, the rationale posited:

> If an ethnic minority background validates a journalist's statements as 'an ethnic minority point of view' in the German media, the productions of ethnic broadcasters is assumed to be all the more representative in the context of programs designed for ethnic minorities. Subaltern ethnic groups are assumed to 'speak for themselves' if given the chance, and what is voiced, particularly in the native tongue and to the members of the native group, must consequently be an authentic expression of minority culture. (Kosnick, 2007: 152)

Although the context of academic research focused on social movements along with policies oriented to multiculturalism can help understanding how the association of minority media and voice was constituted, it also helps identifying the faultlines of that association. As Kosnick's quote signals self-representation is easily associated with authenticity and authority to the extent that minority individuals are perceived as having greater credibility to talk about themselves, their living conditions and the heritages informing their cultural identities. Yet, as suggested, not seen as situated utterances, this conception of self-representation can easily overlook the diversity of positions within the population being represented and the intentions underlying the act of taking on the representational role. Additionally, it reinforces illusory ideas that cultures are static possessions of bounded groups only truly understood by their members, who act in accordance with it.

Finally, another significant type of context is the transnational scale that these media activate in the connections they help establish and maintain. As Titley (2008) notes, the "immanent transnationalism" of minority media (namely in the case of Polish media in Ireland, which he studied) stands for the way in which they shape themselves in relation to other Polish oriented media in the context of origin,

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[139] Born in 1994, the station was hosted by the public broadcaster Radio Berlin-Brandenburg and housed shows in approximately 20 languages that were made by an array of migrant populations in Germany (Echchaibi, 2002; Kosnick, 2007; Vertovec, 2000). Yet, it was a state-sponsored project aiming at containing anti-immigrant sentiments in reunited Germany (apparent in the surge of violence that took place on the early 1990s) and educating Germans about diversity (Kosnick, 2007: 154; Echchaibi, 2002: 47-8; Vertovec, 2000: 15). Even though the experiment was given permanent funding in 1997 and several awards for awareness raising of diversity – which Vertovec (2000:22-23) praised when noting the ability to mirror the diverse cosmopolitanisms of Berlin's society (namely through the sustainance of rigorous journalism practices) - it ultimately closed in 2008 on account of financial restraints of the operator. Meanwhile, it was criticized by framing the possibilities of representation (namely by allocating air-space) (Echchaibi, 2002: 49), and for reflecting both the need for Germans to resolve the presence of "others" in the national space (Echchaibi, 2002: 49) and the multiculturalist conception of culture restrictedly as "a marker of ethnic group identity" (Kosnick, 2007: 15).

residence and elsewhere. Moreover, the way they operate and the content they produce relates directly to the cross-border relations the producers maintain and the transnational lives that they audience they address live. In that way, what matters is that these media are situated locally but conceive of their work along transnational horizons.

2.2.3.5 Synthesis of section Representing cultural diversity in the public space

To conclude, minority media contribute to diversify the mediascape and operate towards inclusion along two dimensions: symbolic representation (featuring in the media and in a more diverse conception of society) and civic/political representation (visibility through the media in public spheres so as to advance the issues concerning migrants). These two dimensions interact with minority self-representation dynamics deconstructed by Spivak: ability to depict the realities at stake, by speaking about them, and address them, by speaking in the migrants' name. These dimensions, and the discussions inspired in them, qualify the idea that minority media can be mouthpieces for minorities and channel their voice. However, this does not detract from the importance of minority media as a means to inscribe greater cultural diversity in the mediascape. They complement (and can even challenge) mainstream media's narratives by adding the perspective of the cultural "Other" toward shared realities and through more complex and textured representations of themselves and intercultural relations. Ultimately, minority media can therefore contribute to creating a mode of participation through difference (Georgiou 2003: 58-59).

This is however only fully understood with an appreciation of the role of new technologies and in articulation the other to another theme in minority media research: the processes of expression and reproduction of cultural identity, and of the construction of belonging, which are discussed in the next section.

This discussion of what is at stake in mediated self-represention is useful to the exploration of the selected case study. To be specific, the importance of visibility in the public space as proposed in the literature was useful to choose the case-study to analyze. For Bright FM, the association of voice with minority media does not seem relevant (as is explored in section 3.2.3). Relatedly, it helps to situate the strategy of (in)visibility of the relatively privileged populations under study (who are described

in chapter 5). In general, it sets the framework for the analysis by alerting to 1) the need to pay special attention to the diversity within in the population being catered to and the way it is being constructed on air, and 2) investigating the intentions both underlying the media practitioners' work and informing the mediation process.

2.2.4 Connections to home(s)

The second strand in research pertains to the issues of expression and reproduction of cultural identity, which index the construction of belonging. These processes are intertwined with minority media's ability to establish, maintain and negotiate connections to different sites of reference to the migrants: the context of residence, the context of origin, and the transnational collectivity composed by fellow migrants dispersed through the world. Another main function of minority media is the dual role of assisting in the settlement in the context of residence while maintaining connections to the context of origin.

2.2.4.1 Incorporation into the host context

Minority media assist in the processes of resettlement relates by, primarily, providing information about the context of residence. Commonly, locally produced minority media provide, in the language of the minorities, information about access to employment, housing, health, education, local and political life, and welfare systems as well as about associations providing assistance for migrants and social activities organized by like-minded peers (Georgiou 2003: 63). This serves orientation purposes initially(Cogo, 2012: 60-61; Blion, 2007: 67-68; Matsaganis et al., 2011: 58), but, overtime, similar information serves as a resource for ongoing education about the context of residence (Husband & Downing, 2005; Park, 1922; Riggins, 1992) and contributes to establishing of connections within and beyond the community.

The provision of information about basic matters is not only the compilation of specific and useful information for newcomers but also translation, as Georgiou (2001) demonstrates. The author documents how Greek radio shows work by explaining the UK social benefits system and reflecting on the position of the audience and its complexities, in the Greek language (Georgiou, 2001: 494-495). Moreover, minority media may assist in the development of competencies (not least

cultural) in navigating the context of residence. Notably, although operating as "guides to choice, or guides to the attitudes that inform choices" (Hartley cited in Cunningham and Sinclair, 2000: 29), they perform such a role informally, by blurring information and entertainment. In other words, more than playing a focused and formal educative role, they achieve a "permanent" and "general" effect, similar to the impact of contemporary popular media – especially as they often provide generalist programming, given that only a small amount of minority media available allows specialized broadcasts (Cunningham and Sinclair, 2000: 28-29). As suggested, however, minority media are but one tool migrants use to learn social norms and communicative rules of the settlement context: other institutions such as migrant associations, national media, schools and so on are other avenues contributing to that learning process. Yet, as explored in 4.2, media can serve as complements to the cultural education of second-generations.

The communicative exchanges made through and due to the presence of these media are important in the relationships established within the population it serves. To be specific, these media often announce services and connect audience members either with each other or with associations and professionals who can provide them support formally (e.g. with legal issues and citizenship rights) or informally (e.g. with translation help to follow through with driving classes and exams, opening a bank account, or overcoming culture shock), thereby easing the process of adaptation (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach 2011: 63; Vertovec 2006: 15-16). At the same time, these media can partake in the circulation and pursuit of social capital. Adding to word of mouth, the connections enabled and fostered by the media are avenues to find social events where to one can meet like-minded people and network (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach 2011: 63-64). Media sociabilities, promoted through interactive features (on air, online or in print, in forums, broadcasts, classified sections and the like), foster the establishment of connections, visibility, and reputation that may, for example, serve to gather support for a new local businesses. Representatives of minority stations in London also note that radio can play a social role to the extent it attracts youngsters who, instead of spending their time with radio production, would easily otherwise engage in the world of drugs or crime (see Lol Gellors presentation of Southall's Sound Radio in (Lewis et al. 2007: 36-37).

Furthermore, these media also pragmatically assist in the establishment of connections beyond the targeted population. Media have been part of local authorities' plans for urban regeneration (Lewis et al. 2007: 7). In some cases, authorities and institutions resort to these channels to reach the various migrant populations, who may be difficult to access through other channels (Matsaganis et al., 2011; Wilkins et al., 2007).[140] For example, authorities from the context of origin (consulates and embassies) or of residence (municipalities, immigration departments, or other), inform migrants about changes in laws and regulations (i.e. voting from abroad, legalization processes or access to nationality procedures). Employees from NGOs and social institutions spread information about health-related and other campaigns (see also Browne [2005]). Additionally, multicultural media projects can promote interaction between minorities in similar positions (such as the aforementioned Radio Multikulti in Berlin (see Echchaibi 2002b; Vertovec 1999b; Kosnick 2007), whereby various groups share a radio frequency in turn, or, more so, the case of Beur FM (see Echchaibi 2002b), a station which housed a joint project by different North Africans who conceived of themselves in a new way on account of their new and shared migrant condition.

Such connections to other populations can be established in more indirect ways. For example, as Georgiou (2003: 37-38) notes, the circulation of small media (DVD, pirate videos and other) can constitute a similar bridging practice when taking place at meeting sites, such as *internet* cafés. Furthermore, the selling of small media can spur revenue and a whole chain of exchanges, which also contribute to the deeper incorporation of migrants in the host context (in spite of the informal character of the activity), while reconstructing social landscapes in the urban space (*ibid*).

In a different way, Titley also notes how media enterprises can follow commercial goals, distancing themselves from their expected ethnic position as Polish media addressing Polish migrants. To be specific, Titley maps a rich and varied mediascape in which some Polish media correspond to the more conventional

[140] It is important to keep in mind that the authors discuss the North-American context where the offer of minority local media (or geo-ethnic media, as they call it) is high. Also, that context is known for language issues (i.e. bilingualism is established in some states due to the amount of Hispanic speakers, for example). Research has clearly shown that migrants do not restrict their media diets to minority media, thereby avoiding mainstream channels (e.g. Sreberny, 2005).

community-making roles among Poles in Ireland but other projects explore niche markets (focused young urban professionals' consumption styles or on lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender issues, for example) and address larger audiences (even when instrumentalizing ethnicity to do so).[141]

All in all, through the provision of information or the sociabilities fostered around the production and consumption of minority media, these projects play a role in the understanding, navigating and settling in the place of residence. It was precisely this anchoring in the host context that provided minority media with government support (for instance in the Netherlands and Germany) (Matsaganis 2011: 189; Kosnick 2007: 150-151). Yet, locally produced minority media also play into the maintenance of transnational links, as explored below.

2.2.4.2 Transnational links

Another form of constructing belonging is through the transnational connections which minority media can help maintain given the recombination of "traditional" (print, radio) media with digital technologies. Indeed, minority media have often been theorized in relation to the possibilities offered by new (satellite and, mostly, digital) technologies to skirt regulation issues and to transcend time, space and sometimes linguistic distances [142] (ElHaji 2012; Karim 1998; Fazal & Tsagarousianou 2002; Kosnick 2008; Madianou 2012; Siapera 2005; Thomas et al. 2010; Tufte 2001b, Madianou 2006).

Notably, discussions of connectivity and of the transnational dimension of minority media cultures usually study the role of satellite television channels (Aksoy & Robins, 2002; Georgiou, 2012a; Marie Gillespie, 2006; Madianou, 2006; Robins & Aksoy, 2005; Slade, 2010) and of other media which also sustain transnational social collectivities (whether because they circulate internationally (e.g. videos and pop

[141] The article starts with a thought-provoking vignette about a polemic comment made by a Polish magazine publishing in English. The suggestion that Polish should become Ireland's third national language stirred various critical publics, which, in the author's opinion may have been the very goal of the move: to attract audiences. The author helpfully notes that this instrumentalization of ethnicity, as a playful comment more than a serious assertion of visibility, is the kind of strategy that is expected of commercial media but, however, not of minority media. This is a point I return to later.

[142] Online media often target second generations whose little knowledge of the parents' mother-tongue prevent access to minority media. (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach 2011: 66)

music (see Schein 2002) or because they are globally accessible by nature (namely websites, blogs, forums, social networks and other online media) (see Madianou 2012; Thomas et al. 2010). It is in these discussions – which also tend to focus on media consumption– that the mediation of imagined communities and ideas of diasporic modes of consciousness are usually explored (e.g. Tsagarousianou 2004).

Nevertheless, locally produced minority media have also contributed to the connectivity of migrants with large social collectivities on account of the recombination with new technologies (Matsaganis et al., 2011: 58; Rigoni and Saitta, 2012: 2). As some authors (Rigoni & Saitta, 2012: 2-3; Matsaganis et al., 2011: 254-5) argue, more than replacing previously established initiatives, online media add to and merge with them, thereby leading to some changes in usage such as amplifying forms of interaction (for examples see Matsaganis et al., 2011: 127-128). What is more, digital media are not aproblematic solutions: there are costs and literacy required to use them while commercial pressures are still present.[143]

Such media typically fulfill the role of maintaining connections to the context of origin and to the cross-border social formations, namely by reporting on the news from the motherland. Radio particularly does it by bringing the presences of family members and friends who are far away on air through messages sent by mail or even phone-ins. This is intensified as broadcasts started to be streamed online and these people became actual audience members, participating more actively through email and social networks. As apparent in the mapping, people re-connect with family and friends as well as with a place where they may have lived or visited. Yet online projects more generally allow decentralizing practices of production and welcome the contributions of consumers who become content creators as well as more present and active participants (Georgiou 2003: 6; (Rigoni & Saitta, 2012: 8). In combination with lower costs of production and technologies that are easier to domesticate, this has resulted in an expansion of minority media projects.[144]

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[143] Some authors caution against over-praising the ability of technologies to revolutionize minority media. Costs of online servers and lack of digital media literacy are obstacles that add to the commercial pressures that still underlie the cultural industries and media production (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rokeach 2011: 66; Cottle 2000: 17; Karim 1998: 6).

[144] Portugal's minority mediascape is one clear example of this as online radio stations (e.g. the Namastê radio station of the Hindu Community in Lisbon) and news portals have multiplied (e.g.

Accordingly, scholars have been noting the importance of bringing place and a cross-border framework to the study of media produced in migratory contexts. For example, to better address the "mobility and multipositionality of people, ideas, communications and cultures" (Georgiou 2007: 18) Georgiou proposes an approach that privileges an understanding of transnational realities by articulating the categories of the city, network, community and the transnational – which transversally materialize the lived experiences of migrants and their media connections. Rigoni and Saitta (2012) highlight the importance of circulation of information and of connectivity that enable the participation in significant elsewhere, in real time, from a distance, and being *both* here and there (instead of neither here nor there). Titley (2008) discusses the Polish media produced in Ireland as "reflexive components of a transnational field" to illustrate multiple and shifting strategies of positioning within multicultural discourses while reaching also across borders.[145] Although focusing on the use of interpersonal media and the consumption of mainstream media, Anderson (2012) also emphasizes the importance of the transnational dimension in people's lives, which communication technologies allow exploring albeit in differential

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Africanidades), in addition to occasional audiovisual services (e.g. Algarve Channel 5's tourism-oriented videos). Remaining a largely uncharted territory still, they are the counterparts to mostly small-scale media, such as print publications (newspapers and magazines) and radio shows inserted in the programming of local stations (Figueiredo, 2003; Salim, 2008). They coexist, however, with a wealth of other media reaching transnationally (radio and television channels available through satellite, for example). Zee TV and Globo are some of the options reported to take central in migrant audience's everyday lives.

[145] To scrutinize the importance, potential and limitations of transnational connections that digital technologies enable, the author suggests delving into transnational economies of production and cultures of engagement. In the case of Polish media in Ireland, Titley contends that minority media are framed by the continuous communication through cross-border networks that influence the narratives they project and the way they operate. Media projects are constructed in part through competition with media from the context of origin, residence as well as other migrant media. Establishing themselves as pertinent and unique is also shaped by engagements with communities, in which media producers can assume role of informal leaders: whether it is the whole generic population or a particular segment of it. Differential modes of address respond to the different publics targeted (minority or nonminority, within or across borders) when working towards intercultural education, community making, ratings' boost, or other. Structuring factors include also the need and goal of revenue-making (for sustainability or profit) as well as the ideological frameworks establishing to what extent migrants' media will be considered primarily as projects pertaining to cultural diversity or as (just) actors in the mediascape. As the author notes, showing a capacity for multicultural reflexivity, such media juggle the vocabulary of policies managing cultural diversity (multiculturalism, intercultural dialogue, integration, ..) usually alongside with strategies to gain legitimacy and engage with audiences that distance themselves from such "inescapable horizon of ethnicity and culture".

manners according to their situated biographies and social positions. The list of authors highlighting the transnational dimension goes on (e.g. Moylan 2008; Schein 2002; Yang 2002; Tsagarousianou 2004).

It has become empirically clear that minority media's role must be understood in the context of cross-border and competitive media production, as well as media diets that feed on all mainstream and alternative as well as local, national and transnational sources. In that sense, the virtual spaces they create are complementary to the transnational audience of satellite channels, and the participation in forums and other mediated connections. As in the case of the latter, their contours may be grounded in the context of production, but accompany the geography of the people who are dispersed through different countries. Subsequently, minority media challenge the borders and models of nation-state by impacting systems of symbolic representation when shortening and reframing temporal and spatial distances (Kosnick 2007: 149). As such, they can foster not only a sense of proximity but also new kinds of collective experience, even if maintaining previously existing collectivities and identifications more than creating communities per se (Dayan 1998: pp). Although probably in smaller degrees than transnational minority media, they facilitate the sharing and reworking of discourses across borders and, thus, harness modes of imagining commonality among audience members and of negotiating differences separating them from their contexts of residence, of origin or each other (Georgiou 2003: 57-58). Nevertheless, as Karim (1998: 3) notes when discussing the work of Chambram about Chicanos, granted - not all migrants develop such transnational identities on account of globalized communication.

In tandem, new technologies enable an enhanced connectivity by transforming production practices. The exponential increase in availability of information due to the internet has significantly simplified the work of media practitioners when giving access to greater amounts of information, which is also more updated. As some radio producers reported during the exploratory mapping, instead of a weekly run to the nearest airport to collect the latest newspapers, there is now only the need to arrive a few minutes early at the studio so as to check a few online news portals and jot down a line-up for the news bulletins. As a result of this increased circulation of information, minority media invite audience members to position themselves in relation to their contexts and frames of reference instead of forming crystallized

images of motherlands which can, nonetheless still be conceived of in an idealized manner (see Moura, 2010). They can foster a de-mythologization of the context of origin (Robins & Aksoy, 2005), even if the types of proximities and the intensity of connections vary along the resources, personal biographies and social positions of migrants using the media (e.g. a refugee vs a corporate expatriate) (Andersson, 2012).

In sum, as Titley (2008: 10) notes, the transnational character of these media (which is not more intense than mainstream counterparts but qualitatively different from them) is a key particularity. Yet, this is not in detriment to their role of assisting in the processes of settlement, communitymaking, and of countervailing representations in the mediascape. Notably, the transnational lens is useful if avoiding loose and vague conceptualizations of the term (which has been a problem in discussions of globalization, cosmopolitanism, or, I could add, diaspora) (id: 6). A transnational framework engages an approach based on fluidity and mobility although not necessarily losing sight of the weight and role of structures.

> Transnationalism's turn to a language of fluidity and mobility (Cottle 2000; Fiast 1999; Urry 2000; Sheller and Urry 2006) does not imply a concomitant disavowal of situated power structures and immobilizing inequalities. As Yeoh *et al* contend, transnationalism does not swirl blithely free of the political spaces of nation-states, nor suggest equally airy juxtapositions of the 'local' and the 'global' (2003). The formation and life of what both Vertovec (1999) and Yeoh *et al* (2003) have called the social morphologies of transnationalism depend on both the individual and collective forging of sustained practices across space and boundaries, and the obstacles and possibilities of migratory regimes, 'host' state institutions and global political economy (id: 7)

It also highlights the inter-connections across scales, along networks and at varying degrees of density and intensity.

2.2.4.3 Synthesis of section Connections to home(s)

The dynamics of cultural identity expression and reconstruction are important in minority media research. Key aspects include the construction of belonging through the establishment of connections to places of reference: the host context, the country of origin and the diasporic space. Minority media assist in initial orientation to navigate the new home, besides fostering communal feelings and the acquisition of social capital, and assisting in the transmission of cultural heritage to new generations. This was further spurred by the recombination with new technologies, which changed practices of production as well as possibilities for access, participation and meaning-making for consumers in ways that allowed new forms of construction of belonging.

The diversity of and intensity of connections minority media fosters "signifies the presence of lives lived transnationally, of those who 'dwell' (Urry 2000) in and between meaningful places through various forms and possibilities of mobility and attachment." (Titley 2008: 4-5). Minority media's dual role thus combines assisting migrants in settling in the place of residence whith serving as a channel for cultural reproduction and celebration through connections to transnational social formations (Lewis, 2008: 13; Cunningham and Sinclair, 2000: 5; Siapera 2010: 109). Apparently contradictory, these two functions ultimately balance processes of cultural preservation and the development of a new, situated syncretic cultural identity (Cottle, 2000: 3; Echchaibi, 2002; Matsaganis et al., 2011: 15-16; Naficy, 1998: 51; Riggins, 1992: 276; Sreberny, 2005: 446). In other words, minority media are avenues to negotiate multiple stances of connection at once, instead of consisting of mere information channels geared towards the preservation of essentialized cultures, as minority media used to be seen (Echchaibi 2002: 40).

In this sense, the condition of re-location fosters the re-construction of cultural identities from a "new point of departure" (Baumann, 1996: 191) that necessarily converses with the position of otherness that migrants occupy, and are often related to what different authors designate as diasporic modes of consciousness (Tsagarousianou 2004; Georgiou 2007). These points of departure are indicative of the subject positions constructed, which vary along with the type of mobility, the origin of the population, as well as the more classic sociographic factors of gender, generation, social class, and so on. As spaces for the expression, sharing and negotiation of lived experiences in the host context, minority media provide what Bhabha (1994) calls a "third space of enunciation".[146] To be specific they invite the

[146] The notion of the 3rd space is part of Bhabha's theory on the articulation of cultural difference. In his discussions on post-colonialism (1994), which is not the relation that many migrants have with Portugal. Yet, the notion is useful. Bhabha proposes thinking not of cultural diversity (which, he finds, evokes a state of affairs) but of cultural difference (as a meeting point between two cultures which is open to transformation and invites cultural identity revision). In this sense, he proposes thinking of intersticial sites where this cultural encounter may take place. The Third space is such an ambiguous area that develops when two or more individuals/cultures interact. To conceptualize a minority media initiative as a third space is to emphasize the position from which people articulate their cultural selves – for the third spaces provides discursive conditions for negotiation – as well as the very constructions that are enunciated – for in mobilizing ideas of culture, community and tradition they denote that signs and claims are not fixed or pure but are contingently translated and re-arranged, often denoting ambivalence and contradictions. (Bhabha 1994: 37-38).

articulation and negotiation of situated, ambivalent contingent and plural points of view resulting form the cultural encounter that underscores migrants' experiences.

To underscore a similar idea in a way that resonates closer to radio, Moylan (2008) draws on Naficy (2001), to suggest these minority media are "accented". Granted, the original proposal for an accented cinema (Naficy, 2001) posits a number of specifications for accented modes of (cinema) production, which may not always apply to minority media (and, particularly, to Bright FM).[147] In any case, in general, these media represent the migrant subject position to the extent they are cultural constructions essentially constituted by the experience of displacement and transnational lives. In that sense, both "third space of enunciation" and "accent" conceptualizations are useful to the understanding of the type of subjectivities reproduced by Bright FM (along with other locally produced media) for they also present an element of innovation while being clearly specific to the relation established with place for people who share such a stance of connection, rather than clearer ethnic affiliations.

2.3 Conclusion

Despite the difficulty in circumscribing – and therefore analyzing – minority media, their relevance is increasingly clear as they affirm their presence in various mediascapes (not least with the support of new technologies). As Matsaganis et al. (2011: 254) show, they "are here to stay", whether in the form of transnational big corporations, national or local state sponsored initiatives or more alternative community projects, to name a few. They are part of a highly mediated social world and, although specifically made by, for and about migrants, they are inscribed in media cultures which converse with mainstream globally circulating and national media, and innumerous forms of interpersonal communication sustaining migrants' sociabilities (within and across borders). Yet, they uniquely mediate the experiences of migrants because they enable conversations among those dwelling in the local while keeping the transnational dimension of social life present (whereas satellite

[147] For example, Naficy posits accented cinema's modes of production are tendencially more artisanal in nature and, although feeding on mainstream styles, contrast with the esthaetics and operations of dominant media. Moreover, they are self-reflexive practices that comment, allegorize and criticize the conditions and contexts in which migrants' live through the media texts.

channels and other transnational minority media tend to address migrants mostly in a unidirectional mode of presentation of content) (Karim 1998: 12). The issues pertaining to initiatives produced in migratory contexts must then be understood in relation to the contemporary realities of ubiquitous circulation of people, goods and ideas as well as the technological developments which sustain them and the policies informing them.

More concretely, mediated self-representation has surfaced and expanded in dialogue with developments in both technological innovations and national and supra-national policies of representation of cultural diversity. The latter encourage different regimes of representation and establish the place and space of operation of minority media. Although not in a determinant way, mainstream media do contribute to shaping public opinion and often foster processes of essentialization, which migrants are confronted with when reviewing their position in the host society. Such mediated representations can not only accentuate the foreign nature of the migrant "other" but also problematically reify cultural distance, which has resulted in media policies meant to better account for, as well as to foster, cultural diversity in the mediascape. Reflecting changes in ideologies informing how to accomplish that, support for minority media was created and later diminished. Meanwhile, as a response to frequent under- or mis-representation in the media, migrants initiated their own media projects, with or without subsidies and specific laws regulating their activity.[148] With the possibilities provided by new technologies in terms of access to production, media practices are increasingly developed outside of political and economic national structures and across the boundaries between producers and consumers. Increased exchanges of ideas, opinions, and interests within public sphericules that are no longer confined to the local level or national boundaries results in the reconfiguration of the ways in which cultural formations are spatialized and imagined.

[148] To position myself, I should add that I advocate for the creation of conditions for the emergence of locally produced minority media (possibly in the guise proposed in the Minority Community Media Manfiesto) despite being aware that the format is not necessarily more free of problems of representing the target migrant audiences than commercial or public projects, as mentioned earlier and evidenced by Kosnick (2007). Not meaning to contribute to a discourse that sustains the straightforward association of these media with minorities' voices, I do find they do facilitate access to media production for populations who otherwise may not gather resources to create their own media, which would have the great potential to be beneficial to the populations and the country as well as channels to reflect through diversity.

Subsequently, as complements to national, transnational and international media, locally produced minority media do not just offer one more channel for circulating images, ideas and products. They can have a particular way of mediating the relationships people establish and develop with each other, themselves and the places that are significant for them. On the one hand, they operate towards the inclusion of migrants in the host society both in and through mediated representation. They contribute to a more plural public sphere to the extent they can bring new agendas and perspectives onto the mediascape. Whether actively challenging mainstream representations and policies or more self-centeredly focusing on the issues of specific interests, these media materialize the universal right to communication (Rigoni and Saitta 2012; Husband 2000; Downing and Husband 2005; Cunningham and Sinclair 2001) by establishing the possibility to participate through difference (Georgiou 2003). At the same time, they are forums which assist in both the process of incorporation to the host context and maintenance of transnational connections to the contexts of origin and fellow migrants elsewhere. They provide information to navigate the new context of residence, establish connections within the migrant and local populations, and provide avenues for the acquisition of social and other forms of capital at the same time that they update information about the context of origin, foster cultural reproduction through the joint celebration of shared values and traditions while also lubricating relationships with family and friends elsewhere.

When establishing such multiple connections, these spaces foster the construction of situated subjectivities that articulate the significant frames of reference for these migrants in the expression of cultural belonging. They provide third spaces of enunciation (Bhabha 1994) where migrants can articulate and make sense of dwelling and community making in sites with transnational horizons. "Accented" identities can take different forms depending on the specific populations at stake, their type of mobility, connectivity and position in the mediascape. Yet, they both reflect and play into the type of incorporation into the host society and the connections maintained across borders. They can entertain essentialism, although this might not signify cultural withdrawal as much as render apparent the difficult struggle to reconcile different referents and forces for cultural retention and assimilation (Echchaibi, 2002; Titley 2008; Kosnick 2007). In turn, as contested spaces, these media can also present the type of complex representations of the migrants and the

realities they live in which are prone to advancing intercultural dialogue in a world where "the capacity to *live with difference"* is *"* the coming question of the twenty-first century" (Hall cited in Cunningham and Sinclair 2000:15). These representations also reveal the perspectives of cultural "Others" about shared realities, which makes them compelling and privileged sites of study.

The next chapter outlines the mapping of minority radio initiatives in Portugal and justifies the choice to explore a case-study which is atypical in the field of minority media: a project made by and essentially catering to relatively privileged populations.

3 MAPPING THE MINORITY RADIOSCAPE

To show how I grappled with the phenomenon and constructed the object of study this chapter describes the initial phase of research: mapping minority radio initiatives in Portugal. This chapter presents the identification of initiatives and the justification of the choice of Bright FM as a case study. The first section notes the difficulties in identifying migrant' initiatives and explores the backdrop of radio concerned with cultural diversity (both in mainstream media and other, more local and/or alternative enterprises) so as to situate minority radio enterprises. The second section of this chapter discusses the findings and debates the pertinence of exploring Bright FM as a case study.

3.1 The mediation of cultural diversity in the Portuguese radioscape

The problem of defining what constitutes, minority media remains a challenge even when focusing on one type of initiatives (in this case, media that are locally produced in the context of destination for populations residing there). Language is often a strong indicator of the target audience and helps establish whether channels or programs revolve particularly around a migrant population (Matsaganis et al. 2011: 89). After all, language is perhaps the main feature contributing to the ability of reaching audiences in particularly familiar, effective and/or other specific ways that simultaneously feed on and foster identification. However, it became rapidly clear that binding the object of study raised issues of definition due to Portugal's complex immigration history. Issues of definition and the importance of context encouraged me to use a broad notion of media about migrants and cultural diversity for the mapping stage. However, the choice was made to select an initiative that followed a clear minority media format and was made (even if not exclusively) by and for migrant populations.

3.1.1 Pragmatic difficulties in circumscribing minority radio initiatives

The very first difficulty encountered when designing my short phone questionnaire was how to define migrants' media. Since I had the goal of studying

those who had relocated internationally (more than second and third generation dynamics) it seemed I would define migrants as foreigners. Yet, this terminology is problematic for, in Portugal, the notions of immigrant and foreigner are complicated by national history and current legislation. Specifically, some immigrants previously residing in the ex-colonies were entitled to Portuguese nationality. This was the case of some Africans from Portuguese speaking countries as well as Indians residing in Mozambique, who arrived in Portugal alongside with Portuguese "returnees" after the end of the Portuguese dictatorial and colonial regime. Additionally, the nationality law does not automatically confer Portuguese nationality to a child born in the country.[149] As such, many Cape Verdeans and Guineans who are, in practice, second and third generations, remain formally foreigners although they have never lived in another country. It would not be accurate to talk about them as foreigners or immigrants – even if they may at times be perceived and treated as such.

More importantly, they are often not considered migrants by radio practitioners themselves. Similarly, programs with and/or about African (like Brazilian) music on the airwaves was naturalized, for it has been a long-standing and significant presence. Interestingly, Brazilian, African and Latin-American music shows are usually specially designated in programming schedules (available on stations' websites) whereas Anglophone music is hardly highlighted in this way. In the first few phone calls it became clear that radio practitioners often did not promptly mention all their staff or shows dedicated to those music styles. This posed the question of to what extent is content sufficiently allusive to minorities to classify those shows as minority media – and whether it would make a difference if producers were also of African or Brazilian descent (in the case of shows using only the Portuguese language). It was evident that the array of programs consisting mostly of a musical playlist of Brazilian and African music for a general audience, which were frequently put together by Portuguese with "great musical knowledge and taste",

[149] Mixing the principles of *jus sanguinis* (transference of nationality along bloodlines) and *just solis* (entitlement to the nationality of those born within national territory), the Nationality Law (Lei Orgânica n.º 2/2006 available online at http://www.dgpj.mj.pt/sections/leis-da-justica/livro-vii-leis-da/nacionalidade/lei-da-nacionalidade [retrieved 4th July 2013]), holds taht certain conditions need to be met for a child to have Portuguese nationality at birth. Namely, if both parents are foreigners, at least one must have been a legal resident for at least five years in order to entitle his/her newborn with Portuguese nationality.

would be excluded from the list. Yet, it seemed necessary to open the designation of the object of study (to highlight the importance of migration and cultural diversity) and to check the content of the listed initiatives a posteriori. Among the shows that were initially considered but were not included in the mapping results are:

- a series of shows that were exclusively music oriented (and sometimes lacked a presenter)[150],
- religious programs produced throughout the world in several languages and which are also available in Portugal (e.g. *Svet Zhizni* (*Luz da Vida*), is a show translating a radio broadcast of the transnational Christian network "Insight for Living's" into Russian and distributed internationally so as to reach the dispersed Russophone population, thereby being telling of migratory flows – which is, however, not produced in Portugal and thus not considered for the mapping),
- channels of public service broadcasters distributed through satellite, short wave or Internet platforms that are available in Portugal (such as BBC World, Voice of America or *Rádio France Internacionale* [151]), which are complementary to minority media produced in the context of residence but play different roles and are strikingly different experiences.

3.1.2 Mapping results

As noted in the methodology section, provided the volatile nature of a sector that is highly dependent on human and technical resources, it is only possible to

[150] These concern musical shows that seem to bear no relation to migrant populations (e.g. shows featuring Brazilian, French, Irish or African music) and programs devoted to "world music", that equally only very generically address migrant audiences (if they do so at all) even though some are produced by or with members of foreign populations. Additionally, I also did not consider for the mapping programs by famous Brazilian singers, whose purpose is to promote their work also in Portugal, where they tour and where they also have fans (e.g. *Top Euro Brasil*, by Iran Costa).

[151] *Rádio France Internacionale* is a case apart to the extent it was distributed through the Lisbon-based local broadcaster *Rádio Europa Lisboa*, formerly *Rádio Paris Lisboa*. In 2011 the station was sold and the live retransmissions of RFI (Monday through Friday from 12-16h and 20-24h, and weekends 24-16h) were discontinued. After being bought by the Portuguese music production company *Música no Coração* and the media group Energie's (ENJ), it was transformed into a franchising of the French group's "Nostalgia", which coincided with the name and format of a popular radio in Portugal in the 1990s. Before, however, Rádio Europa Lisboa was thematic music station dedicated to jazz, a genre deemed insufficiently produced and disseminated in Portugal. Only the locally produced programs focused on Europe were considered for the mapping.

determine the number of existing minority radio initiatives at a given moment. The mapping I conducted is therefore but a contribution sketching an approximation to the national radioscape at the time our field research began.[152] During the period between June 2009 – June 2010, I successfully contacted 140 (of 347 stations in Portugal).[153] In sum, I identified 26 initiatives that were active at the time (although some are no longer on the air) and 25 that had already been discontinued. 3 are channels, 21 are programs and 3 are features within larger programs. In nationwide stations I found 6 programs, which address, feature or are made by migrants although not necessarily doing all at the same time, as explored below. These findings are specified and compared with other studies after listing the types of shows more generally featuring migration and cultural diversity that give a context for minority initiatives.

3.1.2.1 The context of minority initiatives: radio, cultural diversity and transnational connections

There are four types of programs providing a backdrop for minority radio productions. Although not addressing international mobility directly, the respondents of the phone survey listed these spaces. The first are shows produced and distributed by public service and commercial mainstream stations. The second and third concern shows inscribing Portugal in international arenas and exploring its cultural connections with other countries (the lusophone world, which has been formalized by the *Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa* (CPLP) and the European Union). They concern international contexts that are particularly relevant for the migratory dynamics that implicate Portugal (immigration from Portuguese speaking African countries and Eastern Europe, and emigration of Portuguese to European countries and, most recently, Angola and Mozambique). In that sense, such shows situate minority programs and the Portuguese mediascape in the transnational field of informational flow, identity engagement and self-(re)presentation in which minority

[152] While some shows have been discontinued (see Table 1 for examples), other initiatives have been emerging (e.g. online radio *Namasté,* sponsored by the Hindu community in Lisbon or the program *Integrasom,* within the community project *Rádio Manobras*, in Porto).

[153] Failure to contact the others derived from old and wrong phone numbers in the latest version of the database; no one answering the phone; failure to reach an informed practitioner at the station despite repeated attempts to call when directors, coordinators and/or older members were expected to be available.

media must be understood (Rigoni & Saitta, 2012). The final type of programs concerns shows addressing Portuguese who live abroad, with the stations themselves situated in Portuguese towns.

Browsing nationwide stations, I found 6 programs that differentially address issues of migration and cultural diversity. Three of these programs are broadcast in the public service channel RDP Africa, which I did not consider for the mapping as an initiative on its own given that these shows seemed oriented to the migrant population in Portugal. The remainder of the broadcasts addressed more generically the station's target-audiences: residents of Portugal and of the Portuguese speaking countries in Africa. These six shows differ from the local radio initiatives listed in the next section to the extent that, for the most part, they do not target specific populations but present a multicultural reality and foster cultural diversity as an element of cohesion.

- ***África Positiva*** (RDP África), like ***Gente como nós*** (TSF), is a program showcasing stories of successful integration processes by focusing on the biographies and trajectories of migrants. The first, however, focuses on migrants of African origin.
- ***Interactividades*** is a program welcoming the participation of listeners and featuring music, international news and current affairs of Portuguese speaking countries, in particular, the feature *Consultório Jurídico*: a space for listeners to pose questions about immigration processes that a lawyer answers (e.g. issues related to legalization, work permits, family reunification).
- Similarly to the previous show, ***Linha Africana*** (RDP África) focuses on music and news from the African continent, besides welcoming the participation of listeners and announcing events produced by and for the African population in Portugal. It also broadcasts a feature produced by a youth association: ***Rádio Jovem Bué Fixe*** is a 15 minute space where members of the association *Bué Fixe* address youngsters to promote awareness of social and health issues (such as HIV/Aids or sexuality) as well as to discuss realities lived by youth of African origin in Portugal (e.g. access to the job market). This particular feature was also included in the program *Vidas*

Alternativas, which is broadcast in various local stations across the country.[154] As such, I considered it also as an initiative in the local radioscape (see table 11, Appendix II).

- ***A Fé dos Homens*** (Antena 1) is a religious program produced by the various religious communities and inter-faith groups in Portugal. It presents the different religious traditions and practices.
- ***O Esplendor de Portugal*** (Antena 1) is a generic talk-show debating current affairs that I included because its specificity lies in welcoming as regular guests foreigners living in Portugal and working in the arts, journalism, academia and other areas. It debates Portuguese reality from the perspective of foreign residents.

The second type of shows, focuses mostly on the realities of Portuguese speaking African countries, although some do consider the lusophone world more generically. They are based on (and seem to take part in) the construction of *Lusofonia,* which has inspired not only (cultural, economic, political) investments but also but also in an imagined community.[155] They place Portugal in the international stage via international development assistance and focus on Portugal's linguistic, cultural and socio-economic connection with the lusophone world. Such spaces include "*Lusofonias*" (*Rádio Sim*), which replaced "*Caminhos Sem Fronteiras*"

[154] In addition to public exposure via its blog, (http://www.buefixe.org/ [retrieved 8th July 2013) *Rádio Jovem Bué Fixe* had a spot within *Vidas* Alternativas, *a show* produced by citizens who want to broadcast alternative musical repertoires, issues (e.g. concerning age, gender and other minorities') and points of view on air. The show is weekly broadcasted in several local rádio stations (Rádio Beira Interior**,** Rádio Planície, Rádio Regional de Arouca, and Rádio Guadiana) as well as online (e.g. Rádio Zero**,** Opus Gay**,** Rádio Sempre**,** Free Zone Informação Alternativa**,** and their own website vidasalternativas.eu).

[155] It is beyond this discussion to delve into the various perspectives concerning *Lusofonia*. It suffices to note that it has been a narrative force producing and promoting an imaginarium of affinity with material consequences (i.e. local and international development projects and political and economic bilateral agreements, among others) that have an impact on the access of African immigrants to Portuguese citizenship, possibilities of social mobility in Portugal and other structuring conditions. For Lusofonia's critics, the concept refers to "a process of transformation of language into a shared identity field, but lacking a radical criticism of claims to property, ancestrality and linguistic legitimacy (in short: of what one could designate of 'language's sovereignty')" (Vale de Almeida, 2006: 367). It results from a more encompassing process of the post-colonial reconfiguration of the Portuguese state, that "reproduces the luso-tropicalism's inherent culturalism given that it emphasizes the cultural dimension and shuns the political and economic processes of colonial days" (*ibid*.).

(*Rádio Pal*).[156] These shows consist of interviews and chronicles about topics such as HIV/AIDS' prevention, domestic violence, NGO projects for development at a local level and general current affairs. Additionally, the aforementioned international channel RDP Africa broadcasts, for instance, radio dramas that discuss social issues in Africa, such as human trafficking and HIV/AIDS'.[157] These shows seem to foster a sense of proximity between Portugal and Portuguese speaking Africa that surpasses the connectivity maintained by contemporary migratory movements, as clear in the presentation of the shows in their websites[158]

The third type of shows is also present in mainstream and local stations. It inscribes Portugal in the European Union by discussing, in Portuguese, its realities. Spaces like "*Rua da Europa 27*" (Antena 1), "*Minuto Europa"* (*Rádio Terra Nova*), "*O Futuro da Europa*" (*Rádio Universidade Marão,* Vila Real*)* and the programs of *Rádio Europa-Lisboa* ("*Entrevista Europa*", "*Europa Económica*", "*Diário Europa*", "*Made in Europa*", "*Zoom Europa*") present news, debates, detailed coverage of issues so as to consolidate a "European Consciousness". They discuss issues concerning the union and its mode of operating (e.g. how members of the European Council for technology and innovation are appointed). These shows are often

[156] The show "Lusofonias" is broadcasted in Angola (*Rádio Ecclesia*), Mozambique (*Rádio Watana* and *Rádio Maria*), Guinea-Bissau (*Rádio Sol Mansi*), Cape Verd (*Rádio Nova*), São Tomé (*Rádio Jubilar*) and California (*Rádio Voz dos Açores*), as well as ten local stations in Portugal: Voz de Alenquer, Antena Miróbriga, Boa Nova, Canção Nova, Costa d'Oiro, Cidade de Tomar, Cultura e Espectáculo, Vida Nova, Voz de Vagos, Águia Azul, Net Rádio Católica).

[157] "*Troco*", for instance, was a rádio drama series focusing on such themes that were sponsored by the International Organization for Migration and produced collaboratively by NGOs such as Mídia Comunitária para Desenvolvimento and several community radio stations in Mozambique and South. RDP África broadcasted it in 2009.

[158] As stated in the station's mission statement under "perfil da estação" [available on line at http://www.rtp.pt/rdpafrica/index.php?article=10&visual=1&headline=12&lyt=8&tm=7 [retrieved 8th July 2013] , RDP Africa tries to maintain a multinational balance in terms of music whilsts providing a bidirectional information service: providing African listeners with news of Portugal, the world and the Portuguese speaking African population residing in Portugal and, in tandem, bringing news of Africa to Portugal. In other words, broadcasts are not reduced to the presence of Africans in Portugal and Portuguese in Africa but also with the political, economic, social and cultural relations that are grounded in a colonial past but materialize and foster the continuity of an imagined proximity that the term and ideology of *lusofonia* strives to capture. Similarly, "Lusofonias" consists of "a means of mutual knowledge and sharing, a reference point discussing the current social, economic, cultural, and religious affairs of the lusophone world" ["*Um meio de inter-conhecimento e comunhão, um ponto de referência sobre a actualidade social, económica, cultural e religiosa lusófona.*" (https://www.facebook.com/lusofonias/info)

commissioned by state and European institutions and depend on their financing. Without the ability to invoke proximity or the texture that radiophonic spaces connecting Portugal and Africa, the programs are symptomatic of the ties binding Portugal to the EU. Such ties become materialized in common policies regulating entrance and permanence of foreigners in national territory and in the very movement bringing European nationals to the country and Portuguese to other Union's states.

The final set of programs reflects the international connections bearing weight in Portuguese history as an emigration country. Almost as numerous as programs serving migrant populations residing in Portugal, this group of shows focuses on Portuguese dispersed throughout the world. They are the direct counterparts of shows made by Portuguese in places like Argentina, France, Canada or Brazil (for studies of the latter see, for instance, Antunes Da Cunha, 2002b; Lepetri, 2012; Moura, 2010; Silvano et al., 2012). Echoing the findings of a recent study characterizing the local radio sector (Bastos et al., 2009: 72-3), I concluded that the programs in question are mostly produced in stations in the interior of the country, whereas those catering to immigrants are concentrated in the coastal and urban areas of Portugal. Notably, broadcasting locally and online became a common practice before the recent intensification of the emigration movement following the crisis of 2008. Unlike the ongoing show of the public service channel "Portugueses no Mundo" (Portuguese throughout the world), which started in 2012, they do not showcase successful stories of emigrants for the national audience as much as they interact with them, through song dedications and messages sent across borders between relatives and friends. Some stations do special live broadcasts in collaboration with stations in twin towns that host a large Portuguese population.[159] Occasionally, shows also contemplate

[159] In addition to at least four spaces which were discontinued before the mapping period, there wre nine stations investing in such collaborations with radios in France especially around dates such as the Day of Portugal, of Camões and of the Communities [of Portuguese dispersed throughout the world] (June 10th, celebrating the death of one of Portugal's main poets). Portuguese abroad are active participants in programas by *Ecos da Raia, Rádio Armamar, Rádio Escuro, Rádio Regional Batalha, Salida FM, Rádio Satão, Pampilhosa FM, Soure FM* and *Rádio Clube de Matosinhos,* among other stations. Although I did not consider stations outside of continental Portugal during the mapping, which was meant to inform the selection of a case-study more than to be an exhaustive account of the minority radioscape, I know that there have been programs addressing emigrants there too, such as "*Um abraço da Madeira*" (see a newspiece about it here: http://www.publico.pt/portugal/noticia/programa-de-radio-mata-saudades-a-emigrantes-madeirenses-ha-20-anos-1671211 [last accessed 29.09.2014].

returnees, which are part of the audiences for minority shows concerning the populations of African origin and the Luso-Venezuelan communities that are listed below.

3.1.2.2 General features of the minority radio landscape

As synthesized in Table 11 (see Appendix II), I found 3 channels and 23 programs engaged with issues concerning migration in different ways in the local radio sector. These spaces range from 15 minutes to 8 hours in length, as Bastos et al (2009: 80) also found.[160] Most are weekly shows that interrupt broadcasts at night or during the weekend with hosts presenting in Spanish, English, Mandarin, Gujarat, Ukrainian, Romanian, Flemish and various Portuguese accents. The few cases in which whole stations focused most or the entirety of their programming to minority populations consisted of Brazilian founded and ran *Rádio Record* and *Rádio Tropical*, and British oriented *Bright FM Algarve*.

Most can be loosely associated with specific migrant populations they were made by and/or specifically targeted: people from Portuguese speaking African countries such as Cape-Verde, Guinea, Angola and Mozambique (8); Eastern Europeans, mostly from Ukraine, Romania, Moldava and Russia (5); Western and Northern Europeans, mostly from the United Kingdom, Germany, France and the Netherlands (3); Asians from India and China (3); and Latin Americans, namely from Brazil and Venezuela (4).

Table 1: List of minority shows in the local radioscape

General address	
Espaço Migrante	Moura, Beja

[160] Some stations included informative or musical "footnotes" about particular migrant populations residing in the area covered by the station and/or about a plural Portugal, which were not, therefore, included in the mapping. When enquired about programming made by and for foreigners and about cultural diversity in Portugal, radio practitioners from *Rádio Terra Quente* (Mirandela), *Nazaré FM*, *Rádio Clube de Penafiel*, *Marco FM, Sociedade de Radiodifusão Limiana* (Ponte de Lima) e *Voz da Sorraia* (Coruche) described them as comments and highlights during news bulletins (for example, announcing the informally organized classes teaching Portuguese for foreigners in a local school at *Rádio Clube Paivense*), announcements of employment or housing opportunities in shows produced with local institutions (e.g. city halls, associations), discussions about matters of interest to migrant populations in debates, and shows produced with high-school students about the region and/or multiculturality.

(Rádio Planície)	
Migrasons (Rádio Zero)	Lisboa, Lisboa
Asian initiatives	
Olhar sobre a China (Rádio Onda Viva)	Póvoa do Varzim, Porto
Sons do Oriente (Rádio Festival)	Porto, Porto
Swagatam (Rádio Orbital)	Sacavém, Lisboa
Eastern European initiatives	
~~***Tchass Obo Vcem***[161]~~ ~~(Rádio Nova Antena and retransmission by Rádio Lagoa)~~	~~Odivelas, Lisboa~~ ~~Lagoa, Faro~~
Radio Vostok *(Rádio Leste)* (Horizonte FM and retransmission by Radio Atlântico Sul)	Loures, Lisboa Quarteira, Faro
Nasha Radio *(Nossa Rádio)* (Horizonte FM)	Loures, Lisboa
Sons de Leste (Rádio Lagoa)	Lagoa, Faro
~~***Noticiário Russo***~~ ~~(Rádio Terra Nova)~~	~~Aveiro, Aveiro~~
African initiatives	
Kizombíssimo (Rádio Sim Pal)	Palmela, Setúbal
Cheirinho (Horizonte FM)	Loures, Lisboa
Cabo-Verde n'Horizonte (Horizonte FM)	Loures, Lisboa

[161] Striked through shows were discontinued during the mapping stage.

Ondas Tropicais (Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Sao Tome, Capo-Verde) (Centro FM)	Carregal do Sal, Viseu
~~***Sons de África***~~ ~~(Rádio Lagoa)~~	~~Lagoa, Faro~~
Djunta Mo/O outro continente (Rádio Costa d'Oiro)	Portimão, Faro
Afrodisíaco (RDS Seixal)	Seixal, Setúbal
Latin-American initiatives	
Ondas Tropicais – Brasil (Centro FM)	Carregal do Sal, Viseu
Cita con Venezuela (Rádio Terra Nova)	Aveiro, Aveiro
Fiesta Venezuelana (Rádio Voz do Caima)	Vale de Cambra, Aveiro
Domingo Venezuelano (Rádio Clube da Feira)	Santa Maria da Feira, Aveiro
Rádio Record *(station)*	Lisboa, Lisboa
Rádio Tropical FM *(station)*	Lisboa, Lisboa
Western and Northern European initiatives	
Bright FM Algarve (station)	Albufeira, Faro
Good Morning Portugal (Vida Nova FM)	Ansião, Guarda
~~***Get Real Radio***~~ ~~(Rádio Racal)~~	~~Silves, Faro~~
Centro FM Internacional (Centro FM)	Carregal do Sal, Viseu

These numbers differ from other studies' findings (Bastos et al., 2009; Figueiredo, 2003; Salim, 2008). The second and third studies focused mostly on the immigrant press and only charted the most visible radio initiatives, which does not include a number of shows that, according to what I found, were ongoing at the time

of those studies' research. In contrast, Bastos et al. (2009) distributed a survey to local radio stations which yielded a sample of 165 respondents, among which 58 claimed to include programming "dedicated to foreign communities" (id: 79), on either a regular basis (40 cases), occasional basis (16) or both (2) (id: 79). Most respondents (23) did not specify which populations were being catered to by the shows listed. Those who indicated nationalities listed groups that did not fully coincide with ours in proportion: Brazilian (15 shows), African (12), Eastern European (9), Venezuelan (4), Other (3) (*ibid*). The discrepancy with our findings may have derived from a number of factors, such as: a) changes in the radioscape, b) differing definitions of what constitutes a program "dedicated to foreign communities" c) different samples of the same set of stations.

In turn, they coincide in the way they reflect the immigration realities that these programs index and result from. On the one hand, they concern significant immigrant populations in Portugal. Most shows, like most migrants, are from Portuguese speaking African countries, Brazil and Eastern Europe.[162] Additionally, the programs catering to the Indian population and the Luso-Venezuelan populations materialize two important events in Portugal's migration history. One brought Indian residents in Mozambique to Portugal and inscribed the country in transnational flows linking India, Mozambique, Portugal and the United Kingdom (which become apparent in the messages sent on air between relatives and friends scattered throughout these places). The other connects some Portuguese and their descendants to Venezuela, where they lived for many years before returning to Portugal. Similarly, messages sent online and read on air strengthen relationships maintained through visits with regards, personal news, and song dedications. On the other hand, past shows signal the waxing and waning of foreign presences in Portugal. Among the 25 initiatives that were discontinued before the mapping, 16 were shows "about the East[163]" which started and ended in between 2003 and 2009, approximately. Eastern

[162] Massive arrivals of Brazilians (in the 1980s and early 2000s) and Eastern Europeans, namely Ukrainians and Romanians (in the early 2000s), added to ongoing flows from the former African colonies that had started in the mid 1970s (Baganha, 2009).

[163] In Portugal, the expression "de Leste" (literally, from the East) conventionally became associated with the inflow of Eastern Europeans that marked the beginning of the 2000s. It is therefore distinct from other meanings for "East" that are current in other parts of the world and, namely, in social sciences' academic literature – which in Portuguese are connected with "Oriente".

Europeans started arriving in Portugal mostly after 2000 and leaving when the first signs of the financial crisis started to emerge, by 2008.

According to stations' directors, show hosts and other radio practitioners, these initiatives ended to a large extent because they "ceased making sense". In other words, as people became fluent in the Portuguese language, became absorbed into the work force and created support structures to ease further settling in or, alternatively, left to seek better living conditions elsewhere as the effects of the crisis started to be felt, the radio programs stopped. There was no more need to translate national and local news, explain how education and health systems operate and so on. Additionally, personal factors such as pregnancy, new time-consuming jobs and departure of show hosts combined with too little funding schemes and interrupted sponsorships to cause the programs to end. Shows oriented towards other populations more generally were discontinued because of issues of time, financial and technical resources.

Table 2: Past shows reported by local stations

Name	Target audience / languages spoken	Radio station, Location
General address		
? (Migrant show produced in partnership with ACIDI)		Rádio Ribatejo, Azambuja
Eastern European oriented shows		
Hora de Leste	Ukrainian and Russian	Voz da Planície, Beja
Outras vozes	Ukrainian	Radio Geice, Viana do Castelo
?	Russian or Moldavian	Radio Pal, Palmela
Um abraço da Roménia	Romanian and Moldavian	Rádio Voz de Setúbal, Setúbal
?	Eastern European	Rádio Costa D'Oiro, Portimão
?	Ukrainian	Torres Novas FM, Torres Novas
?	Moldavian and Russian	Rádio Alvor, Lagoa
?	Kosovo	Voz de Alenquer, Alenquer
Gentes de Leste		Cávado, Arcozelo
(show with 3 hosts from	Romanian, Russian and	Rádio Gilão, Tavira

different countries)	Ukrainian	
?	Russian or Romanian	Voz de Santo Tirso, Santo Tirso
?	Bulgarian	Radio Horizonte, Tavira
?	Russian	Radio universidade Marão, Vila Real
(feature: short interviews with lifes stories by Porttuguese as second language teachers)	Portuguese	Paivense FM, Castelo de Paiva
news feature in program ***Terminal 21***	Romanian	Antena Miróbriga, Santiago do Cacém
Russkaya Linyia	Russian	Foz do Mondego, Figueira da Foz
Other shows		
Zoobie-zoobie	Indian	Lisbon
Sur Sangam	Indian	Lisbon
Voz Internacional do Algarve	English-speaking	Rádio Lagoa, Lagoa
?	English-speaking	Total FM, Almancil
?	English-speaking	Fóia
Constallacion de estrellas	Luso-Venezuelan	Santa Maria da Feira
Ritmo Latino	Luso-Venezuelan	Azeméis FM, Oliveira de Azeméis

It is pertinent to note that there is no structure connecting, let alone organizing, these media projects. They are independent and dispersed initiatives that often have not heard of each other – or claim so in order to present themselves as pioneer projects providing a much needed social service and capitalizing on a good business idea, as seeped through when talking to directors and show hosts. Most presenters do not have journalism training nor do they perform that type of activity for the shows they host, which is not uncommon in minority media initiatives (Georgiou, 2003, 2007; P. Lewis, 2008; Matsaganis et al., 2011). The mapping yielded the features listed below as the main characteristics of the Portuguese minority radio landscape. Notably, the mapping was restricted to the level of production: in addition to the phone survey, I listened to the broadcasts and, when possible, visited the studio, interviewed the presenters and accompanied broadcasts. Given that I seldom had

contact with listeners, in this section the audience must be understood as the listeners that show authors and station directors estimated to have; the listeners implicit in the mode of address used in the shows (according to references to place of broadcast and residence; mother tongue; context of origin, and other specifying cultural references) and the listeners who identified themselves by participating in competitions, making music dedications or simply sending messages.

Initiatives' establishment histories

The most established show had been on air since 1987 and the most recent had just started in 2009. Many initiatives started as proposals made by individuals to local radio stations. Many have also had to later "migrate" from station to station, usually in search of the best conditions (e.g. in terms of deals to use air-spaces). In some cases, the search for a new home followed the demise of the station, either during the legalization process of pirate radios in 1989 or, more recently, as a result of the media concentration trend whereby small radios have been absorbed by larger media groups. In most other cases, stations themselves reached out to migrant populations so as to find the liaisons and the presenters they needed to initiate projects consisting of shows for those specific populations. Frequently the migrant associations and NGOs supporting migrants are key networking sites and project partners.

The goals of the various actors involved range from creating a space for dialogue and connectivity, a forum of representation, a strategy to welcome newcomers into the local population and a channel through which minorities' may voice their points of view. Additionally, these programs can constitute entry points to niche markets that stations seek to tap into. Bastos et al (2009: 81) found that stations with higher revenue also were the ones with more shows. However, I should note that station managers' who rejected such proposals for programs stated that revenue would be restricted to telecommunications and money transfer companies, and not very profitable.

Production and institutional dimensions

Some spaces are produced by radio practitioners working at the stations and others are made by external collaborators. In practice, unlike the producers of shows for Portuguese residing abroad show hosts are not part of the station's team but contribute to the station on a regular basis - as Bastos et al (2009: 79) also found. Show hosts are often language teachers, volunteers at migrant associations, news correspondents for newspapers in the countries of origin, or, when they are Portuguese, people who had lived in the countries where some migrant populations come from and/or who are sensitized to the importance of media assistance in processes of settlement. Apart from the journalists and the few cases of people who worked in radio before moving to Portugal, most had no or little prior experience with radio production.

Usually, the latter must find sponsors so as to pay for airtime. While programs may yield some income they are more commonly difficult to sustain on air. Although communication companies, banks and money transfer agencies regularly seek these spaces to publicize products tailored to migrants' needs and interests, producers find it necessary to approach business people among their peers and lean on "ethnic enclaves" (Portes & Rumbau, 1999; Portes, 2004). Therefore, investments involved in making a radio show include not only regular production and presenting commitments but also fundraising efforts, which entail time, exposure and social pressure. Still, some programs are partly commercial enterprises and serve to capitalize on cultural proximity and knowledge of social networks amongst minorities so as to buy into a niche market, which is not uncommon among minority media (Cottle, 2000a; Matsaganis et al., 2011; Ruby, 1991).

An example of this is "*Cita con Venezuela*", a radio show that used to be hosted by a pair of Venezuelan brothers who also owned "*Azucar y Salsa*", a night-club for Latin-American dances in Aveiro. As "*El Jefe*" explained during an interview, they tried to both "satisfy the needs of the Luso-Venezuelan population residing in the area" through the interactive radio space "Cita con Venezuela" as well as to capitalize on their professional and cultural background as radio and entertainment industry practitioners. Through the show they advertised the nightclub as well as a second program, "Coctel Caribe", which consisted, basically, of a music

playlist punctuated with music trivia,[164] and was largely meant to advertise for their nightclub. Their projects' timing was fortunate for the Latin-American dance club, was, according to the radio presenter and disco owner, one of the first thematic bars in Portugal to promote social dancing (a practice that has become increasingly popular in the last decade with the presence of, namely, African and Latin American migrants who brought forró, kizomba and salsa to Portuguese night and social life). At the night-club, as part of the recreation of a latin-American universe through music and dance references (e.g. pictures of Bolero, Salsa and Cuban music famous artists, some of which had come to Portugal, Venezuelan flags, collages of album covers, black and white men's dance shoes), there were posters advertising the radio shows.

Target-Audiences

As previously mentioned, the language of broadcasts identifying the listeners may be a single foreign language, a combination of foreign languages with Portuguese, or exclusively Portuguese. Portuguese is spoken with various accents, expressions and syntax, thus literally denoting the "accented" (Moylan 2008) nature of these projects. Programs are therefore often accessible to the Portuguese (speaking) population and even addressed to them. In the case of *Espaço Migrante* or *Migrasons*, there is no single population being specially addressed.

Notably, a number of programs targeted populations based on regional origin – or conglomerate identities, to use Matsaganis et al.'s (2011: 73) expression. Spoken in Portuguese and Russian, for example, some shows targeted in a more generic way, respectively, Africans and Eastern Europeans as the names of the shows suggest (e.g. "*Afrodisía*co"/Afrodisiac, "*Sons de Leste*"/Sounds from the East). This classification, that draws on history, language and geography, is ingrained in common language and common sense as became apparent when radio practitioners I talked to on the phone failed to specify which African populations the shows at their stations catered to and in which Eastern European language the shows were spoken in. Not surprisingly, a survey on audience's opinions on media, which included a section on migrants, collected a series of complaints of Ukrainians about over-emphasis on Russia and of

[164] For this reason, this show was excluded from the mapping's final list.

Romanians about the confusion and association of Romanians and Roma (a group highly discriminated against in Portugal) (Brites, Rebelo, & Cunha, 2009: 259).

In turn, as hinted at above, some shows target audiences whose cultural belongings situate the negotiation of cultural heritages related to significant places of reference along mobility flows. This is the case with the Indian and Luso-venezuelan shows in particular.

Content and formats

Some shows consist of live broadcasts while others are pre-recorded. Additionally, some consist of music and participation, namely through song dedications, whereas others opt for a talk-radio format. Some programs focus on news, from the local and national contexts of residence as well as from the context of origin. Others really explore the interaction with and between listeners. The shows not focused on a particular population tend to showcase life stories and examples of positive and successful initiatives fostering cultural diversity and integration as well as debates on these issues. Sometimes, programs combine all of the above with musical interludes.

Combining the dynamics apparent when listening to the broadcasts with the motivations and objectives reported by show hosts, it is possible to identify different main functions fulfilled by the several shows. These are synthesized in Table 12 (Appendix II) and explored below.

3.1.2.3 Functions performed by the radio initiatives

Informative function

This function concerns mostly the provision of information for practical needs related to the migrant condition and to the specific interests of the various foreign populations - "orientation function", to use Matsaganis et al.'s expression (2011: 83). In addition to useful tips for newcomers, most shows highlight issues concerning (the amendments to) immigration and nationality laws as they are published (namely the

periods of extraordinary regularization)[165] and provide spaces for exchange of information and assistance in navigating health and education systems, bureaucracy and so on. To give an example, shows like "*Cabo-Verde n'Horizonte*" (*Horizonte FM*) resemble "*Interatividades*" (*RDP África*) to the extent they have a feature welcoming questions regarding legal matters (i.e. family reunification possibilities depending on different types of visa; rights of offspring born in Portugal when the parents are in irregular situations; social security duties when employers do not follow through with, or refuse to provide, a contract; process of acquisition of nationality) that are answered on air by a lawyer.

These spaces are also a source of information to the extent they often channel the announcements from the country of origin's governmental institutions (i.e. when ambassadors visit Portugal) and usually provide local and national news translated into the language of the target-audience as well as current affairs from the host country. Even when no translation is required (namely for Portuguese speakers), minority media tend to construct a lens (in the information selection and point of view presented) that is particularly relevant for citizens residing outside of their home country, which differentiates them from national media and media from the context of origin that are available abroad. Additionally, they can particularly focus on a region from which most audience members are from and thus provide news that are not covered in national media from the country of origin, which can be accessed online or over satellite. That is the case of regional news reports in Cabo Verde n'Horizonte, for example.

Diversity and Cultural Education Function

This function concerns, first, efforts to raise awareness about cultural diversity. Apart from most Eastern European shows, which used the languages of the populations they addressed often exclusively, many shows used Portuguese in their broadcast. Granted, this comes fairly naturally to people who have Portuguese as one

[165] In order to cope with a new and accentuated immigration reality and compensate for an unprepared law, Portugal extraordinarily conceded legal status to all migrants in an irregular situation. Like in other Southern European countries this happened in a few occasions. In Portugal such periods occurred in 1993, 1996, 2001 and 2004 (Baganha, 2005).

(or the sole) of their mother-tongues (Africans, Brazilians, Luso-Venezuelans). Yet, more or less explicitly, they seem driven by a concern to make broadcasts accessible to a wider audience so as to add themselves (producers and consumers) to the mediascape.

> Because we don't want to segregate ourselves. It's to include. And every Cape Verdean speaks Portuguese. Anyone wishing to speak in Creole can do so, but we broadcast in Portuguese. And we don't translate those who speak in Creole [our translation (Excerto de entrevista, Susano, produtor de programa Cabo-Verdiano)[166]

In most cases, the goal of inclusion reportedly walks hand in hand with serving specific migrant populations. In other words, one way of promoting awareness about cultural diversity is to give visibility to different cultures, languages and traditions, which are also celebrated and maintained.

Initiatives that focus on sharing their cultural heritages with the general society present migrants and their lifeworlds to the general public while also addressing a specific target audience through a universe of cultural references and codes. Some programs, like *Sons do Oriente* (*Rádio Festival),* focus mainly on presenting culture to the Portuguese-speaking audience: the pre-recorded show introduces listeners, in Portuguese, to the Indian cuisine, architecture, religious diversity, among other aspects. *Um olhar sobre a China* has a specific language-teaching feature and presents useful phrases in Portuguese and Mandarin on a daily basis. In contrast, *Swagatam* not only also showcases historical, religious and cultural trivia (e.g. reminders of symbolic days, like independence days, and explanations of their historical background; popular culture news), but also engages in intricate forms of communication with the target-audience through symbolic references, using both Portuguese and Gujerat. For example, the host of Swagatam highlighted in a conversation the introductory jingle of the show, which mixes devotional songs from the different religious vocations present in Lisbon (Sunni, Muslim, Hindu) so as to underscore his efforts to unify the various religious groups, addressing and constructing them as a community. Sara, a Portuguese regular listener and big fan of

[166] "*Porque nós não queremos excluir-nos. É incluir. E todo o cabo-verdiano fala português. Quem quiser falar em crioulo pode falar, mas emitimos em Português. E não traduzimos quem fala em crioulo*". Like in this case, all other translations of interview excerpts in the thesis are my own.

the show, who also runs her own blog about Bollywood and Indian culture in Portugal, had no idea that the songs were religious to begin with.

> Inês: Can you follow?
>
> Sara: No. Nothing. But I think it's fun. (laughs)
>
> I: Ok… do you simply do something else then?... I don't know, in the parts when there are moments of humor, with people speaking in Gujerat
>
> S: (imitates the laughter from an alleged audience that can be heard in those recordings) There you go, that is one of those occasions in which me and my boyfriend look at each other and go "hahaha". But sometimes he [the host] says something in Portuguese, and then says exactly the same thing in Gujerat. And we can understand two or three words. I don't think it is alienating, on the contrary – I think it enriches the show. (slight pause). Just like, if I were a Gujerati listener, it is good that he speaks in Portuguese, because I think that a lot of people still face a linguistic barrier. It is good to learn to speak a little something in Portuguese even if it is through the show. But I think it's good, for both sides. (…)[167]
>
> (Interview excerpt, Sara, Portuguese regular listener of *Swagatam*)

As the quote hints at references speak to listeners while possibly not being even intelligible to a wider audience. However, this does not necessarily detract from the role of communicating with the Portuguese speaking audiences and showing them a different culture, at the same time that it provides a space of identification for, in this case, listeners with Indian roots.

As Sara indicates, the show can have educational functions for both audiences: it assists in the appropriation of the Portuguese language for listeners facing linguistic barriers besides educating listeners about Gujerat (and sometimes Konkani) languages, sonorities and traditions. More than Sara, who listens out of personal interest and curiosity, listeners targeted by linguistic features such as the moments of humor are people like Nalina, a young Indian woman who grew up in Portugal and studied at my university. Over lunch in the cafeteria, she laughed at the memories of being woken up on Sunday mornings by her mother to participate in competitions to

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[167] Inês: Consegues acompanhar?
Sara: Não. Nada. Mas acho giro. (ri-se)
I: Ok… simplesmente, nessa altura fazes outra coisa?... Sei lá, nos bocados em que há momentos de humor, com pessoas a falar em Gujerate
S: (imita o riso que se ouve nessas gravações de uma suposta plateia). Lá está, isso é uma daquelas alturas em que eu e o meu namorado nos viramos um para o outro e fazemos "hahaha". Mas ele às vezes diz qualquer coisa em português, e depois diz exactamente a mesma coisa em gujarati. E nós conseguimos perceber duas ou três palavras. Não acho que seja alientante, pelo contrário - acho enriquecedor para o programa. (pausa momentanea) Tal como, se eu fosse uma ouvinte Gujarati, é bom ele falar em português porque acho que há muita gente que ainda tem barreira linguística. é bom para aprender a falar alguma coisa em português nem qeu seja através do programa. Mas acho que é bom, para os dois lados. (…) (Excerto de entrevista, Sara, portuguesa, ouvinte regular do *Swagatam*)

translate short texts from Gujerate to Portuguese. The radio programs can therefore perform an educative function when playing into the listeners' education about their (and their families') cultural backgrounds through processes of cultural revitalization and reproduction.[168]

Additionally, the educational function can also explore a third way of fulfilling educative purposes alluded to in the previous chapter: raising awareness in the Portuguese society about the more general realities of migration. In the few cases of shows addressing the general audience, the main goal seems to be giving visibility to plural forms of understanding and living in Portugal so as to promote intercultural dialogue. These programs are produced by informal activists' groups and associations' leaders. In Portuguese, shows like "*Espaço Migrante*" (*Antena Miróbriga*) try to educate the general audience about the lives of migrants by showcasing life stories and examples of successful integration. Taking matters one step further, *Migrasons* (*Rádio Zero*) and *Bué Fixe* (*Linha Africana/RDP África and Vidas Alternativas*/various stations), discuss the opportunities, difficulties and place of migrants in Portuguese society. To raise the general population's awareness about specific conditions and issues that migrants face in Portugal, they invite foreigners (academics, public figures and directors of non-governmental organizations) to comment on national current affairs, to contextualize, clarify and discuss news (e.g. about the changes in European regulations hampering entrance and circulation), and share experiences and ideas about what to expect – and what to comply with – when moving to Portugal.

Entertainment function

This function pertains to the spaces of amusement and emotional comfort that radio shows may provide when music evokes nostalgic memories or when presenters'

[168] This echoes other studies' findings about the importance of minority media for the education of second-generations (e.g. Gillespie 1995; Sjöberg et al. 2009). Yet, if satellite television and other international media (which these studies often focus on) are central, locally produced media can play a unique role as "useful entry points to discuss sensitive issues" provided they work through the cultural divide (Matsaganis et al., 2011: 18). The same authors propose these media can prompt discussions among friends or family about, for instance, the realities of growing up and living in the host country (i.e. what does it mean to be a citizen) and assist in the negotiation of limits which mobilize cultural values (i.e. appropriate age to start dating).

humoristic comments in the listeners' mother tongue fosters non-translatable cultural affinities. Both music and humor comprise specific cultural registers that play into the management of the migratory experience. Speaking to people in a naturalized, sensorial and emotional way that enhances linguistic proximity, programs create a space of identification, which may be significant during processes of reterritorialization and home-making in a new setting.

One example of such invitations to connect with cultural codes include "*Piratas no Ar*" (*Record FM),* a show inspired in the Brazilian station *Jovem Pan's* successful program *"Pânico"*. Justifying the jingle of Record FM ("The best radio in Europe. [It] brings Brazil to Europe"[169]) the format of the show adds to the Brazilian music genres (*forró, axé, sertaneja,* among others). Based on *"zoeira"*, a particularly constant and somewhat scornful style of banter, the sound design of these shows intertwines music with a fast paced colorful chitchat that situates the connection to Brazil. In a different register, the host of *Swagatam* carefully organizes each month a "Top 10" feature, which updates listeners on the Bollywood "show bizz" and musical scene. Authors of other programs also justify their playlists with this emotional and sensorial logic during broadcasts or in interviews. They describe shows by highlighting music, noting "This is the show that helps us shorten distances to our land with music and news from our place."[170] (*No Djunta Mó*). Jingles also reflect this: "Sounds from the East – a program dedicated to the Eastern community residing in the Algarve. The traditions, the customs and the variety of our music"[171] (*Sons do Leste*). Presenters commonly note the feedback from listeners about music that make them nostalgic to the point of tears, and they emphasize the shows as important channels, which trigger longing:

> We receive music from all over the world. When Cape-Verdians put out an album, they send it to us to launch it in Portugal and to represent Cape-Verde. (…) when you hear a song that concerns you, and you are abroad, *saudade*/longing steps in. *Saudosismo/Longingness* steps in.

[169] "*A melhor rádio da Europa. Traz o Brasil para a Europa."*

[170] "*Este é o programa que nos ajuda a encurtar a distância das nossas terras com música e notícias da nossa banda*."

[171] "*Sons do leste – um programa dedicado à comunidade do leste residente no Algarve. As tradições, os costumes e a variedade da nossa música*"

It isn't just longing, but something that touches you, that belongs to you.[172] (Interview excerpt, Susano producer of Cape-Verdean show)

Phatic function

This function pertains to the interactive nature of the spaces and, therefore, their ability to construct and lubricate social ties. When using the notion of phaticity I draw on (Arps, 2003) discussion of the term as related to practices of communicating through the radio. The author discussed messages exchanged through a community radio station in Indonesia. In the present case the context is not always so local, but the dynamic is similar. With the notion of "phaticity" I try to convey that different radio features communicate sociability more than they impart information, thus contributing to engage and maintain contact. In other words, what is to be highlighted in some occasions is the act of communicating over what is being communicated.

This phaticity is materialized in birthday wishes, condolences, messages congratulating newlyweds and recent parents, as well as simple notes for friends and family who are far away – all of which usually accompany a song dedication. Provided broadcasts are usually transmitted online as well, it is frequent to receive messages from abroad and some hosts make a point of having people talking on air to each other (as happens, for example, in "*Interatividades*" (RDP África), which imprints a different dimension in the interpersonal relationship of the listeners given the wider audience accompanying their interaction. Attentively following some shows reveals that people may use them as spaces for socialization both locally and transnationally. In some cases, they seem to use them to question hierarchies and social rules. In shows with a dense social network among the listeners (such as "*Swagatam"* (*Orbital)* or "*Domingo Venezuelano*" (*Rádio Clube da Feira*)) statements at times provoke or, conversely, enforce social control. Such instances have included, for example, the declamation of a poem by a listener about immorality of stealing despite facing hardships, which was inspired by local events, and the

[172] Recebemos músicas de toda a parte do mundo. Os cabo-verdianos logo que editam um disco, mandam-nos para fazer lançamento em Portugal para representar Cabo-Verde … quando ouve uma música que lhe diz respeito, e quando estamos fora, entra a saudade. Entra o saudadosismo. Não é só a saudade, mas alguma coisa que te toca, algo te pertence.

disconfirmation of an engagement that had been announced through a message to a previous show, by a relative of the alleged bride.

3.1.2.4 General categorization

These functions are complementary and intersect each other. Furthermore, they suggest an organization of initiatives by type. In a more interpretative classification it is possible to distinguish initiatives more oriented towards interculturality from those more focused on community making processes. Although preoccupations with cultural diversity and production realities disturb simplistic systematization, this division generally coincides with the distinction between programs generally addressing cultural diversity, often made by a Portuguese staff of local and national radios, and programs made by and (largely) for minorities. As outlined in Table 12 of Appendix II, taking into consideration nationwide programs,

1. Spaces about cultural diversity

In what concerns the first type of spaces, focused on diversity, I can identify

a) programs sensitizing for interculturality that usually benefit from national coverage (namely, *Gente como Nós, África Positiva, A Fé dos Homens, Rádio Jovem Bué Fixe/Linha Africana)*

b) spaces promoted by local organizations, migrants' associations and informal activist groups who try to explore diversity and intercultural dialogue and problematize its complex realities (namely, *Espaço Migrante, Migrasons, Rádio Jovem Bué Fixe/various stations)*

2. Spaces by and for specific minorities

Most shows address specific communities. As noted above, they draw on specific languages and a number of cultural features comprising common denominators amongst people who may otherwise remain strangers to each other – namely if they are not involved in migrant associations, clubs or religious structures. To promote local ways of maintaining cultural attachments, they give visibility to the festivities celebrating national days, initiatives of local organizations, concerts by

artists from the countries of origin or inter-religious meetings. In that sense, these shows are particularistic, to use Dayan's (1998) expression, to the extent that they promote a sense of belonging based on a series of references that construct and sustain imagined communities. Ultimately, the programs foster the creation and maintenance of subjectivities mixing cultural heritages and affiliations to other places with identifications with the current country of residence. Frames of reference become intertwined on air in a quotidian mix of, for example, updates on the Portuguese football team's performance in international championships followed by greetings from friends and family abroad celebrating "Mother's Days" on both the Portuguese and Venezuelan (or other) dates.

At the same time, programs vary in their mode of projecting their "we"-ness (which can be more essentialized or plural, or more or less close-knit) and of sustaining it (e.g. welcoming interaction on air, whether live or asynchronously, promoting off-air sociabilities, focusing primarily on the celebration of musical repertoires, providing news). Still, the collective narratives and discourses consolidating feelings of belonging that connect migrants to contexts of origin and residence, as well as to peers who have similarly experienced emigration (into the new "home" or other points of a perceived diaspora), are based on representations which are, like all representations, ideological.[173] Even when programs seemed to be more focused on communication among audience members and/or on commercial, professional and individual interests, the banal circulation of references (music, news from the context of origin and residence, etc.) still converse with (and privilege) different frames of reference and competing narratives (i.e. upholding crystallized cultural reproduction vs. hybridized cultural recreation).

3.1.2.5 Synthesis of section Mapping results

The mapping phase was hampered by the difficulties to bind the object of study. Perusing the nationwide public service and commercial channels through their

[173] As Kosnick (2007: 164) notes, authors such as Bourdieu (1977) and Hall (1982, 2003b) have posited that what is established as natural, obvious and normal has been constructed socially and historically. Representations of culture and community that are so constructed but are presented as natural and banal, are therefore ideological.

programming schedules online and listening to shows was uncomplicated. However, definitions of who migrants are and, consequently, what radio programs can be considered to be produced by and for migrants clearly varied among respondents of the telephone survey. This made me question the approach and widen the initial category used for the mapping.[174]

Considering programs related to migration and cultural diversity in Portugal yielded a broad background that was not restricted to the realities of migration. In the local radioscape, in addition to shows made by and for minorities, there were shows catering to Portuguese emigrants, programs focusing on Portugal's connection to the lusophone world and shows inscribing Portugal in the European Union. The latter resulted from temporally situated tendencies (e.g. adoption of digital technologies by local stations and a history of emigration that created pockets of listeners across the world; political and economic interests in forging and lubricating alliances between Portuguese speaking countries; integration in Europe and funding to promote an European consciousness). More importantly, they constitute the context of international flows, identity engagements and self-representation dynamics which minority media must be understood in (Rigoni 2012).

The minority radioscape itself can be described according the various functions its programs fulfill often concurrently (among which I identified four: informative, educational, entertainment, phatic). It is also possible to distinguish shows that are focused on cultural diversity (whether sensitizing for interculturality and the positive aspects of diversity or problematizing cultural encounters and diversity's complex realities) and programs focused on fostering a sense of community, even if usually presupposing as audience members both a migrant population as well as the general population in Portugal.

[174] Such variation may have derived from the history of immigration in Portugal noted earlier (which confuses the "migrant" category upfront given that some migrants had Portuguese nationality before arriving from the former colonies and youngsters born in Portugal from foreign parents are not be given nationality). More importantly, the linguistic and cultural proximity of Africans and Brazilians, who have influenced the sonorities on the airwaves (and in dance-floors) in Portugal, meant their shows discarded as minority radio initiatives by other radio practitioners at times. Therefore, I opted for a wider lens, enquiring about the existence of shows made by and for migrants and concerning cultural diversity.

3.2 Choosing the case-study

More than neatly organizing programs, the characterization of the panorama above suggested trends and issues that influenced the choice of an atypical case study.

3.2.1 Dynamics of self-representation: showcasing culture

Examining the dynamics of self-representation, which differentiate minority shows from other media featuring diversity, I found that all aforementioned programs were hardly closed within themselves. First, although all were particularistic to some extent, all cared to share and present (their) culture to others. As put forth above, most shows seemed to be driven by the desire for connection and cultural celebration, which they explored by participating and contributing to the mediascape. This is not uncommon among minority media (Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005: 437; Titley 2008: 13). Second, shows engage in bidirectional communication with other media. Programs borrowed content and re-transmitted or commented on news broadcasted in mainstream media, both from the country of origin and of residence. They were also occasionally featured in mainstream shows about cultural diversity as examples of integration.[175] Besides confirming that there are porosities among separate arenas within the public sphere (Dayan, 1998: 110), the scenario qualifies the idea that these media's specificity is the promotion of cultural identities and 'internal' communication (Husband, 1994; Riggins, 1992).

Yet, the self-presentation was hardly ever a reflexive account of their position in the mediascape or Portuguese society. In other words, despite displaying "a genuine willingness to open up to the social … environment in which they operate" (Blion 2007: 68), most shows merely inform about diversity and inscribe it in the mediascape. Although resorting to a common language (Portuguese) often, and sometimes clearly trying to sensitize the audiences to cultural diversity, they did not explore the possibilities of intercultural dialogue and inclusion in Portuguese society. Contributing to a more plural mediascape usually consisted of sharing a repertoire of customs, sonorities and traditions under a positive light, besides giving visibility to the various migrants' ways of belonging to Portugal. This may be picked up on by

[175] The show Gente como nós featured at least the shows Sons de Leste and Cabo-Verde n'Horizonte.

people interested in cultural encounters, which are promoted through broadcasts, but it is then up to individuals to explore possibilities of cultural encounters and engage with the issues that inform each population's standing in Portugal. This of course does not detract the value that such openness has on its own as is clear from Sara's example. Sara, who is a particularly avid listener who developed a taste for arts and aesthetics that are alternative to the mainstream in Portugal, hints at the possibility the show opens for people to explore, in this case, Indian culture:

> Because what is best in the show it's having someone presenting in Portuguese. Because there are many Indian programs online,[176] but it is not the same thing! I tried listening, and it is not the same thing. It is much more fun to hear something that is localized, in which it happened… for example, when I lived in Lisbon, it happened that he announced something for that afternoon in the morning and I thought "oh man! I'm getting dressed and going to go watch this", or something like that. And I think that this is really priceless – proximity and localization.[177] (Interview excerpt, Sara, Portuguese listener of *Swagatam*)

Second, they seem create an avenue to explore the construction of situated subjectivities more than explicitly negotiating them. During fieldwork, I did not register reflexive discussions about cultural difference, integration, belonging like those that are apparent elsewhere. One example is the radio show that is made by African migrants in Ireland studied by Moylan (2008): topics of debate and comment by listeners include representations of migrants in the news. In a different approach, the forum and posts among British residents in rural France studied by Lawson (2015), like the mailing list posts among expatriates in Nepal studied by Clark-barol, McHugh, & Norum (2015) dwell on what integration means and what kind of efforts should be undertaken by migrants. All the latter entail presumptions about cultural background and situated identities as residents of a different country. In the radioscape studied, only the two civically committed shows, *Migrasons* and *Rádio*

[176] The listener was refering to transnationally circulating shows that were produced across the world.

[177] "*Porque o que o programa tem de melhor é uma pessoa a apresentar em português. Porque há imensos programas indianos online, só que não é a mesma coisa! Eu já experimentei ouvir, e não é a mesma coisa. É muito mais giro ouvir uma coisa localizada, em que já aconteceu... por exemplo, quando eu vivia em Lisboa, já aconteceu ele avisar de manhã de uma coisa que ía haver durante a tarde e eu "eh pá! Vou-me já vestir e vou assistir a isto" ou coisas assim. E acho que isto realmente não tem preço - a proximidade e a localização*."

Jovem Bué Fixe,[178] clearly meant to advocate for interculturality by working through such issues, as apparent in the presentation of the programs:

> Migrasons is a new radio project about Immigration, Interculturality and Cultural Diversity made by people of different origins. Our goal is to foster respect for difference and to improve social cohesion through dialogue debate and cooperation.[179] (Excerpt of email distributed by Rádio Zero advertising the show and looking for volunteers, January 2009

> The *Rádio Jovem* project is a project that consists of the production and broadcasting of radio shows to youngsters of African origin and with roots in the Portuguese speaking African countries who reside in Portugal, where various subjects of interest to youngsters will be addressed so as to mobilize their attention to other types of information that can assist them in their process of social, economic and cultural integration. We want to produce content that are able to address them in a direct, objective and deeply interactive language, that is able to promote changes in attitudes and behaviors among youngsters as well as their active participation in the construction of Portuguese society, developing solidarity initiatives and socializing among youths of different cultural, economic, religious and gender origins.[180]

> (…) This initiative privileges the Immigrant Youngsters, Migrant Youths and Luso-Africans who speak Portuguese are still very discriminated against because of their racial, economic and cultural origins. These youngsters are also discriminated against in the informations that exists that does not respect their particular language and culture. Also, many youngsters cannot find a

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[178] After the mapping, a show promoting rich and unpretensious discussions about the various aspects of migrants' lives emerged in Porto's community radio project Manobras: *Integrasom* is a talk-show in Portuguese, hosted by a Portuguese, Romanian and Brazilian volunteers who debate cultural diversity in Portugal in a critical way but in a relaxed atmosphere, through first-hand accounts of association leaders, researchers and artists.

[179] "*Migrasons e um novo programa de radio sobre Imigração, Interculturalidade y Diversidade Cultural feito por pessoas de difrentes orígens. O nosso objetivo é fomentar o respeito pela diferença e melhorar a coesão social através do diálogo do dabate e da cooperação*." The spelling is a mixture of Portuguese and Spanish, which makes sense to the extent that the main organizer of the show was a Spanish volunteer. The program was promoted by the migrants' association Solidariedade Imigrante in partnership with other entities, such as the group *Grupo A Formiga Fora da Estrada*.

[180] "*O projecto Rádio Jovem é um projecto que consiste na produção e realização de programa radiofónico dirigido para a juventude africana e com origens nos PALOP residentes em Portugal, onde serão abordados vários temas de interesse dos Jovens para mobilizar a sua atenção para outro tipo de informações capazes de os apoiar no seu processo de integração social, económico e cultura. Queremos produzir conteúdos capazes de utilizar uma linguagem directa, objectiva e profundamente interactiva, capaz de promover mudanças de atitudes e comportamentos entre os jovens assim comoa sua activa participação na construção da sociedade portuguesa, desenvolvendo iniciativas de solidariedade e convívio entre jovens com distintas origens culturais, económicas, religiosas e de género (…) Esta nossa iniciativa prioriza os Jovens Imigrantes, Jovens Migrantes e Luso-Africanos que falam português ainda muito descriminados devido à sua origem racial, económica e cultural. Estes Jovens são também descriminados nas informações que existem que não respeitam a sua cultura e linguagem particulares. Também muitos dos Jovens apesar de quererem trabalhar não conseguem devido a exigências como a de uma conta bancária pessoal e referencias que não têm. Como não têm trabalho também não têm condições de estudar porque não têm como pagar os estudos e os materiais exigido." Bué Fixe's group started in São Tomé with a project geared towards awareness raising about HIV/Aids and health issues. They printed a magazine addressing youngsters. After moving to Portugal, some of its members expanded that work to include issues pertinent to the immigration realities. One way to develop that work was to start the radio show*.

> job even though they try because of demands such as having a personal bank account and references that they do not have. Given that they do not have a job, they also do not have conditions to study for they cannot afford studies and school material. (…) (Excerpt of post on the blog of the group Bué Fixe on January 15th, 2009 (http://grupobuefixe.blogspot.com/)

These two last shows can therefore be said to be "mediators between the various groups that make up European societies" and, therefore, "diversity media/*medias des diversités*" (Blion 2007: 68). Like other shows in local and nationwide stations that are sensitized to the presence and participation of migrant populations in 21st century's Portugal, they project a positive image of Portugal as a currently culturally diverse country; they explore people's life stories as they settle into their new home, give visibility to the work of associations and events facilitating that process (music and dance festivals, cultural days' celebrations, etc.), and register first-hand accounts of an increasingly open and welcoming society.

However, to emphasize the added value of diversity they not only promoted and praised the presentation of multiple perspectives on various subjects, but also problematized the realities of diversity. They aired debates with guests to reflect on the concerns, issues and dynamics of migrant populations from a multiplicity of perspectives. Discussions revolved, for instance, around the difficulties of getting residency, obstructed access to the job market or the process of renting a house because of accents and skin color, and financial problems, which aggravate the latter. In addition to unpacking stereotypes, concrete discussions about the slanted structures of opportunities could be paired with calls for public demonstration against policies leaving migrants vulnerable. This was the case when the policies on immigration adopted in the EU in 2008 generated strong public opposition because of the adoption of stringent measures, such as the imposition of return and ban of re-entry to migrants who overstay their visa. These two program summaries of *MigraSons* illustrate this.

> In this edition of MigraSons dedicated to the European policies concerning immigrants we talk to Lidian Fernandez from Solidariedade Imigrante and Sara Rocha da ATACT about the relationship to the crisis and the current policies. In Portugal, various tenths of thousands of people are still waiting to have their situation regularized, vulnerable to the exceptional and not fully official character of the current legislation. In all of Europe, the Return Directive (commonly known as Shameful), and the Sarkozy Pact aim to criminalize immigrants and to also undermine their rights. For this reason, an open letter about the Immigration Policies was sent out on May 6th, so as to "promote a serious and constructive debate, which involves ample participation of civil society" about these policies. We take this opportunity to announce that on May 17th a EUROPEAN DEMONSTRATION FOR MIGRANTS' RIGHTS, under the motto NO TO THE EUROPE OF SHAME, at 15:00 hours in Martim Moniz. (Summary of the show aired on May 10th 2009, available on the programs' blog http://migrasons.blogspot.pt/search?updated-max=2009-06-15T12:03:00%2B01:00&max-results=7&start=7&by-date=false [accessed on September 2014])

> Today MigraSons goes out into the streets to cover the Demonstration against "The Europe of Shame", celebrated in Lisbon on May 17th. An initiative promoted by a wide network of European organizations, Bridges and not Walls, whose manifesto, which will be sent to the candidates to the European elections, may be consulted and subscribed (for organizations) at www.despontspasdesmurs.org. The European Union is still locked in a repressive, Eurocentric and reductive view of migrations. Border control and the persecution of migrants have become the words of order of migration policies in the EU, as it is clear in the Directive of Expulsions and Pact Sarkozy. In times of crisis, the migrant has become a scapegoat, a populist recipe to attract votes and to make voters forget the failures of economic and social policies. For the regularization of undocumented migrants. Against the Directive of Expulsions and Pact Sarkozy. Against xenophobia and the politics of scapegoating. Because with equal rights we all win. (Summary of the show aired on May 17th 2009, available on the programs' page on Radio Zero's website. http://migrasons.blogspot.pt/search?updated-max=2009-06-15T12:03:00%2B01:00&max-results=7&start=7&by-date=false [accessed on September 2014] [181]=

In contrast, on most shows mapped, the considerations of foreignness, "Portugality" and its appropriations seldom concerned reflections on wider processes, obstacles and issues of social inclusion and exclusion in Portugal. Notes pertaining to citizenship concerned important announcements about visits of consuls or ambassadors to the area of residence, discussion of rights and procedures for voting whilst abroad, or enquiries about solutions for legalization processes and other issues posed by listeners to a lawyer in the previously mentioned pre-recorded feature. This happened inclusively when marginalization is known to condition people's lives (e.g. the case of Cape-Verdeans and Guineans (e.g. the case of Cape Verdeans and Sao

[181] "*Nesta edição de MigraSons dedicado às políticas europeias em relação aos imigrantes falamos com Lidia Fernandez, da Solidariedade Imigrante e Sara Rocha da ATTAC sobre a relação da crise e as políticas actuais. Em Portugal, várias dezenas de milhares de pessoas mantêm -se à espera da regularização, sujeitas ao carácter excepcional e oficioso dalguns dispositivos da actual legislação. Em toda a Europa, a Directiva de Retorno (popularmente conhecida como da Vergonha) e o Pacto Sarkozy visam criminalizar os imigrantes e minar inclusivamente os seus direitos fundamentais. Por esta razão foi lanzada no dia 6 de maio uma carta aberta sobre Políticas de Imigração, com o objectivo 'promover um debate sério e construtivo, que envolva uma ampla participação da sociedade civil' em torno das políticas de imigração. Também aproveitamos para anunicar para o dia 17 de Maio, uma JORNADA EUROPEIA PELOS DIREITOS DOS/AS MIGRANTES, sob o lema NÃO À EUROPA DA VERGONHA.{/Ooutros>consciencializar} Às 15h no Martin Moniz. / Hoje MigraSons sai na rua para acompanhar a Manifestação contra 'A Europa da Vergonha' celebrada em Lisboa no 17 de maio Uma iniciativa de uma ampla rede de organizações europeias, Pontes e não Muros, cujo manifesto, a ser enviado aos/às candidatos/as às eleições europeias, poderá ser consultado e subscrito (para organizações) em www.despontspasdesmurs.org. A União Europeia continua encerrada numa visão repressiva, eurocêntrica e redutora das migrações. O controlo das fronteiras e a perseguição dos/as imigrantes indocumentados/as, tornaram-se as palavras de ordem das políticas migratórias na EU, como bem o demonstram a Directiva das Expulsões e o Pacto Sarkozy. Em tempo de crise, o/a imigrante tornou-se um bode expiatório, uma receita populista, conveniente para atrair votos e fazer os votantes esquecer os falhanços das políticas económicas e sociais. Pela regularização dos/as indocumentados/as. Contra a Directiva das Expulsões e o Pacto Sarkozy. Contra a xenofobia e a política do bode expiatório. Porque com direitos iguais todos ganhamos."*.

Tomeans, as discussed by (Carvalheiro, 2006; Trovão & Ramalho, 2012). In other words, they did not engage in discussions that would ultimately be

> giving a voice to the diversity of the components of contemporary European societies … make the general public aware of the main economic, social, cultural and political issues and dynamics arising from the diversity of today's European societies. (Blion, 2009: 67)

In that sense, they showcased culture more often than they reached out for interculturality through reflexive accounts of their participation in the host society.

3.2.2 Searching for a suitable framework

What surfaced in the exploratory research was that most radio shows' form of self-inscription in the mediascape did not evidence a strategy to gain visibility in the public space so as to countervail exclusion – which is often discussed in the literature as a central function of minority media (Georgiou, 2003; Rigoni & Saitta, 2012; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005). Although effectively adding presences to the mediascape, shows do not seem to be driven by, or focused on, exclusion – and particularly not in association with debates about coping with a fraught social position derived from the migrant condition. In other words, the panorama outlined resonates with Bailey et al's (2007: 2) comment stating that, whilst minority media's political significance is always present as they "become strategic positions for self-expression and representation", political goals are not necessarily part of the motivations to make the media projects nor necessarily one of the principal functions they perform for the audience they cater to. Ultimately, representation *in* the media does not necessarily entail representation *through* the media, although it fulfills various other functions (e.g. expressing identity and fostering participation in communities within and across borders).

Notably, there are various possible reasons for this dynamic. First, dynamics happening off air can be as, or more, significant than broadcasted narratives. The shows possibly integrate larger collective strategies of (in)visibility so as to construct a place in the host society. As local radio is but one forum of public visibility for these populations, other forums can be, and are, sought for this work. For instance, Trovão and Ramalho (2010) identified initiatives such as *Plataforma Gueto,* a civic intervention project led by young African descendants, which recently actually started

its own online radio station.[182] Moreover, as noted by Silverstone & Georgiou (2005: 434), there are other, less public forms of expressing such perspectives. Mediation is also a political process in so far as dominant forms of imaging and story-telling can be resisted, appropriated or countered by others both inside the media space, that is through minority media of one kind or another, or on the edge of it, through the everyday tactics of symbolic engagement, in gossip, talk or stubborn refusal.

To add to that, producers may be reluctant to antagonize the stations hosting the shows. In fact, the institutions they are collaborating with, or the sponsors funding the shows, may impose actual constraints to addressing somehow political topics. Relatedly, another reason for not (re)acting against exclusion through the local radio programs concerns the possibility that opinions on representation, inclusion and other matters may be divided among the population being represented. As noted earlier, various authors emphasize these spaces are not settled and uncontested (Olga G. Bailey et al., 2007; Rigoni & Saitta, 2012; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005; Titley, 2008). Rigoni and Saitta (2012: 3) further note that these media are not set points of difference: neither projects nor actors are intrinsically subversive but, rather, may deal with particular contexts in insurgent ways at situated times. Finally, it may be the case that people may be more focused on the array of media forms which can connect them to various symbolic worlds and social formations than on feelings of exclusion, which may nevertheless arise in their everyday experience as migrants.

When searching for a framework to explore a case-study, it became clear that approaches focusing on dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, and particularly those that establish these media as ethnic were not helpful**.** The mapping suggested programs were more focused on forms of working through cultural identities and belonging than on reflections of their social standing and inclusion/exclusion. Granted, the two dynamics are intertwined and related to the population's position in the country and can vary greatly, as is clear from an overview of the "communities" addressed on air: in addition to catering to Portuguese audiences, some shows are straightforwardly produced by and for migrant populations (e.g. *Nasha Rádi*o by and for Ukrainians in Lisbon) while others are produced by mixed teams (e.g. *Um Olhar*

[182] See http://plataformagueto.wordpress.com/2012/01/13/plataforma-gueto/

sobre a China, by Portuguese and Chinese hosts for the Chinese community in Póvoa do Varzim), for mixed populations joined by regional origins and common social positions in Portugal (*Bué Fixe*, for African youngsters) or joined by similar migrant experiences (*Domingo Venezuelano*, for Luso-Venezuelans) and sometimes drawing unexpected audience (*Centro FM Internacional*, which attracts Portuguese listeners who have lived in the European countries whose musical legacies are showcased in the program; Bright FM, which includes audiences that disturb the notions of "migrant", such as people who reside only part of the year in the Algarve, but construct it as home).

3.2.2.1 Multiculturalist perspectives and the ethnic dimension in minority media

The fact that shows are not signaling issues faced by the populations they cater to, and not voicing their problems, hardly means that either there are no concerns to address or they are not being "authentic". Yet, that is the premise underlying multiculturalist conceptions of minority media, which focus on the issues of inclusion/exclusion. The "ethnicization thesis", to use Kosnick's expression (2007: 165) holds that minorities' access to the media enables authentic representations of "themselves" and, therefore, legitimates the voicing of their interests and concerns in a double sense of portraying and standing for the migrants (*ibid*). This is clearly formulated in descriptions justifying the emergence of minorities' media as ethnic:

> Ethnicization of the media means, from a cultural perspective, the primacy of including that which is one's own over that which is not. Ethnicization of the media allows the members of one's own group to see themselves, their own destinies, their own problems, their own bodies. Ethnicization of media enables finding oneself, determining one's own destiny and cultural identity. (Becker cited in Kosnick 2007:152)

To summarize and underline ideas advanced earlier, these approaches are problematic because they overlook the fact that any population is riddled with tensions that polarize diverse social and material statuses and perspectives, besides reducing the complex issue of migrant-mediated self-representation to a matter of access to resources and to the opposition of cultural minorities and national majority (Kosnick 2007). They gloss over the plural practices of media consumption (in terms of types of media consumed and interpretations given) (Mary Gillespie, 1995; Sreberny, 2005). They also fail to take on board the coexistence of essentialist

discourses based on fixed notions of culture and bounded ideas of community, and anti-essentialist discourses based on shifting positionalities, which engage transnational social fields (Georgiou 2007; Titley 2008) (see Georgiou (2012) for a discussion of different strategies of positioning of arab media consumers in European societies, who engage in both essentialism (through "strategic nostalgia") as well as transnational, fluid and mobile sense of affiliation (through "banal nomadism").

On the last note, Titley (2008: 114) makes a particularly compelling argument against the containment of migrant activity (namely in the media) within multiculturalist discourses and policies, which impose ethnicity as a logic of legitimacy. He notes how they obscure the possibilities for action of minority media. The author starts an overview of the various Polish media in Ireland by suggesting that one polemic comment (proposing that Polish should become an official language in Ireland given the significant presence of Polish people in the country) was a strategy for a magazine, to stir the mediascape, call attention to itself and, consequently, increase audience and raise revenue, thereby playing with the migrant position from which it was understood to "speak". Inspired by Georgiou's (2007) criticism of methodological nationalism within minority media research, he cautions against the problems of conceding to "methodological multiculturalism" (id): failing to see dynamics which transcend and counter cultural compartmentalization, by expecting minority media and audiences to engage primarily in reifying cultural identity - as if migrant subjects were predicated by an "ontological condition" resting on the presupposition of cohesive cultural communities. The author notes:

> 'Migrant media' undoubtedly play crucial communal roles, from the facilitation of informational networks to the circulation of countervailing representations of minority identities. Within an immensely diverse spectrum, however, these roles are rarely settled or uncontested, and the reflexive strategies which stem from negotiating the contemporary politics of legitimacy are crucial in understanding the development of media forms and modes of audience engagement. (id: 3)

Finally, to complement these arguments, it should be noted that the ethnicization thesis, which underlies "methodological multiculturalism", also unhelpfully presumes that the migrant condition is disadvantaged and marginalized. Framing minority media through the lens of discussions based on exclusion and ethnicity, whilst often pertinent, can incur the danger of besetting, from the start, their social location as "minority-bound". Indeed, holding alterity and a pre-set power relation as a point of departure pertains not only to their strength in the mediascape (in

terms of numbers and visibility) but also, and mostly, to the connotations associated with the migrant designation and condition.

> The word immigrant, especially, is "a catch-all category, combining ethnic and class criteria, into which foreigners are dumped indiscriminately, though not all foreigners and not only foreigners" (Balibar 1991: 221). The immigrant becomes a chief characteristic that replaces race in a racist typology; it is a form of "racism without races", a verbal construction of opposition between Europe and the Other.(Georgiou 2005: 489)

Resorting to ethnicity as a qualifier of media projects is then also problematic given the articulation of alterity and power that it entails (Alia and Bull 2005: 2). To be specific, the problem with alterity and power that are encompassed in the qualification of anything (or anyone) as "ethnic" are related to the history and uses of the concept: as an idiom that articulates identification and differentiation (Barth, 1969; Roosens, 1989), ethnicity is unrelated to nationality; yet, it has become a buzzword in the context of management of diversity in nation-states and has been conceptualized with that frame of reference in mind.[183] In everyday discourse, ethnicity has come to signify "cultural Otherness" and inaccurately entail an array of associations to social problems, disadvantaged conditions and exclusion. Subsequently, the categorization of minority groups according to the conflation of ethnicity markers serves often to rationalize differences and justify social inequalities in situated (usually national) contexts.[184] Moreover, majorities or elites are hardly noted to lack channels to work through their cultural identity or to make their voices heard (Georgiou, 2003: 5; Morley, 2000: 116). In other words, the inference that is extended to migrants' media indicates that certain populations of, namely, higher

[183] As discussed by various authors (Gilroy, 2003: 54; Tsagarousianou, 2004: 64) thinking through social realities from the perspective of ethnicity privileges the national scale even though the concept of ethnicity was largely discussed and established in efforts to understand dynamics of globalization and make sense of social relations and multiple subject-positions in migratory processes. More than discussions about relationships with co-ethnics who are dispersed throughout the world, ethnic-informed debates have thus focused on the position of minorities in relation to national majorities and other minorities in the same country or region of residence (Georgiou 2011: 208 cited in Tufte 2012: 12).

[184] Various authors have noted the problem of slipping into a logic of cultural relativism that essentializes difference by treating culture as something that people have and that explains their behaviour (Handler, 1986; Wikan, 1999). Groups are not discrete, stable or homogenous units and do not revolve around an equally shared, static and reified culture (Baumann 1996, p. 20). Yet, conflicts and problems of various other natures are often articulated in terms of unsurmountable cultural difference which is then used to justify policies that mask and/or slant structures of opportunities (see, for example, Wikan 1999).

classes and/or European origin, are not perceived (nor perceive themselves) as ethnic or as migrants – despite being foreigners residing in a migratory context all the same. Moreover, the systematic assumption that minorities are somehow marginalized leads to disregarding relatively privileged minorities (and segments of minorities) that remain under-conceptualized, as ElHajji (2012) notes.

Notably, there have been attempts to criticize and depart from multiculturalist approaches (e.g. Georgiou 2007; Georgiou 2012; Kosnick 2007; Kosnick 2008; Titley 2008; Echchaibi 2002a; Sreberny 2005b). However, most studies of media produced in the destination context have focused on populations that fall in the above category of immigrants. To give a few examples: Turkish in Germany (Kosnick, 2007, 2008), North Africans in Paris (Echchaibi, 2002), Latin Americans in Spain (Retis, 2006), Muslims in France and the UK (Rigoni 2002) or in Denmark (Tufte & Riis, 2001), Polish in the UK (Titley 2008), Africans in the UK (Moylan 2008), Iranians in the USA (Naficy 2001), Chinese, Armenian and Hispanics in the USA (Wilkins et al., 2007), Portuguese in Canada (Silvano et al 2009) and Argentina (Moura 2010). Although frequently conceptualized within the framework of diasporic and transnational connections in discussions that emphasize multiple inclusions in various and multi-scalar realities, they still explored the participation in the contexts of residence through the experiences of the majority of migrants. These are indeed, often constrained and articulated through the mobilization of boundaries emphasizing cultural difference.

As noted earlier, my point is not to discard the ethnic dimension entirely but to question to what extent does it play into the production and consumption of the minority media at stake. I acknowledge that a group's focus on ethnicity (not least through its media) may be part of a reflexive process for reproduction, negotiation and celebration of cultural identity (Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005: 438). In that sense, minority media may largely contribute to the validation of boundaries and membership of a collectivity whilst demarcating it in the public space (Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005: 466; Georgiou, 2003: 55; Dayan, 1998: 110; Riggins, 1992: 2). Moreover, strategic essentialism may serve various purposes in situated instances (Bauman, 1996; Spivak, 1988). The point here is to observe how people essentialize and objectify their cultural difference (Comaroff 1996 cited in Madianou 2006: 524) whilst being cautious about using categories of practice as categories of analysis so as

to avoid further essentialization. For example, it was clear that some producers and consumers were individually using the shows to explore their cultural belongings. For them, producing and consuming the shows is part of investments in the ethnic dimension of their identities, as illustrated with the following two cases:

> I met the couple hosting one luso-Venezuelan shows in the Luso-Venezuelan association, where they seem to be regulars. After telling me about the events they host in the association's grounds, with live off-studio overage, they delved into their mobility trajectory and the program's story. Manuel was a Portuguese man from Madeira who lived part of his adulthood in Venezuela. He married a daughter of a Portuguese couple who had been born there. For security reasons, they moved to Portugal. The reason to start the show was to do "as the Portuguese did in Venezuela". He spoke of nostalgia, praising Venezuela and its people as warm, hardworking, true friends. He emphasizes he feels Venezuelan above all, and this is clear from his Spanish accent when speaking Portuguese, which, ironically, his wife does not have. *Fieldnotes, March 2010*

> Zeca was at the house of my forró teacher and was also coming to the party promoted by the show hosts of the Brazilian program "Piratas no Ar". While we waited for everyone to get ready, we chatted while switching between the two main Brazilian cable TV channels, Globo and Record TV. I learned he was Portuguese but had grown up in Rio de Janeiro. Although he had been back for over 10 years, he had a funny mixed Portuguese-Brazilian accent. After returning because his parents were concerned with the lack of security in Brazil, he steered away from Brazilian culture until, approximately, 2008. He got a Brazilian girlfriend at the same time that he started paying attention to a soap opera that reminded him of Rio, as it was set there. He found himself in a process of rediscovery and re-tailored his social life around Brazilian-ness. He started dancing forró (and became focused on what is proper and real forró, as it became clear in his conversation with my dance teacher in the car-ride to the party) and he follows all sorts of media. He is a regular listener of "Piratas no Ar" and, like my dance teacher (who had been a guest on the show more than once), laughed at the presenters' style of banter which can be over the edge for a station associated with a Christian church. He also finds that the station addresses both Brazilian and Portuguese even if it may appeal to Brazilians more strongly because of the music, the accent, and the format, which was popular in Brazil through Radio Jovem Pan's program "Pânico". For him, it is one of the ways through which he explores his Brazilianness. *Fieldnotes, January 2010*

To focus on the roles that minority media can play when not reflecting on exclusion in their work, as was clear from the mapping, and to avoid the shortcomings of ethnicity-based, multiculturalist perspectives, I elected a case-study that offsets these approaches.

3.2.3 The added value of an atypical case

Bright FM was founded by a British man and has been catering to, mostly, the Anglophone "expatriates" living in the Algarve. As explored in chapter 4.1 it also addresses tourists and locals. Yet, it is the Northern and Western European, North American and, particularly, British population that constitute the station's target audience. Choosing the atypical case of a station made by and for "expatriates" seemed a good case study to explore for a number of reasons. Besides fitting the

criteria established at the outset, the case of migrants that are not usually considered (nor consider themselves) as migrants, pose the issues of inclusion/exclusion from a different angle. The case of such a relatively privileged population would hardly invite qualifications of the population, or the project, as ethnic. While diverting away from the frames of multiculturalism and calling for transnational lenses based on ease of international circulation, it raises questions about the construction of belonging and negotiation of identity. Finally, it concerns a population that is under-researched and a type of experiences (shaped by a relatively privileged condition) that has been overlooked in studies analyzing the relations between media and migration, which could enrich the field concerned with minority media.

3.2.3.1 A different approach to inclusion/exclusion: self-seclusion

Despite the longstanding presence of the British and other Northern Europeans in the south of Portugal it has been questioned "whether integration is a relevant concept at all for British residents and seasonal migrants along the Mediterranean coasts of southern Europe" (Russel King et al., 2000). In terms of inclusion and exclusion, the issue is therefore related to strategies of reterritorialization that are often largely tangential to conventional forms of settlement. As explored in chapter 5, their relocation to Portugal is best understood as a tourism-informed mobility that is driven by and involved in the search for "a better quality of life", however that may be (subjectively) defined. Subsequently, their modes of incorporation, namely in the Algarve, are usually closely intertwined with the tourism realities driving the local economy: daily routines revolve largely around leisure, whether enjoying it or working to provide it for others. Moreover, although sometimes settled for over a decade, meaningful socialization practices are often with like-minded peers given language proficiency is usually reduced to a transactional level. Ultimately, as the same authors put it:

> The elderly British in southern Europe are not 'immigrants' in the commonly visualized sense, which implies powerlessness, marginality, minority status and a different cultural and racial background (Cashmore 1994: 188). Nor is their integration conditional on as many dimensions as apply to such immigrants: employment, schooling, civic rights, and overcoming of barriers of racial discrimination (Castles and miller 1998: 212-52). (King et al 2000: 136/7).

Reproducing the common understanding of the notion "immigrant", national media, and generically Portuguese society, do not represent them as migrants nor in relation to the usual issues of integration. As a few authors have noted (Ferin Cunha

et al. 2002: 414-415; Ferin Cunha & Santos 2004: 23; Costa 2010: 23), immigrants tend to be associated with low social and economic status in addition to a marginalized condition. Conversely, foreigners, usually from the European Union, are depicted in association to a high social status. Notably, Portugal's migration history renders clear that not all foreigners are migrants (e.g. children of non-Portuguese parents born in national territory) and not all migrants are foreigners (e.g. the case of African origin and Indian migrants who had been granted Portuguese nationality prior to the end of colonialism), to use Balibar's play on words mentioned earlier. Yet, this perception is generalized and media reproduce not only an acritical differentiation between the two categories (Ferin et al 2002: 414-415) but also the extension of the migrant condition's connotation to second and third generations as well as to other minorities (Ferin et al 2004: 23).[185] In an analysis of the construction of the category "immigrant" in a major news magazine (Visão), Costa (2010) interviewed journalists who had themselves not considered the possibility of classifying Europeans, such as the British in the Algarve, as migrants, until questioned about that by the researcher. Although other journalists deliberately portray these Europeans along with other foreign residents, so as to draw attention to the diversity of populations in the country, they also avoided using the term migrant.

Generally exempted from such a label, these foreigners are not depicted in mainstream media of host contexts based on cold, generalizing, sensational and dehumanizing images that strip them of agency and reduce them to a "problem" requiring active solutions on the part of authorities.

> The active role of work-seeking, non European immigrants in the integration process, their individual and collective agency in the creation of positive outcomes, their point of view as protagonists of integration but also of full lives with economic, social and personal goals – all aspects easily and naturally elaborated in stories of moneyed European entrepreneurial or professional expatriates - are often obscured in media treatment of poor arrivals. "Immigrants", as a vague social category, are instead most often portrayed as passive embodiments of a "problem" (…)(European Broadcasting Organization - Strategic Information Service, 2011: 21)

Resonating with this description, Brazilians, Africans from Portuguese-speaking countries, and Eastern Europeans – who, combined, are the most numerous and visible foreigners in Portugal (Baganha, 2009) – have indeed been associated in Portuguese mainstream media with crime, illegality and sensationalist narratives

[185] The only autochtone minority are the Roma people.

based on security concerns overtime (Ferin Cunha et al., 2002; Ferin Cunha, Santos, & Filho, 2008; Ferin Cunha, Santos, Fortes, & Castilho, 2009; Ferin Cunha, Santos, Valdigem, & Filho, 2006; Ferin Cunha & Santos, 2004; Ormond & Cádima, 2003). In spite of improvements in reporting (better framing, neutral tones, etc.) and differences between national and regional media,[186] as well as more highbrow and other media,[187] these portrayals reproduce the construction of migrants on the basis of homogenous categories that denies their individuality and diversity (Ferin et al 2009: 127-129). Rendering them invisible as people but visible as groups, media reproduce and sustain socio-cognitive processes that can be considered complex forms of subtle racism (see Cabecinhas (2002) for a discussion).

In contrast, apart from the intense media coverage of the disappearance of Madeleine McCann and of the attempts to find her,[188] the British have not, first, been commonly reported on in Portuguese media until recently.[189] Accordingly, at the time of research, apart from Costa's study (which, however, only identified four pieces about Western Europeans in *Visão's* weekly editions between 2002 and 2008), they had been virtually absent in analyses of migrant representations in mainstream media: studies make only side notes regarding European populations, usually subsuming them under the headings of "Western Europeans" or "European Union" (Lages & Policarpo, 2006), or even under aggregate remainder categories (such as

[186] Cádima (2003: 46) notes that regional press tends to privilegie the themes of hosting foreigners and living together whereas national press tends to highlight crime and transgressions.

[187] Costa (2010) highlights that Visão's editorial line is particularly concerned with fair representations of migrants. Avoiding mentioning nationalities in news about crime actually made such themes underplayed in the corpus of news collected, which focused on the representations of migrants and foreigners) (id: 2).

[188] Madeleine McCann was seven years old when she disappeared during her family holiday in Portugal, in May 2007. Inconclusive attempts to find her over the years have triggered much speculation, which Portuguese, British and international media have widely reported on.

[189] To be rigorous, I should note that a few residents commented on the attention that national media gave to their "charitable" fundraising efforts: one organizer of several events was a guest in RTP's morning show "*Praça da Alegria*" and two other organizers noted their races for health-related causes were featured by the Portuguese public service network. Additionally, one could also mention the occasional coverage of peculiar traditions (such as the new year's swim in Armação de Pêra, meant to raise funds for underprivileged children, that many "expats" take part in). However, these examples were scarce during fieldwork.

Immigrants/Foreigners (while other nationalities are discriminated (Ferin Cunha et al., 2008, 2009).[190]

This invisibility in the media does not seem to be an issue for a population that is served by a plethora of local English-language media, which can access various media from the context of origin, and which seems able to attract attention when wished.[191] For example, the recent film "The Right Juice", which features the story of an Englishman moving to the Algarve to change his life and chase his dream, which was made by an international team of permanent residents and long stay visitors, was featured in national mainstream media when producers wanted to advertise the project and invite contributions to their crowd-funding campaign (see, for instance, Mestrinho & Trhulj, 2013).

Second, British immigrants to Portugal are usually portrayed in a positive light. Apart from sporadic instances of crime,[192] the news are mostly about campaigns designed to attract affluent foreigners through beneficial fiscal policies and related tourism informed dynamics. Since the final stages of fieldwork, a flurry of news pieces, features and debate programs on television, radio and in newspapers have reported on different policies meant to attract people who, through work, investment and/or consumption, are expected to stimulate the national economy (see chapter 5.2 for specifications). As a long-standing key market for tourism and second-home ownership (Lino, 2011), they have been recurrently mentioned in discussions of the

[190] This relates to the populations' invisibility in the media. The British, in particular, have figured marginally (e.g. in a study on the representation of religious, ethnic and cultural diversity in print media and television in 2008 the researchers identified solely 5 news pieces mentioning (together) Spanish, French, Pakistani and British nationals and 10 pieces about European countries (Ferin 2009: 143-144).

[191] During fieldwork only one person suggested otherwise when decrying the lack of assistance for foreigners to settle in Portugal. A well-off long-standing residente noted: "I think there could be a lot more on the media. (...) It's like, there are so many foreigners living here and it's like we don't exist! (...) I don't know, I can't really explain it, it's like we're not taken seriously." (Linda, Interview excerpt). Contrary to Linda's perception, the Prime Minister's office seems interested in the "expat" population to the extent it subscribes one of the main English-language newspapers, as its director told me. Nevertheless, for the most part, as posited in chapter 4.2, most interlocutors did not follow any Portuguese media and were henceforth not aware of any (kind of) representation of British in Portugal therein.

[192] British citizens were protagonists in a sporadic case of drug trafficking, which received attention given its movie-like contours, as the title o one of the pieces suggests: "Wick's Sopranos's. Family of crime, drugs and scandals" (Cerqueira, 2010).

"Retirement in the Sun Program", which is meant to transform the Algarve into "Europe's Florida".[193] Along with other northern Europeans, the British also figure in news about increasing investment in health services, such as villages transformed to cater to elderly residents with continued medical assistance or clinics sought by tourists (SIC Notícias, 2012; Telejornal RTP, 2011), the continued improvement of leisure sites and infrastructures, such as award-winning beaches, resorts, golf courses and spas (Santos, 2013) and the positive impact of foreigners' presence on rural areas' economies (Pinto, 2012).

Complementarily, A notable television report delved into the stories of residents in order to complement discussions of the potentialities and implications of the incentives implemented in times of crisis to lure affluent individuals (Oliveira 2012). Similarly with a more detailed approach, Marujo's (2012) investigative journalism piece explores reactions to the alleged evacuation plans of residents in distress by the British government.[194] The television report showed residents both discarding desire to leave and discussing the impacts of the crisis in their (tourism oriented) businesses. These textured overviews of the diversity of "expats" add to a general image of affluent individuals who may not be well versed in Portuguese but are a stable, fairly integrated community that constitutes, not least, a strong market for tourism and second-home ownership.

Notably, albeit not conceived of through the same negative lenses as migrants, relatively affluent populations can too, objectively, constitute a "social problem". Their presence has been known to hinder the livelihoods of residents (e.g. through the inflation of property prices to a point where they become unaffordable to locals) as well as in terms of natural landscapes and local economies in the new context of

[193] This comparison has been widely advertised (LUSA, 2013; Ribeiro, 2011; Serafim, 2011) and refers to the model of infrastructures provided in Florida, which specialize in senior tourism and health services and has been attracting retirees for those reasons (see, for instance (Tremblay & Chicoine, 2011). Additionally, resemblances derive from the coastal and touristic nature of both Florida and the Algarve.

[194] In late 2011 major British newspapers reported on emergency evacuation plans that were allegedly being drafted by the government in preparation for a collapse of the Euro and a "nightmare scenario" which would include people losing access to their bank accounts and being unable to leave the country. Portuguese national and English-speaking media picked up on the alarming news, which were quickly disproved by the British authorities (Graeme, 2011; LUSA, 201AD).

residence, thereby creating tensions with local populations (European Broadcasting Union - Strategic Information Service 2011: 19; Huete et al. 2008: 158-160; Williams & Hall 2000: 34-35).The same report cited above states:

> Far more attention is paid, for example, in French mass media news to the immigrant groups and anecdotes which can be used to elaborate this theme of "civilisational clash" than to, for example, the severe economic problems arising in many villages in the French countryside alongside the influx of well to do British retirees, immigrants and second home owners. Local newspapers may now and then examine this particular subset of immigration for its negative effects on established communities: driving up property prices beyond the reach of populations many generations resident, the closure of small business and the non-sustainability of services because of the British reluctance to integrate, to learn the local language, to patronize local merchants and to send children to local schools, all resulting in what local residents often refer to as devastation of their once thriving communities and their transformation from locales of traditional country life into holiday resorts. But the dark side of this immigration, driven by the UK's long property boom, is not a motif of "The Immigration Question" as it is framed by national media in France. It is not because the stories lack opportunities for emotional appeal, or because they don't fit in with existing common themes of the dilemmas of modernity. Journalists could tell the story of how church bells which rang on a schedule for centuries have ceased to toll on summer nights in villages in Provence and Gascony because homeowners from a foreign country and culture complain of disturbed sleep. Such poignant stories would be justified by factuality. This of course is far from a complete portrait of the phenomenon of British retirement and holiday home buying in France. But this existing tension – this immigration "problem" as it is seen from the point of view of some established communities – is not sensationalized in the French press. (EBU 2011: 19)

What is more, "expatriate" populations are also associated with a widely spread stereotype, which rests on ethnocentric and insular modes of relating to place. [195] The Britons are particularly infamous for not investing in participating in local society, not least in the Algarve (Torkington, 2011a). They are noted to put little effort into learning the local language and to focus on enjoying local amenities (e.g. Fechter, 2007; Oliver, 2007). This creates interesting contrasts with other migrants and minorities, for whom integration is framed as important. Moreover, unlike migrants, who are often mis-represented in the news of the host context, negative portrayals of British are not uncommon in the mainstream media from the country of origin. British media have notoriously depicted these foreign residents as people solely interested in "recreating England in the sun", spending their time in "ghettos"

[195] Very possibly, the stereotype is common to "expatriates" in general: people who move in search for a better quality of life, however they subjectively define it, and corporate professionals re-locating repeatedly in temporary assignments for large companies.

and disregarding, at times even disdaining, the people and culture of their new home and to focus only on enjoying local amenities (K. O'Reilly, 2001: 176-179).[196]

As O'Reilly (2001) discusses, such overly straightforward negative images call for closer consideration of the realities at stake. On the one hand, upper class, colonial style and lower-class, mass-tourist style residents who find themselves trapped in a difficult life as a result of poor planning, and even criminals (O'Reilly, 2001: 176-179) draw both repulse and sympathy in too simple a way. All may be grounded in concrete realities given that there are top notch resorts only some can afford; a ubiquitous presence of time-share schemes in places filled with pubs offering English breakfast menus; concerns with combined abuses of circulation and welfare systems, allowing people to claim social benefits whilst enjoying the sun in the south; and a number of cases of lonely and helpless elders who did not foresee their partner's death, are unable to return home and have difficulty finding health assistance in a country where they do not master the language (see for instance, Betty & Hall (2015). Yet, the story seems to remain half-told. Like others, (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009a; Benson, 2013; O'Reilly, 2007; O'Reilly, 2000), I have observed less these stereotypes being lived out in practice than people's concerns with positioning themselves, and others, away and around them. On the other hand, the stereotype also calls for consideration of a presence that seems to be naturalized despite dynamics of self-segregation that would draw criticism if displayed by others.

In sum, exploring a case pertaining to such a population entails not discarding inclusion/exclusion issues, but exploring them from unusual perspectives. This case suggests issues of visibility may not always be related to unwelcome under-representation and certainly not to mis-representation. Moreover, exploring the media of this relatively privileged population entails considering the self-mediation of people who benefit from a positive and high status in the host context and the dynamics of inclusion and/or exclusion that are apparent in their everyday lives.

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[196] To be precise, these images accompanied the growth of mass tourism and second-home ownership amongst Britons who settled, namely, in Spain. They were frequent in the 1990s and have since become scanter provided the lack of new sensationalist aspects. They include documentaries (i.e. "Coast of Dreams: Paradise in the Sun/Paradise Lost" (Channel 4, 1992); "Viva España" (Channel 5, 1999), TV dramas and comedy sitcoms (i.e. *Eldorado* (BBC1/Cinema Verite, 1992-3)*; Benidorm* (Tiger Aspect, aired on ITV, 2007-2013), and a vast array of newspaper reports and articles.

3.2.3.2 Issues of identity construction and place attachment

The added value of analyzing a minority media such as Bright FM is the possibility to grasp a situated point of view that contextualizes and complicates stereotypical representations – very much in the way other authors have found it is productive to understand complex processes of reconstruction of identity (Echchaibi, 2002; Matsaganis et al., 2011: 15-16). Ayse Caglar, in a call for a focus on what lies beyond ethnic difference and visibility, notes the danger of remaining too close to the categories of practice that present themselves as evident:

> My point is that this evident visibility comes to dominate our own theoretical horizons as anthropologists and sociologists almost as much as it does those of the racists, ethnic brokers or politicians who seek to control, resist and domesticate the spatializing process itself. To "write against culture" in this context, in which space is a powerful metaphor for sociality, is to locate other, more invisible, processes that go towards the creation of culture and identity. (Cited in Echchaibi (2002: 39)

Exploring the invisible processes that creates a sense of culture and identity in this case means delving into processes of making meaning out of a form of mobility, which disturbs notions of migration, as noted earlier. The case of people who are most usefully conceptualized as "lifestyle migrants" (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009a, 2009b) invites questions about multiple belongings and the construction of cultural identity in a migratory context. How do people resolve their relations to various places? What kind of meaning and attachment is attributed to a context of residence where they do not master the local language? As residents, how do they think of themselves within the local context? Minority media can both contribute to and reflect this, thereby constituting a research site and lens to explore these issues.

3.2.3.3 Under-researched population

Another aspect adding to the interest of the case study is the lack of research on this population's presence in Portugal. The British, on whom this dissertation focuses, have only recently started to be studied as migrants (Finch, 2010; Sriskandarajah & Drew, 2006). This is ironic given there are more British outside of the UK than inside (idem). According to the reports by the Institute for Public Policy just referenced, with 5.6 billion people living permanently outside of the country, they could be compared to the Indian or Chinese diasporas.

In Portugal, the British presence has also been under-researched and conceptualized. Within migration-related studies there are usually but brief references

to a "high socioeconomic profile" (Machado & Azevedo, 2009)[197] and to their historical relation to Portugal, namely through the port wine industry (Lages & Policarpo, 2006: 60; Salim, 2008: 35). Recent topics of research have shed greater light on their presence in Portugal. These concern active ageing and international retirement migration,[198] and rural development through tourism.[199] I highlight the contributions of geographers and linguists exploring the same lifestyle migration framework that I find useful to work with (Sardinha, 2011; Torkington, 2009, 2010, 2011a, 2012). Nonetheless, the majority of studies about the presence of British in Portugal take historical approaches to the relation between the UK and Portugal in the

[197] Similar references in:

Fonseca, M. L. (2008) Imigração, diversidade e novas paisagens étnicas e culturais. In Lages, M. e Matos, Artur (ed.) Portugal: percursos de interculturalidade 2, Lisboa: ACIME: 50-96

Peixoto, João. 2008. "A Demografia da População Imigrante em Portugal" In *Portugal: Percursos de Interculturalidade 2*, edited by Mário Lages and Artur Matos. Lisboa: ACIME.

[198] Studies discussing this theme include:

Ciobanu, Ruxandra Oana. 2012. "Ageing Migrants in Portugal : Methodological Discussion and Empirical Evidence Ageing Migrants in Portugal : Methodological Discussion and Empirical Evidence." *Migrações* 10: 83–102.

Ferreira, C.(2004) Portugal, Destino Turístico da População Idosa Europeia. Abordagem Geográfica do Turismo Sénior Internacional. Tese não publicada (Doutoramento), Universidade de Lisboa.

Fonseca, António. 2012. "Viver Em Portugal Após a Reforma." *Migrações* 10: 179–180.

King, Russel, Anthony Warnes, and Allan Williams. 2000. *Sunset Lives - British Retirement to the Mediterranean*. Oxford: Berg.

Tiago, Isabel, De Oliveira, and João Peixoto. 2012. "Envelhecimento Da População Imigrante: o Caso Português." *Migrações* 10: 45–81.

[199] To give a few examples:

Cavaco, C. (2006), "Diferenciação Regional da Oferta Turística". In Medeiros, C. (ed.) Geografia de Portugal, Vol. 3, Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores: 394-399.

Ferreira, C. (1999) "Reencontros com o mundo rural: dos lazeres turísticos à fixação de 'novos e velhos' residentes". In Cavaco, C. (Coord.) Desenvolvimento rural. Desafio e Utopia. Lisboa: Publicações do Centro de Estudos Geográficos: 313-318

Ferreira, C. (2008) "Apropriação e transformação turística do território em destinos de época baixa: Algarve e Costa Blanca". In Cavaco, C. (Coord.) Turismo, Inovação e Desenvolvimento. Actas do I seminário "Turismo e Planeamento do Território". Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Geográficos: 281-314.

Sampaio, Dora. 2011. "Migrações Pós-reforma Em Áreas de Baixa Densidade Do Algarve: Um Olhar Da Geografia Na Perspectiva Do Desenvolvimento Local". Universidade De Lisboa. http://hdl.handle.net/10451/6032.

Velez de Castro, F. (2011) Imigração, mercado de trabalho e desenvolvimento em contextos regionais de baixas densidades, *Cadernos de Geografia*, nº28/29, Universidade de Coimbra, Portugal: 61-72.

field of Anglo-Portuguese studies. Their studies focus on British travelers in Portugal;[200] representations of Great-Britain in the Portuguese 19th century periodical press,[201] and generically the gaze of British residents over Portuguese realities, [202] in addition to a number of publications concerning the field of Literature (e.g. British works' reception in Portugal and its influence in Portuguese literature).

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[200] Examples of studies focusing the travel records of British in Portugal include:

Pires, Maria Laura Bettencourt. 1981. *Portugal Visto Pelos Ingleses - Textos de Literatura 9*. Edited by Maria Laura Bettencourt Pires. Lisboa: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica.

CEPAPS 2011)., J. Três Diários de Viagem em Portugal 1808-1809 – Lord e Lady Holland e Dr. John Allen.

Castel-Branco, M.C., 2008. "The Portuguese travels of William Henry Giles Kingston; or the geographical and inner travels of a British lusophile." *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses*, nº 17, Lisboa: Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, Centre for English, Translation and Anglo-Portuguese Studies: 107-125.

Castel-Branco, M.C., 2007. "Clarissa Trant, The Journal". Introduction, translation and notes. *A Guerra Peninsular em Portugal. Relatos Britânicos*. Coord. by Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa. Casal de Cambra: Caleidoscópio: 69-109.

[201] Examples of studies are, however, about periods of history which are quite in the past:

Martins, I. O. 2003, "Breve Notícia sobre uma inglesa em Portugal no pós-revolução de 1820", *Estudos Anglo-Portugueses. Livro de Homenagem a Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa*, Organização de Carlos Ceia, Isabel Lousada e Maria João da Rocha Afonso, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Centro de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses, Edições Colibri, 2003, pp.261-271.

Castanheira, M. Z . *A Grã-Bretanha na imprensa periódica do Romantismo português: imagens polimórficas*, 2006, dissert. polic.

Terenas, G. *Diagnoses Especulares: Imagens da Grã-Bretanha na imprensa Periódica Portuguesa (1865-1890),* 2004, dissert. polic.

Silva, J. P. 2001. *Temas, Mitos e Imagens de Portugal numa Revista Inglesa do Porto: 'The Lusitanian' (1844-1845)*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian / Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, 2001.

[202] Studies about Britishs residents' perceptions of Portugal include:

Castel-Branco, Maria da Conceição, 2012. "Imagens de Portugal durante a Guerra Peninsular em Rough Sketches of the Life of an Old Soldier, de Jonathan Leach: a guerra, a viagem, o país e as gentes". XX Colóquio de História Militar. "A Guerra Peninsular Em Portugal (1810-1812): Derrota e Perseguição. A Invasão de Masséna e a Transferência das Operações para Espanha." 2 vols. Lisboa: Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 2012, vol. 1: pp. 661-677.

Castel-Branco, Maria da Conceição "Os tempos e as gerações da família Kingston em Portugal: a figura de William Henry Giles Kingston". *Famílias inglesas e a economia de Portugal. British families and the portuguese economy*, Ed. by António Camões Gouveia. Publicações da Fundação Robinson N.º 4, Portalegre: Fundação Robinson, 2009. 38-55.

Calado, Ana. 2005. O Portugal de Salazar visto de uma Varanda Tramontana. Lisboa: CETAPS/FCT.

Padeira, Ana Rita. 2011. "O Porto de Uma Família Inglesa – estereótipos ou contaminações", 'IIº Congresso Internacional de Estudos Anglo Portugueses', CETAPS – Lisboa, Gulbenkian, Abril.

Martins, Isabel Oliveira. 2010. "Para inglês ler: a versão inglesa da obra de Dumouriez sobre o Portugal de 1766", in *Pombal e o seu Tempo*, Editora Caleidoscópio, 2010.

For research within the national field, the combination of this relatively privileged population with the study of radio and minority media is also fortunate for other reasons. Radio still is a neglected medium in academia, and in particular in Portugal (where a radio studies network was only very recently formed under the auspice of the Portuguese Society of Communication Sciences (SOPCOM in 2014). The British are known to have developed a long and familiar relationship to radio (from the BBC to pirate stations). What is more, the Algarve is not only the region with the biggest number of local stations (16 stations), but it also includes a few that host minority shows as well as the station that was awarded the very first bilingual license in the country (Bright), as discussed earlier.

Additionally, besides enriching the minority media field as posited earlier, the analysis of a relatively privileged population and their media could contribute to the study of lifestyle migration by analyzing its mediations. So far the role of media in studies taking a lifestyle migration approach are reduced to analyses of media texts - in forums (Lawson forthcoming), listservs (Norum et al, forthcoming) and mainstream media (O'Reilly 2001)) - and some explorations of media uses by geographers of communication (Andersson, 2012; Andersson et al., 2010)..

3.2.3.4 Synthesis of section The added value of an atypical case

The choice of the case study resulted from an interpretation of the apparent roles these radio initiatives were playing and the ways that the literature assisted in conceptualizing them. Most programs were oriented towards community making practices to the extent they were careful to address always the Portuguese audience and, thus, foster inclusion of the programs in the mediascape and inclusion of Portuguese listeners in the audience. Additionally, they provided a space for migrants to practice their situated cultural identities. However, they showcased culture more than they reflexively engaged with the negotiation of their standing in society. Even the populations that are known to face slanted structures of opportunities, marginalization and even racism did not use the programs to give visibility to their concerns and perspectives, or address those issues.

As such, lenses focused on dynamics of inclusion/exclusion did not seem as productive as frameworks engaging the transnational scale and processes of construction of belonging. They often activate notions of ethnicity to qualify projects

and engage ideas of voice, as forms to give bottom-up visibility to people's concerns. These, however, carry the dangers of essentializing plural perspectives and legitimizing representations with ethnic membership, among others. Slipping into "methodological multiculturalism" (Titley 2008) locks migrants and their media projects into compartmentalized spaces of action, presuming them to act 'ethnically', while also confining them to a minority-bound, migrant condition. Notably, not all migrants are constrained by this condition, even if most are braced with it.

Choosing to explore a case that would fit uncomfortably with discussions of inclusion/exclusion because the migrant population is not usually discussed as ethnic, nor presents itself as such, serves two purposes. On the one hand, it seems helpful to avoid the problems of multicultural lenses seeping through discussions of ethnicity. The case-study has the potential to reframe the discussions of inclusion/exclusion which are always related to dynamics of cultural identity construction processes that I wanted to explore. It posed these questions from the perspective of a relatively privileged population that did not seem to worry about under-representation in mainstream media and that is associated to a high status through the category used to describe them (foreigner, as opposed to migrant). However, although not represented in sensationalist, negative terms by media in the context of residence, this population is stereotypically known to seclude itself, namely according to the disapproving mainstream media of their country of origin. On the other hand, the choice to explore an "expatriate" population invited the analysis of negotiation of cultural identity among these migrants through their own media. This not only invites a nuanced understanding of lived experiences of the British migrants, but also suggests insights about the under-studied construction of belonging for people whose daily routines are constructed with reference to tourism and consumption practices in Portugal. Exploring this perspective inscribes other types of populations in minority media studies by analyzing them according to the same lenses and theoretical tools. Consequently, it avoidd differentiating migrants on the basis of social standing.

3.2.4 Conclusion

The Portuguese radioscape makes it explicit that there is a growing visibility of, and preoccupation with, cultural diversity and intercultural relations in Portugal. Signals of this include programs in the mainstream public and private sectors as well

as, and mostly in, the local radio landscape. An array of spaces dedicated to migrants and to the issues triggered by processes of international mobility and re-territorialization have emerged. In addition to projects made by and for immigrants in Portugal, there have been a number of programs concerning the Portuguese emigrant population, who can now tune back into their hometown stations. Moreover, other initiatives articulate the country's relation to cultural diversity, albeit in a much broader sense, by focusing on Portugal's participation in the lusophone world and in the European Union.

Minority radio projects emerged despite notwithstanding the absence of specific legislation regulating minority media initiatives,. They have accompanied the inflows of migrants, having started as early as 1987, but appearing mostly since the late 1990s and, in many cases dwindling since the mid 2000s. Mostly located in local radio stations, these programs range in length from 15 minutes to 8 hours, and include musical features punctuating regular broadcasts, news bulletins, debate shows and full entertainment programs. Whether separately or in combination, broadcasts do the following: inform about the realities of the context of residence and provide practical information to navigate the new home; update listeners on news and public affairs concerning the context of origin; educate the general society about the cultural diversity lying therein as well as upcoming generations on their cultural heritages; provide a source of leisure which coincides with sonorities and humor that are familiar for migrants; assist in the maintenance of social ties and explore social capital, social control and other sociality dynamics.

An exploratory analysis of the minority radioscape suggests most radio initiatives in Portugal are not used as outlets to explicitly seek visibility and recognition in the public sphere. This is the case even when populations catered to by shows have been known to endure discrimination and social exclusion. Apart from a few shows produced by mixed groups working with associations, radio initiatives seem to operate above all towards including greater cultural diversity in the mediascape. In other words, shows seem to be more broadly concerned with inscribing diversity *in* the media, than with reflexively discussing it *through* the media. In that sense, to promote intercultural dialogue and to foster community-making, programs showcase cultural heritages and address the interests, tastes and

social dynamics of the populations they sustain on air more than they problematize the realities of diversity.

This scenario informed the selection of an atypical initiative. It invited exploration of the processes of cultural identity reconstruction more than of the dynamics of inclusion/exclusion, which are usually associated with debates about coping with a fraught social position because of their migrant condition. The option for a station largely made by and for self-designated "expatriates" as a case-study derived from the potential to add to these discussions with an under-researched type of migratory flow. Investigating media produced by and for relatively privileged populations (in this case, migrants involved in tourism-informed mobilities driven by the aspiration to experience an idealized lifestyle), had the potential to explore the construction of belonging for people whose relation to place is constructed through the choice (more than the need) to move. As such, the case study invites the discussion of dynamics of inclusion and exclusion from an unusual perspective that rules out marginalization and that questions the connotations associated with the migrant condition. It concerns people who objectively usually enjoy relatively comfortable lives and who are generally perceived to both enjoy a high social status and to seclude themselves from the host society, thereby resisting acculturation.

In addition to contributing to the scarce research on such relatively privileged populations in Portugal, an investigation of the mediated self-representation of self-designated "expatriates" also addresses a gap in the minority media research. Although analyses of minority media have focused mostly on populations who struggle in a foreign context, not least against generalized perceptions of them as migrants and minorities, discussions of minority media need not be about such experiences. The systematic assumption that minorities are oppressed and marginalized is a matter of perspective, as ElHaji (2012: 33) notes when discussing the case of Brazil, where minorities have been historically associated with privilege and power. Presuming a social location for minorities reproduces common sense differentiations between migrants (or minorities, labeled as ethnic) and foreigners, which besets discussions from the start and, as ElHajji criticizes, may conceal power relations at play. By using the same theoretical lenses and tools to analyze the media of different types of migrants it tries to distinguish between categories of analysis and categories of practice, so as to avoid blurring academic analyses with common sense

conceptions of social reality and, particularly, of migratory dynamics. Moreover, by focusing on the lived experiences of people producing and following their local media, it interrogates the stereotypes that suggest they maintain habits of self-segregation and cultural retention. It asks what "identities" are fostered by and through Bright FM as well as what kind of inclusion/exclusion dynamics and issues the station signals and/or plays into. Part II of this dissertation addresses these questions.

PART II

CASE STUDY: BRIGHT FM ALGARVE, AN "EXPAT" MINORITY RADIO

4 BRIGHT FM ALGARVE– A BIOGRAPHY OF THE STATION

The second part of this thesis analyzes the case study of Bright FM Algarve and presents the argument responding to the main research questions and hypotheses. To establish what the role of the station is in processes of cultural identity management, and what is specific to radiophonic ways of performing that role, this chapter starts by situating the station in its communicative ecologies. It sets the scene for the exploration of specific aspects of the social organization of production and consumption of this radio (discussed in chapter 6). To do so, while presenting the story of the station, and contextualizing the distinct four phases that shaped the state of affairs during the period of research, it outlines Bright FM's modes of production as well as social and intercultural dynamics within the organization. In order to complement this picture, chapter 4.2 delineates the mediascapes the radio is part of besides identifying the different ways in which audience members relate to it. This chapter starts to introduce the argument which maintains that Bright FM Algarve operates as a minority station with specificities that relate to its key target audience: the (British) lifestyle migrants.

4.1 A story in 4 chapters

Albeit artificially distinguishing between stages, as temporal borders are porous and dynamics can extend across different periods, Bright FM Algarve's story can be said to be divided into four distinct phases. Overall, it is a story of success despite serious difficulties that threatened the station's sustainability and existence for a significant period of time. I arrived at the station when the playlist had the fewest shows it had ever had and human resources were the scarcest the station had ever relied on. A potential sale was being considered at the time and negotiations extended throughout most of the research period. What the apparent re-establishment of Bright FM as a popular station after the sale suggests is telling about the importance of cultural identities. However, it must be understood within the broader and shifting socioeconomic contexts and mediascapes that the station has operated in. The

following presentation of the station's evolution also serves to lay out the way the field was constructed and how the ideas argued in chapter 6 emerged.

4.1.1 Phase 1: Niche market opportunities and the heydays of "the Algarve's Number 1"

Founded in 1992 Bright FM Algarve was not the first station broadcasting in English in Portugal. It had been preceded by different projects, namely in the Algarve, where foreigners have long been involved in media production. In what concerns radio initiatives, for instance, long-standing British residents and Portuguese radio practitioners that I interviewed mentioned programs mostly in Barlavento (in Portimão and Silves), such as a 1940s-1960s music oriented show with interviews of local people ("In the mood") or a project with DJs of various nationalities ("International Voice of the Algarve"). Like other interviewees in the mapping stage, none mentioned other projects beyond their own, with the exception of one popular Albufeira-based station that operated in the late 1980s. The station, which still exists today, was founded by the same radio aficionado who started Bright FM Algarve soon after he first moved to Portugal. The two stations' stories are intertwined.

If Rádio Solar's story is told with a pinch of legendary-ness to it, Bright FM's is much more pragmatically articulated. According to Jack and friends from his pirate radio days in the UK, who also live in Portugal now, he moved to the Algarve, where he used to spend his holidays, because doing radio in Portugal in the 1980s was much easier.

> I came to Portugal in 1986, following doing radio in the UK, in London, where I had my own station. It was a pirate station. We played soul music 24 hours a day, 7 days a week (…) But we had difficulty doing radio in England because the radio bands were very restrictive (…) the government used to restrict really broadcasting. And I found that we could come, I could come to Portugal and start a radio station much much easier than I could in England. So I came to Portugal on the 14th of May 1986 and I started Solar Radio. (Interview excerpt, Jack, station's founder and director)

Jack experimented with broadcasting some English-language music to Portuguese listeners' great delight. Over a Christmas radio team's lunch, Jack recalled seeing youngsters gathering around radio sets and talking about the new songs around. In turn, Bright was a project that started to a large extent because Jack identified the emergence of a niche market he could tap into. After working at *Rádio* Solar for a few

years, Jack parted with the people in the cooperative running the station because of personal differences and returned to London for a short period of time. According to Clive, who had been sending tapes with shows to the Algarve during *Rádio* Solar's days, Jack received a number of phone calls from "expats" asking him to "come back! The radio has gone all terrible again". Taking advantage of the management problems undermining the one other Albufeira-based station that been granted a license in the legalization process of the local radio sector in, 1989, Jack decided to invest in a new radio project. He sold his house in the UK and moved back to Portugal.

Context was crucial to the emergence of Bright FM. The Portuguese radioscape had space for the type of music that Jack used to play in the UK and that foreign listeners were keen on keeping up with (e.g. soul music and major hits in the UK at the time). By the early 1990s, the few existing national radios were focused on Portuguese music. In tandem, there only a few local stations after the legalization process forbade the countless pirate radios coloring the airwaves with alternative and experimentatal projects. The Algarve had been awarded approximately 16 local radio licenses and Albufeira, where Bright is based, two, which are illustrated in the maps below.

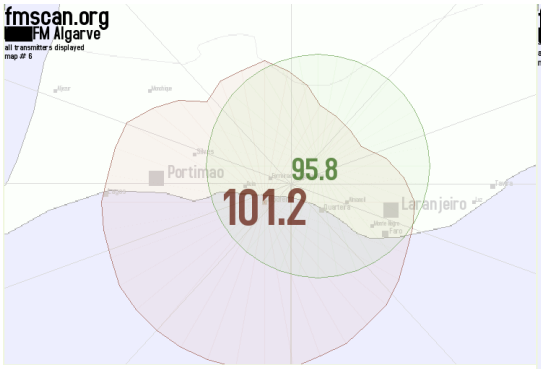

Figure 1 – Coverage of Bright FM in 2010[203]

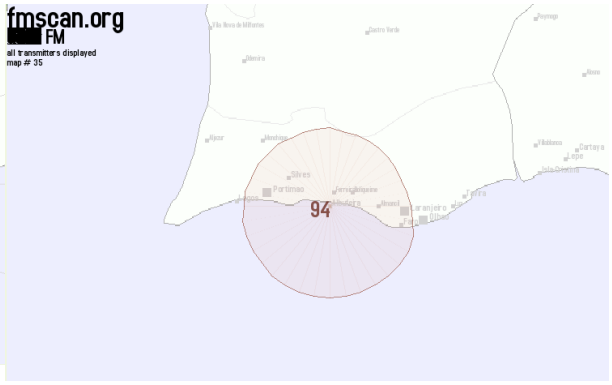

Figure 2 – Coverage of Rádio Solar in 2010

As radio broadcasts travel through the ether, there has always been some overlap in coverage. This became especially the case as Bright acquired a second

[203] All pictures were collected online at the website fmscan.org, which maps radio frequencies and transmitter maps worldwide. The website recently enabled Google Earth views, which explains the text on figure 3.

transmitter that, in practice, reached across most of the region, "from Faro to Lagos", to use the indication of a jingle (notwithstanding obstacles such as mountains). When the transmitter's power is boosted up, the station can reach farther, which is the case in figure 3.

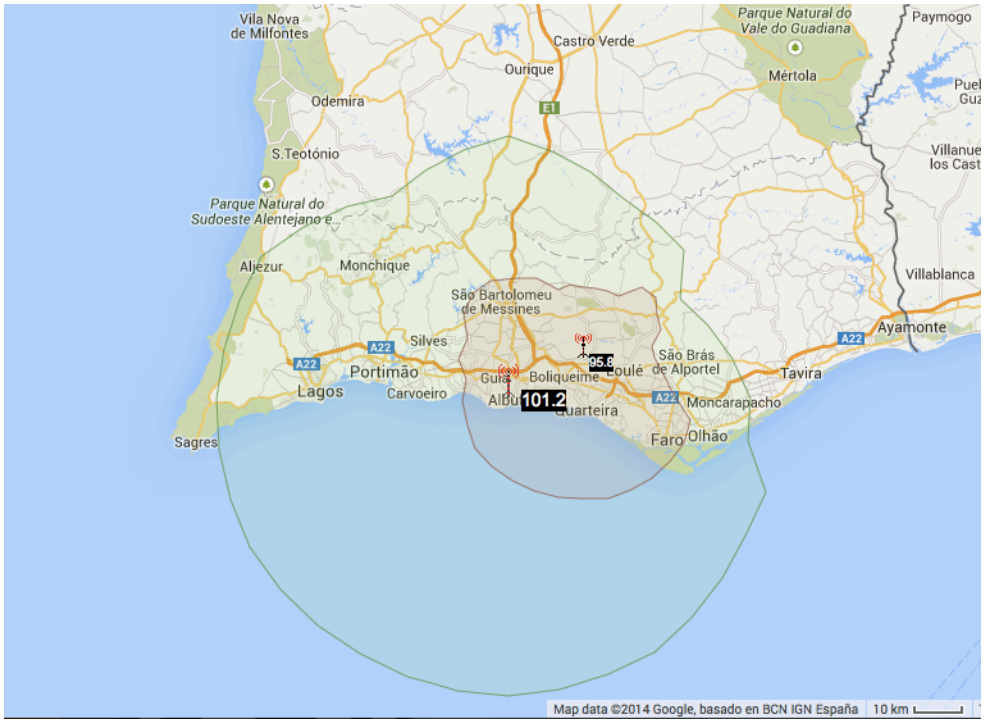

Figure 3 – Map signaling the coverage of Bright FM's two transmitters in 2014

In any case, the other Algarvean stations could hardly beat Jack's direct access to the latest hits via production companies, stations and DJ's he used to work with in the UK. National radio stations only played new songs after they were released on record and had arrived in Portugal. By the time local stations managed to access and start playing new songs, Bright, accompanying the pace of the UK radio scene, was sometimes even no longer playing them. In the words of a Portuguese staff member who joined the station in its "golden days", Bright stood for the modern insofar as it was an avenue to be in touch with the new and international music scene[204]:

[204] In very general terms, one could further contextualize the radio and cultural landscapes by referencing the long-standing influence of the French cultural scene in previous decades (in terms of cinema, literature and music) and the arrival of the so called first wave of Brazilian migrants, which became visible, namely, in the radio and publicity markets because of their accents and styles of

> Bright was the music it played. Bright played it first. 12 years ago, this was very important. It was a differentiating factor. (…) Singles would be released in England and come here. Then, using the motto "[Bright] plays it first", and it really was here [on Bright] that you would listen to new music, this was first, a differentiating factor, and second… it was really cool! I don't know, Madonna puts out a single and you don't need to be waiting for 3 or 6 months until it is released on record so it arrives here! Nowadays with the Internet you go and get it even before it is published, right? But 12 years ago, that didn't happen. So, in the summertime, all the hits playing in England were here, so the English who would come from England already knew the songs that played there and the Portuguese would get the new stuff. And therefore Bright FM was at that time much more… I can't find the word… man, ahead! (Interview excerpt, Carla, programming and commercial department)[205]

While playing a certain type of music[206] was unquestionably both a major motivation to found Bright FM and, simultaneously, a factor contributing to its popularity, a second motivation and factor of differentiation related to the establishment of the Algarve as a tourist destination. As explored later (chapter 5.1), the 1980s mark the beginning of mass tourism in the area, which was an increasingly popular holiday destination for Western and Northern Europeans. In tandem, a market catering to visitors was emerging. With those facts in mind, Jack applied for a bilingual (Portuguese and English) license. Granted on an exceptional basis, it was the first of its kind in the country and a trump card for Bright FM, which became the *only* station broadcasting in English, as the staff kept reminding me throughout fieldwork. Ultimately, the station then catered not only to listeners but also to advertisers.

> When I came there was no English radio stations [sic]. I was the only one. And it was like ... you know, that was the interest: people wanted to advertise to reach the foreign people *that spent the money! That spent the money in the area,* you know?, and that invested in the area. And the people going through the airport, we could communicate with those people! Because

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presenting on air (e.g. more energetic). If the Brazilian accent and music found a stable place in the Portuguese radioscape, the French cultural influences largely vanished, giving way for the anglo-saxon references, namely in the field of music.

[205] "A Bright era *a música* que a Bright passava. A Bright passava primeiro. Isto há 12 anos atrás era muito importante. Dava o factor diferencial. (…) Os *singles* saiam em Inglaterra e vinham para cá. Então, usando como mote "toca primeiro" aqui, e era mesmo aqui que tu ouvias a música nova, isso era primeiro um factor diferencial e depois era muito fixe! "Sei lá, a Madonna lançou um *single* e não precisas de estar à espera 3 ou 6 meses para que chegue aqui! Hoje em dia com a internet vais buscar até antes de ser editado, não é? Mas há 12 anos atrás isso não acontecia. E então era, no Verão, todas as faixas que batiam em Inglaterra estavam cá, portanto, os ingleses que vinham de Inglaterra já conheciam as faixas que tocavam lá e os próprios portugueses recebiam a novidade. E então a Bright FM nessa altura era muito mais... falta-me a palavra... eh pá, para a frente!" (Excerto de entrevista, Carla, Coordenadora da estação)

[206] The important aspect in what concerns the music for an Algarvean station was its newness, as pointed out. However, in Bright FM's wider context, and at the time, the "new" and alternative pertained to the rock and soul music that was seeping into the UK through the pirate radios, such as the ones Jack worked at.

> before the iPod came out and online and all these things, people used to listen to the radio more in cars and cafes, and bars and things like that. So it was a very important way of reaching, you know, the people that came to spend money here. And that's what it's all about. Getting people to come and spend money here. And be comfortable here. And welcoming them here! Because they like to listen to the radio because they've got world news in English, they can hear the exchange rates, they can hear the weather. And they can hear someone speaking to them in English and telling them, you know, about the Algarve, what to see and do. And that's an important thing that the radio does. (Interview excerpt, Jack, station's founder and director)

The differentiating factors Jack mentions, and which are analyzed in the next chapter, were fundamental in the process of not only carving a place for Bright FM in the local radioscape but also making it stand out. However, the station's popularity among listeners and advertisers was also a product of context. The establishment of the Algarve as an internationally famous holiday destination boosted the local economy, which was quite possibly already taking off because of the economic benefits of Portugal's admittance to the European Union in 1986.[207] This meant that large numbers of people and money circulated through a region where the construction of hotels, resorts and golf courses were underway. For Bright, that took part and benefited from these dynamics, it meant a time when it could afford expensive marketing strategies, such as helicopters flying over the beach with huge banners, jeeps with Bright FM's logo on them, and billboards or large parties in dance clubs. It could also afford - and access - the latest technology, which enthralled Portuguese practitioners coming from other stations to Bright's team.[208] As Clive recalled various times in the studio during his live show when chatting about the "old days", when he and other of Jack's friends from the radio industry in London would come from the UK to enjoy a holiday in the sun, they would also at times carry equipment that was easier and cheaper to acquire in the UK – and that went by unexamined by customs, for fiscalization at the time was more relaxed than it is now.

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[207] As a poorer country joining the Union, Portugal benefitted from an array of funds to develop the quantity and quality of infrastructures (e.g. roads, health, telecommunication and education systems), to spark service industries and, generally, to strengthen the economy. Additionally, as Royo (2010: 216-217) outlines, this assistance to public investment was added to other favorable conditions provided by the European Union, such as lower trade barriers, suspension of import tariffs or the circulation of goods. All were central to Portugal's significant economic growth in the 1990s (*ibid*).

[208] At the time, it was luxurious for local radio stations in Portugal to have a sampler (a simple and small computer on which sound designers and DJs could record 10 seconds worth of speech so as to fit time stamps, jingles, or other sound bites into the playlist) and not one, but four revox machines (reel-to-reel machines, usually by the brand Revox, used to record and physically cut and past tape with content).

More importantly, the station's uniqueness derived from dynamics pertaining to the social organization of production. A strongly dynamic and creative team of Portuguese youngsters complemented Jack's social network and professional connections in both Portugal and the UK, which contributed with the fresh music, sophisticated jingles, English-language programs, and production equipment. In addition to foreign DJs, sales people, directors, and newsreaders who lived in the Algarve and worked at Bright FM, there was reportedly a team of over a dozen young Portuguese who were also involved in all the information, commercial, and programming departments of the station. More than having sufficient human resources to organize a number of activities (e.g. radio introduction courses for curious listeners, tours of the station, interviews in the street, parties, distribution of t-shirts and merchandising, campaigns and so on), they fed on each other's recent and playful take on radio-making. Pedro, who was part of the initial team but only provided technical assistance to the station upon request during fieldwork, and Carla, who joined years after Pedro and meanwhile became the station's coordinator, both recalled the energy and fun underscoring work with a sparkle in their eyes .

> Jack had this really great thing. He always allowed experimentation. Now, when you have a team of 15 people in the beginning of their 20s… (…). The first years of Bright FM was a bunch of kinds experimenting and doing fun things! [holding a wide smile] man! It was fun! It was really fun! And then you had radio at the time, which was still very like the presenter speaks *like this* [makes a deep voice and speaks slowly], the voice of God as we usually say, very proper, and when the red light comes on saying "on air", then everyone is silent! Bright did exactly the opposite. When the microphone is on, everybody speaks(…)For example, someone is speaking, right? So doing the normal broadcast, live. From the next studio someone is doing meh-eh-eh [imitates the sound of sheep, jokingly] on top of it! Right? And then the reaction of the person on air is what, … The presenter would start speaking [and] people would burst into the studio screaming! (…) radio for that group, and I still caught a bit of that, was [claps and smiles, like a child] 'let's play!...' And it was a very complete team, because if you had the creative on the one hand, on the other hand you had someone with crazy ideas, and someone else who tried to figure out how you could put that in technical terms, and someone who sold anything because he was a good salesman. (…) with the freedom to create, you had the perfect terrain for craziness[209] (Interview excerpt, Carla, programming and production department)

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[209] *"O Jack tinha uma coisa muito boa Ele sempre permitiu a experimentação. Ora, quando tu tens uma equipa de 15 pessoas nos inícios dos 20s... (...) Os primeiros anos da Bright FM era uma catrefada de putos a experimentar e faziam coisas giras [com um sorriso enorme] oh pá! Era giro! Era muito giro! E depois tinhas a rádio na altura, ainda era muito virada para o locutor fala assim [faz uma voz grave, preenchida e arrastada] a "voz de Deus" como costumamos dizer, muito certinha. e quando se levanta uma luzinha vermelha a dizer "no ar" ou "on air", e a partir daí toda a gente se cala! A Bright fazia exatamente o oposto. Quando se levanta o microfone, toda a gente fala. E então, desde rubricas live (...) Por exemplo, alguém estar a falar, não é? Portanto a fazer a emissão normal, live, e do estúdio ao lado alguém estar a fazer mé-é-é [fez o som das ovelhas, de gozo] por cima! Não é? Depois a reação da pessoa no ar é que depois... Era o animador começava a falar e entravam aos gritos*

> Pedro: Man, we were a young team… of kids! We had crazy ideas! Like, all we thought up, we would do it. (…) It was a totally different way of working! (…) Because at the time, the local radios had started. National radios… just stayed the same because they kept on working in the old way, right? (…) 98% of the local stations kept on doing (…) not well done things, like very amateur… there was no idea of how to do things, or how there was programming, how to do jingles… Look we did one thing that was like, a promo[210] like, 'This is the Rolling Stones on Bright FM' and then we'd play 'I can't get no,' tananana [sings the tune of "I can't get no Satisfaction, by the Rolling stones] 'and this is the Rolling Stones on other stations', and a really tacky song would come on 'I like you, I don't get satisfaction' [mockingly sings a Portuguese near direct translation of the song to a local folk music type of tune] Do you see? [We] played a lot with that. It was just crazy stuff! (…) Only some 5 or 6 years ago did it start this thing of, man, not being so serious [on air]. We weren't serious. We would speak on air as if we were speaking to a friend. And it's that type of radio… (…) It wasn't something he [Jack] implanted in the station's philosophy, it was something that naturally happened because we had the freedom to do what we felt like. (…) It wasn't like Jack said 'look, I want a young tone, and new things, and be as you wish on air.' No! We did it but also because he didn't tell us not to… (Interview excerpt, Pedro, Technical Assistant)[211]

Another crucial quality of Bright that made it sound "almost like a radio from Lisbon!", as Carla emphasized during that interview, resulted from the space for youngsters with complementary talents to experiment with radio making. Whether perceived as an openness to creativity or as generally a distant posture giving the staff free reign, Jack's permission for experimentation is recognized as key for a mode of

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dentro do estúdio! (…) a rádio para aquele grupo, e eu ainda apanhei um pouco, para aquele grupo era [bate as palmas com um sorriso] "Vamos brincar!"…E era uma equipa muito completa, porque se por um lado tinhas os criativos, se por um lado tinhas alguém com ideias doidas, havia outro que tentava perceber como é que colocava aquilo em termos técnicos, havia outro que vendia qualquer coisa porque era bom vendedor. (...) com a liberdade de criação, tu tinhas o terreno perfeito para a maluqueira. "

[210] Promo is the expression used for promotional spots, which differ from advertisements to the extent they are not paid and are meant to give visibility to the station's own features, campaigns, shows, and so on.

[211] *"Pá e éramos uma equipa jovem... de putos! A gente tinha ideias malucas, (…) tipo, tudo o que a gente pensava a gente fazia. (…) Aquilo era uma maneira de trabalhar completamente diferente! (…) Porque na altura começaram as rádios locais. As rádios nacionais … ficaram todas iguais porque continuaram a trabalhar à maneira antiga, não é? (...) 98% das rádios locais continuaram a fazer (...) Coisas mal feitas, tipo muito amador.. não havia noção de como é que se fazia as coisas, nem como é que havia uma programação, como é que se faziam jingles... tudo. Olha a gente fazíamos [sic] uma coisa, que era do tipo, fazíamos um promo do tipo, 'Isto é Rolling Stones na Bright FM" então passava tipo, Rolling Stones "I can get no, tanana, [trauteia a melodia da canção "I can't get no satisfaction" dos Rolling Stones] 'e isto é Rolling Stones nas outras rádios', e aparecia uma música muita pirosa "Eu gosto de ti, eu não tenho satisfação" [cantara, em tom de gozo, uma tradução quase literal da música em versão de canção pimba]. estás a ver? Brincava muito com isso. Era só coisas malucas! (...) Aí há uns 5 ou 6 anos é que começou essa coisa de, pá, tipo, não ser tão sério. A gente não era sério! A gente falava com as pessoas como se estivesse a falar com um amigo. e é esse tipo de rádio (…) Não foi algo que ele implantou na filosofia da rádio, foi algo que surgiu naturalmente porque tínhamos liberdade para fazermos o que nos apetecesse. (…) Não foi uma coisa que o Jack disse " olha, quero uma tonalidade jovem, e coisas novas, estejam À vontade no ar" Não! Nós fazíamos, mas também porque ele não dizia para não fazer... "*

production that made the difference. Young radio practitioners seized the opportunity to be creative and unconventional, so as to demarcate themselves from what they considered to be unprofessional local stations and old-fashioned national broadcasts. As Pedro and Carla described for over two hours each, there were countless different and fulfilling ways of playing with doing radio. Beyond weekly shows that the audience looked forward to because of the type of humor, "that we [locals] were not used to", or competitions so popular that phone lines would be regularly congested, they also described strategies to promote events such as parties in dance clubs during the low season, when the Algarve is deserted, that were surprisingly extremely successful.[212] Even though The possibility of learning from Jack's friends from the BBC or Virgin radio who come around to do a few favors in the station played into Bright's unique sound image, this image therefore largely resulted from the work of local, talented and dynamic people who met at the station and who broadcasted in Portuguese.

Bright was then never constructed as a solely British or English-speaking radio, although the English-language factor and connections to the UK were fundamental for the remarkable position it achieved in the radioscape as well as for the way the radio was perceived, as noted below and in chapter 4.2. It was a project that involved both Portuguese and foreigners (usually native English-speakers from the UK and North America) and whose impact resulted from the human, cultural, creative, technical, and financial resources each individual brought to Bright FM. According to the staff, everyone worked well together, although not always closely. While Portuguese seemed to work at the station on a regular 9 to 5 schedule, and spend long hours at the station because "they loved it", foreigners seemed to mostly come in to do their own shows or do the news and weather bulletins early in the morning or later in the evening, even if sales people and managing directors would

[212] Such strategies would try to go beyond a regular commercial spot and would have to cope with the introduction of new genres of music in the station (which focused on pop, soul and oldies music) and in the Algarve in the 1990s (where, for example, techno was not popular yet). In addition to phone interviews with DJs that would be coming to events in the Algarve, they created "DJ profiles" (audio clips "disguised as radio information" with short biographies qualifying the DJs as "internationally famous" so as to create curiosity among listeners). To skirt clashing with the station's playlist, they would fill advertising time bought by the dance clubs with 25 seconds of techno music closed off with a quick note "This Friday at Locomia" [popular dance club in the 1990s that no longer exists].

spend more time at the station. Nevertheless, the pictures I saw Jack putting on a power point to send in his farewell email to the stations' current and old members portrayed warm, fun and comfortable atmospheres around dinner tables over the years.

Accordingly, the station catered to different audiences since the very beginning. The English-language programming, such as advertisements, shows, exchange rates, and local and international news bulletins addressed both tourists and English-speaking residents, who were increasing in number as international retirement migration flows, mostly from the UK, elected the Algarve as a destination (King et al 2000). For them, the radio was an addition to local English-language newspapers, short-wave radio, days old English newspapers and satellite signals that are vulnerable to rain and wind. Notably, the English speaking audience has diversified overtime to include other age groups moving for lifestyle reasons (see chapter 5.1). As is apparent in the small text presenting the station on its website at the time, it has also included other foreigners. It is also remarkable that these have always been restricted to populations who mostly use English as the main language of communication and arrive in the Algarve through tourism-informed mobilities, as became clear throughout fieldwork:

> Bright FM Algarve is Algarve's [sic] No. 1 independent "All Music Radio" station serving the multi-cultural communities throughout the Algarve. Since launching in 1992, Bright FM has built a large and loyal audience including Portuguese, British, Dutch, German and Scandinavian listeners. The reason or our success? We speak a common language ... the global language of music. (Bright FM's website, accessed 2009-2011)

The radio station, like the other locally produced English-language media, caters simultaneously to people of different nationalities who varyied in their relationship to place (tourists, part-time and full-time residents) – which complicates the notion of a minority audience with situated needs and interests. This mixture becomes clear when the authorities' summer messages cautioning holiday-makers against landslides along the beach are followed by, first, an advert about legal consultants who can help "cutting through the red tape" of bureaucracies of settling in Portugal (and which are introduced by characters with a German accent), and then by a weekly interview with a financial adviser, aimed at full-time residents, focused on the management of UK-based pensions and investments.

At the same time, for Portuguese, Bright was a new local station with a different type of content in Portuguese. According to Bright's team and locals I met at various instances throught fieldwork, the music, the type of broadcasting, and probably, the English language, which represented the connection to a wider world "abroad", attracted in particular local youngsters, but also Portuguese tourists coming from the rest of the country to spend the summer in the country's most popular holiday area.

Although success is a social construction resting largely on elected values and situated perceptions, Bright FM Algarve started off as an outstanding project in various ways and for different people. Granted, the slogan boasting the station as the "Algarve's Number 1" is more telling of its exceptional bilingual license (which no one else had at the time of fieldwork) and the limits of the market (which was restricted to the number of existing licenses) than of audience ratings that were hardly ever measured, let alone compared (this point is elaborated in chapter 4.2).

4.1.2 Phase 2 – Decline despite attempts to attract more audience(s)

In the first decade of 2000 the station went through an increasingly difficult period. A number of factors limited and reverted Bright FM's remarkable rise as a reportedly very popular station. On the one hand, contextual changes affected the modes of radio production and presented new challenges for the locally produced station. On the other hand, a series of unfortunate, and sometimes imprudent, management decisions shaped the amount of (human, financial, technical and other) resources available and, thus, the modes of work at the station. Together they meant reducing a station with numerous studios and a regularly visited reception area by a swimming pool and a popular bar, to two operational studios in a building's basement that the staff avoided showing to curious listeners or clients. Broadcasts ceased to be the distinctive and international mix of brand new music, creative sound bites and English-language accents in live shows, to instead become a mostly pre-recorded playlist that would be easily confused on the dial with any other station if it were not for the English-language jingles, informative bulletins and advertisements that punctuate the broadcasts throughout the day.

4.1.2.1 Contextual dynamics

Unsurprisingly, one of the contextual factors pertained to the drastic changes in the technology used to create and consume radio. The recent decades' shift to digital media and the online world meant that radio came to find itself in competition with gadgets (such as disc-mans, car audio systems and iPods) and platforms that create tailored music selections to match personal interests and even moods (e.g. Spotify, Pandora, Stereomood, Grooveshark, 8tracks, etc.). Despite the increased variety of means through which to listen to broadcasts (e.g. mobile phones, radio sets, television sets, computers, etc.) the radio lost ground to the "on demand" possibilities provided by the internet in what concerns discovering music and constructing personal selections, or exploring information and entertainment whenever is more convenient. Bright lost centrality as a source of music and/or as a channel through which to listen to English-language radio. Moreover, quicker access to international music became standard also for other stations, whose broadcasts started sounding similar to Bright's. Although local radio stations throughout Portugal still tend to play Portuguese and so-called *pimba* and folk styles of music, so as to cater to nonurban audiences, media groups acquired some of those stations in order to expand the coverage for stations based in Lisbon and Porto. The latter follow similar pop music editorial lines to that of Bright.[213] In other words, Bright's broadcasts became standard.

In terms of production, the substitution of a series of processes and machines by computers also affected the station. The idea that fewer people can do the same work with fewer resources ultimately paved the way for the downsizing of the studios and team. Although it became easier to vary content (since presenters living abroad could more easily send their programs and voice-tracks[214] over internet connections,

[213] By pop music hits I mean the number 1 songs in the UK and US charts which circulate widely, namely, in Portugal.

[214] Instead of sending full programs with their selection of music (or their own music, in the case of DJs who also work at night-clubs and mix and edit dance, techno and other styles of music), some presenters would pre-record their comments about the music being played before or after as well as comments on the weather, the show business, and so on. These sound bites, known as voice-tracks, would be placed in the sequence of music, advertisements, jingles and time stamps at Bright FM, by a programmer.

rather than via regular postal services), with fewer people to manage production and programming activities creativity dwindled. This also affected commercial strategies, which became standard while facing increasing challenges. As the sales representatives complained about, marketing became harder with the flurry of social networks and online advertising. They felt arguments failed them when clients noted that information could circulate over Facebook for free, besides being (visually) visible for longer periods of time and directly guiding people to a website with the company's information.

Another contextual factor concerned specificities and changes in the economic landscape. By the 2000s, the Algarve's economy had become mostly tourism-driven. Local and historical industries (such as tuna fishing and canning) had been replaced by the hospitality and catering sectors that still wheel business in the area. Accordingly, the local economy operates on a markedly seasonal pace. Even though there are tourists all year long, as well as local residents, the population does increases dramatically in the summer time, which affects, for example, the regularity and amount of advertising revenue for the station. This situation was aggravated as the national economy started contracting after 2000. The end of major structural projects, the entrance into the European Monetary Union (with the adoption of the euro) along with a number of complex internal policy and external market dynamics caused a recession that was strongly worsened by the recent international financial crisis (see Royo (2010) for a discussion). The backdrop for Bright FM's operation grew dim. With no support from the state for local radio stations, keeping up with current expenses, such as taxes, fees and bills, became a harder task to accomplish, especially when clients failed to pay on time. To explain this situation Jack, the founder, particularly stressed a mode of tax collection he found would unfairly bring fines upon businesses:

> The country has changed so much - for the better! But it is very difficult when there is a recession on to keep a business like this running. You know, it's not that easy to keep a business going in a seasonal area. (…) You need to keep paying things. And my biggest complaint about running a business in Portugal (…) is the law on IVA [Value Added Tax]. (…) Now, in all other European countries it is not the same. It's when you collect the IVA is when [sic] you have to pay it. But in Portugal, it is when you print the invoice that you have to pay it. (…) So what happens is, if we haven't collected we sometimes can't pay it. And what happens, is that we get all these fines, and it buries the radio, buries the business! We can't expand. We can't breathe, ... (Jack, September 2010)

4.1.2.2 Endemic management issues

In tandem with these contextual changes, there were a number of endemic management issues that also hindered the station. Operating together and aggravated by the contextual factors, they contributed to a vicious circle that threatened the station's sustainability. Like any other organization, Bright was riddled with tensions, and the mode of operations at Bright was a contested terrain. Competing perspectives about how the radio should work played into the situated interests of the various agents bringing Bright FM to life. All in all, an overuse of bartering practices, high rotation of staff, and unfortunate investments that, for one reason or another, failed to yield the expected results, seemed to cause instability in the station's organizational structure. This led to demotivation, diminished resources and, ultimately, sustainability issues.

One of the issues, overuse of bartering, was a common practice to optimize resources and to avoid further expenditures. In practice, clients could pay for advertising with goods or services rather than money. In turn, staff had meal tickets to use at lunchtime, for example. Similarly, regular contributors coming from the UK on holiday received vouchers for sports and leisure activities in exchange for the programs, jingles and/or advertisements they produced. Alternatively, a British free-lancer, whose voice was recurringly on air during fieldwork, had approached the station to ask whether she could use the studios so as to work at a distance, while on holiday, in exchange for doing advertisements for Bright FM for free. Although barter can be an efficient strategy to deal with expenses and resources, and a preferred mode of payment for businesses struggling in a difficult economic environment, it can be detrimental if overused. Walking out of a heated meeting with a sales representative onto the sidewalk just outside of the office, Carla, who was in charge of validating, producing and scheduling the advertisements,[215] commented over a cigarette that if another sales representative proposed paying for an advert with a barter they would have their full commission paid in their clients' products, such as smoked salmon or vouchers to enjoy the services of hotels. Overtime, it became clear that everyone

[215] In part, she was in charge of verifying whether the contract proposed by the sales representative was adequate to the station's target-audience and editorial line besides caring to favor contracts yielding revenue for the station.

recognized that overuse of bartering was a problem when there were bills to be paid. Echoing staff members, a former client commented it was "no wonder it [Bright] went down" when she received Jack's email announcing to friends and business contacts he would sell the station on her smartphone, during an interview with me. She had never paid for advertisements in cash.

To add to (and aggravate) that, there was a strong rotation of staff. A handful of people followed their aspirations and became presenters in major radio and television stations, in both Portugal and the UK (namely at RFM, Rádio Comercial, Channel 4). For the most part, however, people left because, in part, salaries were not paid on time due to the conjugation of decreasing revenue, increasing debts, and the use of funds for investments described below. Moreover, the flipside of the aforementioned permission for creative production practices was a loose and informal mode of administration, which resulted in less structured ways of operating that also led people away. To be specific, Jack was known to invite people to present shows, sell advertisements or even become the director, regardless of their previous experience. Indeed, I myself was invited to work at Bright FM after spending some time around the station and showing interest in learning how things worked.[216] Among the "very many" people whom I was told worked at the station over the years (see table 13, Appendix III), some committed to their new job while others approached it more lightly, often failing to arrive on time or to come in at all. In practice, a lot of people (of different nationalities) worked as directors only for a short period of time, usually without a contract, until "falling out" with someone and/or finding they could not do whatever they thought was necessary, and leaving.

More importantly, the consequences of a reduced revenue and the rotation of workers combined worsening work conditions with a downsizing of the team, which ultimately translated into increasingly standard, pre-packaged, and cold broadcasts. For example, when sales representatives left, they took their clients with them given

[216] This is probably telling of Jack's attempt to understand my interests (despite my efforts to explain my research, which he had conceded to) and to position me so as to establish a way to deal with my presence. Even though Jack was already considering his departure and the sale of the station when I arrived, which meant he was hardly around the offices, he did have personal connections to everyone but me. At the same time, the invitation resonates with welcoming gestures (e.g. receiving me at the station's Christmas lunch and dinner).

that there was no system to register and archive each contract's information (e.g. contact person, number of spots, schedule chosen, price, etc.). This was a problem when the people leaving used to deal with big clients who invested in radio advertising and renovated contracts. Less regular income became even more troublesome a long-standing accountant with a reputation for being methodical, rigorous and fluent in three languages left. For the replacement of this Portuguese man who had lived in South Africa for many years, an English non-Portuguese speaker, it was far more challenging to deal with national electricity and phone companies, the Government's Tax and Financial department, Portuguese and international clients, budgeting, legal deadlines and so on. To add to that, there were also gradually not enough producers to update the station's website, to do work outside of the station (e.g. interviews in the street or organize events), and to prepare and present live shows, let alone be creative. By the time I arrived, there were two staff members organizing all aspects of the playlist, from producing and scheduling advertisements to choosing the music, while securing legal requirements, such as the broadcasting of news bulletins, station identifiers and time stamps. To complete all those tasks and protest against the overbearing workload, they had ceased doing their pre-recorded Portuguese language continuity shows in 2009.[217]

Notably, there were a series of attempts to avoid and reverse problems. Jack invested, for example, in hardware and software for the radio even if without great results. Different members of staff recalled stories about apparently exciting opportunities that turned out not to be practical or efficient (e.g. touchscreens for computers, VOIP telephones and playlist managing softwares that were reportedly hardly ever used). After these investments, the software that was in use during fieldwork was already a cheaper option, and therefore had some limitations (e.g. bugs that created sudden "jumps" interrupting a song, without a fade out, and switching to a sequence with the station indicator and time stamp). Another investment consisted in hiring an international expert in marketing research. According to the station's Carla, who worked as the personal assistant during the audience analysis, the plan was to improve the station's image and to attract, specifically, more Portuguese audiences.

[217] Therefore, table 15 (Appendix III) presenting the station's schedule for most of the fieldwork indicates continuity shows with a strikethrough "Playlist ~~with DJ~~".

Therefore, the goal was, in part, to break free from Bright's image as "the English station", which is both widespread and contested as discussed below (see phase 4).

> At that time, the question raised was [that] people, even here [Algarve], think we're English, that Bright FM only speaks English. So, ok, let's reverse that. Let's put more programming in Portuguese and clean up the so-called drive-time a bit. (…) If you have the [English-language] news at 8:30, 9:30, 10:30, if you speak English during drive-time in the morning and also in the evening, it is normal that people think, because the time when people most listen to the radio is in the car. So, if they go to work and they hear English, and they come back from work and hear English, then you have to strategically clean one of the drive-times. Because you can't work both targets at the same time. You have to work the Portuguese and the English, each in its section. … because notice this, you can't play Boss AC for a 60 year old English lady. But we play Boss AC… It's just that you need consistency. To what extent can you play Metallica right before Bob Sinclair? Who tells you you can't? Right? You have to base yourself on something for that. What happens when we don't know, [is that] we play! (…) But there you go: we didn't have a defined target. (…)And when Patrick worked with us, it was like, ok, let's think like this: who is our target? Why? How? How will we adjust programming? But given the economic conjuncture it was a collaboration that could not be continued. It was half a year. (Interview excerpt, Carla, programming and production departments)[218]

More than the lack of definition of target-audiences that one could argue was still present during fieldwork (as the radio catered to all the audience groups mentioned earlier), I should note that Carla, like other Portuguese and even British, is subsuming "all the English-speakers in the Algarve", whom the station purportedly addressed, as I was recurrently reminded of, under the category of "English". As such, she uses that national label as a short-hand way to refer to, as I came to realize overtime, the relatively affluent populations from Western and Northern Europe as well as North America who usually rely on English to communicate and present themselves as "expats". This is a point I return to later.

During this market research period there was a second attempt to enter into a partnership with a radio in Lisbon. Resembling larger tendencies in the radio sector at

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[218] *"Nessa altura foi colocada a questão do as pessoas, mesmo aqui, acham que somos ingleses, que a Bright FM só fala inglês. Então, ok vamos inverter isso. Vamos pôr mais, mais programação em português e vamos limpar um pouco os chamados 'drive-time'. (...) Se tu tens as notícias às 8:30, 9:30, 10:30 – se falas inglês no drive-time de manhã e à noite também, é normal que as pessoas achem – porque a altura em que as pessoas mais ouvem a rádio é dentro do carro. Ora, se vão para o trabalho e ouvem inglês, e voltam do trabalho e ouvem inglês, então estrategicamente tens que limpar um dos drive-times. (…) Porque tu não podes trabalhar os 2 targets ao mesmo tempo. Tens que trabalhar o português e o inglês, cada um na sua secção. (...) porque repara, tu não podes estar a passar Boss AC para uma senhora inglesa de 60 anos. Mas nós passamos Boss AC... precisas de consistência. Até que ponto é que podes estar a tocar Metálica e a seguir Bob Sinclair? Quem é que te diz que tu não podes? Não é? Tens que te basear nalguma coisa para isso. O que acontece é que quando nós não sabemos, brincamos!... (...). Mas lá está, nós não tínhamos um target definido. (...) E quando o Patrick trabalhou connosco foi um pouco – ok, vamos lá pensar assim: quem é o nosso target? Porquê? De que forma? Quem são as pessoas= Como é que vamos ajustar a playlist? Como vamos ajustar a programação? Mas dada a conjuntura económica foi uma colaboração que não pode continuar. Foi meio ano*. (…)

the time (namely media concentration), the idea would be to retransmit some of the broadcasts.[219] Another station based in the capital had sought Bright FM after an article in *Visão* made it visible in 1995. However, the price of establishing a phone connection to retransmit content at the time halted the plan. By 2005, Jack decided to try a new partnership, under the supervision of the media consultant, which was also discontinued. Not having managed to expand into a media group, by 2007 Jack took a different path of investment. As he explained to me, his idea was to capitalize on one of the main interests of the majority of foreign residents, which are elderly, and thus particularly care about their health, and use the profit to move the station to a better location. In practice, the clinic and, particularly, the emphasis on alternative therapies, was not the expected success. Consequently, the station remained in the same place, in an adjacent building. Besides being placed "in a cul-de-sac", to use Jack's words, the offices were separated from the studios. The first were in a shop with glass walls facing the road, which was a dead-end street in the back of a block of houses, even if 2 minutes away on foot from one of Albufeira main avenues and a central supermarket. The studios were jokingly referred to as "the dungeons" because they were moved to the basement of the building where sunlight does not reach.

4.1.3 Phase 3 – Transition: selling the station

I heard of the possibility the station could be sold in February 2010. Jack confirmed rumors I had heard among staff members when he brought bacon sarnies (bacon sandwiches) into a live show on a Sunday morning, as he occasionally would, and mentioned he was thinking of leaving. There were negotiations with different potential buyers until one media group formalized its interest in a promissory agreement of purchase, which led to a lengthy period of sorting details and bureaucracies. For a long time, nobody knew whether the station would in fact be sold or to whom. Given negotiations with the media group that eventually bought the station were dragging, other interested parties seemed to consider buying Bright once

[219] Media concentration has been shaping the radio sector in Portugal (see section 4.2.1). This is quite clear in the Algarvean radioscape, where 16 local radios are divided among those which are local projects and those which have been acquired by large media groups. The latter mostly retransmit broadcasts produced in Lisbon, although they have legal obligations to produce 8 hours of local content, in particular new bulletins. In practice, such stations ultimately expand the broadcasts of Lisbon based stations, which therefore gain national coverage.

they heard it was for sale. For instance, when interviewing a regular client in a bar close to the station it became clear that Bright FM sounded like a good business opportunity for residents like this Irish mortgage broker. Interestingly, even though he came into the station because he preferred to give a personal touch to his company's advertisements by including his voice in them, he was not a regular listener nor was he close with anyone at the station.

The ongoing negotiations in the background underpinned everyday dynamics (namely by creating tensions) but, however, were never openly discussed among staff, as far as I could witness. Although uncertainty loomed over the social life of the station, people seemed to continue with their tasks in a prolonged wait. Until the sale, in January 2011, the social organization of production, intercultural relations at the station and the process of transition were as follows.

4.1.3.1 Social organization of production

Before the sale was formally acknowledged and the process of switching owners started, the station was barely surviving. For the first year of fieldwork, the setting I found and got acquainted with was of a station that struggled with running costs while being run by a small team that operated on a loose structure. To give a sense of the baseline structure of the station, table 9 (below) describes modes of workers' ties with the station and complements tables 13 and 14 (see Appendix III), which illustrate the evolution of the team overtime. Combined, they give a sense of the number of people involved in different tasks as well as the dynamics at Bright FM.

Table 9 – Description of production roles at Bright FM

Staff	People whose main job was to work at the station. Unlike sales representatives, who worked on the basis of commissions (making 10% of what their clients contracted with the station), directors, producers, playlisters, secretaries, journalists and newsreaders received a salary.
Contributors	DJs who provided the station with content. Content usually consisted of programs but could also include jingles, promotional spots and other sound bites. DJs either presented the show live, from Bright FM's studios, or pre-recorded the program and sent it. Day-time DJs were based in the Algarve or in

	the UK while night-time DJs were a more international group from all over Europe. DJs did not get paid by the station but did not have to pay for airtime either. They could find sponsors to finance their work insofar as the shows also observed the commercial breaks with the station's clients. Only international Algarve-based DJs explored this option. In contrast, UK based DJs, nighttime DJs and Portuguese DJs did not seek direct financial return with the shows.
Volunteers	People who offered their time to do tasks at the station. Overtime, a small number of people worked as personal assistants of one of the DJs in his weekly show. During fieldwork, the person doing that job had also offered to do the weather reports and exchange rates on daily basis. Additionally, friends and/or previous staff came in upon request to provide other services, such as technical assistance whenever there was a problem with servers, streaming and so on. Some people reportedly also offered to be newsreaders, facing it as a hobby and/or a service to the foreign residents.
Externally hired services	A few services were hired externally, such as accounting. Others (e.g. maintenance and monitoring of the station's website) were paid with advertising.

In practice, apart from administration functions that were dealt with mostly by the secretary and the owner, team members collaborated in the various tasks needed to sustain the station regardless of their specific roles. People became involved in all aspects of production: commercial, news and information, and music and programming. The commercial side of the station entailed finding and dealing with clients, besides translating their contracts into advertisements. Sales representatives could be involved in the writing and production of the advert even though the advertisements' producer tended to hire a Portuguese or UK production company to do the sound design. Like newsreaders, foreign (usually English) DJs and even the secretary, would lend their voices to the advertisements. The producer would then secure that commercial spots would be aired at the times agreed upon with the client.

In what concerns news, a Portuguese journalist who worked with other media organizations sent pre-recorded local Portuguese news bulletins to Bright FM. Newsreaders – usually British who were fluent in Portuguese - had compiled news about Portugal from the local and national media and translated them into English

until their job could no longer be sustained financially.[220] During fieldwork, the same advertisements' production manager, along with the playlister, secured the retransmission of English language world news from a UK online news service for independent radios. Finally, they also assured the quality of the library of songs,[221] and generally arranged all aspects of the broadcast. The latter ranged from technical details[222] to finding and maintaining contact with DJs besides receiving, assembling and airing their shows.[223] In other words, the staff operated on a shoestring budget, securing the basic necessary chores on the basis of multitasking and collaboration. The longest-standing sales representative illustrated how the team maintained operations working:

> Because there are times in which maybe Carla thought like, "man, I'm not going to work" (sighs , hinting at being fed up]. But she knows that she will hurt Luis' work. She will overload him, if she doesn't come in. If I don't come in, there will be no money. At the end of the month, it's necessary that people get paid. So, in that sense, if I don't sell, they have nothing to do [producing advertisements and programming], but without them, I cannot sell either. I am selling something that they need to make. We are dependent on each other. (Interview excerpt, Patricia, sales representative).[224]

The lack of resources was reflected in broadcasts, which lost staple content and had not been renovating its image. In addition to As hinted at above, local and

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[220] As a local station, Bright is legally required to broadcast eight daily local news bulletins in Portuguese. Yet, the English-language programming is determined by the station and there is no obligation to provide news.

[221] To be specific, they checked for the best version of the song, accompanied the latest releases in the pop music industry, and programmed the legally required 25% of Portuguese language music.

[222] Watching the playlister work and hearing his comments about what was needed and should be done yielded a long list of tasks that were his responsibility. He had to, for instance, bracket sequences of advertisements with a sound signal identifying the space as a commercial break; schedule jingle renovation and insert the seasonal "tone" (e.g. sleigh bells and Christmas tunes towards the end of December); assist local clients and in house DJs in the production of advertisements' sound design; overseeing that the playlist software would keep station identifiers, time stamps and other legal sound signals that remind listeners which station they are listening to and what time it is.

[223] Voice-tracks and music lists sent by DJs had be combined with commercial breaks, news bulletins, exchange rates, time signals, and other elements.

[224] "*Porque há alturas em que se calhar a Carla já pensou tipo, "pá, não vou trabalhar" [suspira como quem está saturada]. Mas ela sabe que vai prejudicar o trabalho do Luís. Que vai sobrecarregá-lo se não vier. Se eu não vier trabalhar, não vai entrar dinheiro. No final do mês, vai ser preciso fazer os pagamentos Portanto, nesse aspecto, se eu não vender, eles não têm nada para fazer, mas sem eles, também não posso vender. Eu estou a vender uma coisa que eles têm que fazer. Nós somos dependentes uns dos outros*."

national news bulletins in English were discontinued. Moreover, jingles, promotional spots and station identifiers had not been changed for years, in some cases. Although the playlister noted that Bright could hold jingles for longer than other stations because of its audience is largely seasonal, he found they were "burnt from overplaying". Recent ones, like adverts, were also increasingly made with the station's resources. This became obvious during the shows of DJs who had recorded them. Sitting in through live programs I noticed different presenters' concerned frowns when their voices played again just after telling listeners they would "be right back" after the commercial breaks. Nevertheless, the station was still operating and, as staff emphasized, broadcasts made Bright sound like a bigger station.

> The less good part, to put it that way, was, as I just said, that people gradually left, and there was no renovation of staff. (…) So if the station was cold, it got colder, because everything is pre-recorded. Everything is packaged. And because it's just the two of us, we're overloaded with stuff to do. There is no space to do new things because you spend your time worrying about everyday things. And you can't forget we're doing work that used to be distributed through 6 people, right? (…) so that is bad. Now, the good part, is that (slight pause) each person chooses his/her share of vanity and holy water, right? Man, you listen to Bright and it does not sound bad! And we're [only] two! (Interview excerpt, Carla, programming and production departments)[225]

This day-to-day mode of working was motivated differently for the various people in question but there were general dynamics. For example, transversally, everybody could, and did, seek other forms of revenue at some point. Some worked in the niche-market catering to foreign visitors and residents (e.g. selling phone cards and hand-made festive postcards; cooking and serving exquisite meals at people's homes; waiting at a pub; translating documents) while others did more varied things (e.g. covering the technical aspects of live commentary of local foot-volley and football championships; DJ'ing at parties; marketing and fundraising for a firefighting squad). Similarly, although in different measures, most people seemed to benefit (and sometimes explore) the social capital that working at a broadcasting medium yielded. They enjoyed free drinks at some bars or meals at restaurants, invitations to events,

[225] A parte menos boa, digamos assim, foi como referi há pouco. As pessoas foram saindo e não houve renovação de staff. (….) . Portanto, se era fria ficou ainda mais, porque é tudo pré-gravado. É tudo empacotado. E então como estamos dois, estamos hiper-carregados de coisas para fazer de trabalho. *Não há* espaço para fazer coisas novas porque passas o dia preocupado com as coisas do dia a dia e não podes esquecer que eu e o Miguel estamos a fazer trabalho que já foi distribuído por 6 pessoas. (…) E essa é a parte má. Agora, a parte boa, é que (…) eh pá, tu ouves a Bright e não soa mal! e nós somos dois. (Carla, interview, Setembro 2010)

and, in the case of presenters, general popularity and other perks of becoming a public figure and/or being able to give visibility to people's businesses. Moreover, all seemed to have appropriated Bright as a living space. Homely practices included watching football games on one of the broadcasting studio's two screens while presenting shows; assuming the responsibilities of sweeping the floor and changing towels in the bathroom of the "dungeons" so as to make them presentable for live-shows' guests; and using Jack's next door apartment to make soup to distribute for everyone in mugs.

Situated motivations to keep working with Bright, for contributors, related to their looser and more distant affiliation to Bright. Accordingly, DJs could either use the shows to directly or indirectly yield revenue as well as to accumulate social capital. While many seemed to do the shows as a hobby, it seemed that all derived clear benefits from contributing with weekly programs apart from the two local Portuguese presenters. Possibly, like the nighttime DJs from all over Europe,[226] these daytime presenters also used the radio to build a reputation as experts in the genre they featured (reggae and world music). Nevertheless, nighttime DJs were more clearly trying to become known in the region so as to pave the way for their performances in nightclubs during the high-tourism season. Probably doing the same with other stations in touristic locations, they quickly accepted, and sometimes actively sought, a place in the programming without having any other contact with the station. UK-based presenters (3) were personal connections from Jack's radio-days in London who used their spare time to provide Bright with new and professionally made jingles and programs, which Jack paid in kind during their visits to the Algarve. The remaining (4) DJs, most of whom were British (3), were based in the Algarve and had backgrounds in the radio and entertainment industries. All found sponsors for their shows besides, with the exception of a retiree, combining radio-work with other jobs.

In contrast, for people depending on Bright as a main source of income, reasons to stay and motivations to leave gained other dimensions. Work at Bright

[226] Over the course of fieldwork, approximately 10-15 DJs would weekly send their programs from different cities in Portugal, from Albufeira to Porto, as well as from countries like Germany, Italy, France, the UK, Spain and Serbia. See table 17 (Appendix III) featuring the nighttime schedule.

could signify a fairly stable option in a difficult job market as well as a precarious position to be stranded in. Working in adverse conditions, with late and/or shortened monthly income, was weighed against having no other option in terms of work, as well as against the many years spent at a station whose potential people had either known in the past or otherwise came to believe in. The strongest image I was given to explain this ambivalent and torn feeling compared a frog that would jump if put in hot water with a frog that would not move if put in cold water that would be gradually heated.

Yet, this situation was experienced differently by Portuguese and foreigners. For Clive, a 63 year old Englishman who had done radio most of his life and whose Portuguese skills did not extend much beyond courtesy words, Bright was his best work option in the Algarve and his livelihood - and he needed one until he could retire in a few years. Similarly, for the Canadian, British and French sales representatives who were not business owners - which many other working-age foreigners are (a point elaborated upon in section 5.1.5) - the station was also a favorable option, which allowed them to speak English and to earn as much as they worked for. For the Portuguese who wanted to keep working in radio, moving to another station meant not only "a step back in terms of salary and mode of working", as explored below, but also parting with the station that had been their workplace for many years. Among staff, the feeling of interdependence and solidarity noted above by the longest-standing sales representative also weighed on their decision to stay. Additionally, the impending sale brought hope for change and aspirations for better positions within the station.

4.1.3.2 Relations at the station

In terms of cultural geographies within the station, one could at first simplistically look at the relations between the two biggest groups - Portuguese and British - in dichotomous terms. Structurally, they related to the station differently: the first were mostly engaged with backstage production, while the second with presenting shows on air. Accordingly, the first, as staff, were generally more dependent on the station's stability and success, while most of the latter were contributors (see Table 14, Appendix III). As I came to learn overtime, sometimes

through awkward conversations, not only did people seldom listen to their station's broadcasts (apart from DJs competing with each other), but there was also some lack of knowledge among the Portuguese decision-makers about connections the radio cultivated among the English-speaking population in the Algarve (e.g. they were not up to date with Bright's marketing strategy at a theatrical play that the station was supporting and in which I had volunteered).[227] Although this was likely related to the fact that staff and contributors used the station at different times (see table 14, Appendix III) and to the British practitioners' greater and stronger connections to other foreigners resorting to the station's services, it created some distance. That seemed to add to power dynamics that coincided with cultural affiliation lines, such as the instrumentalization of language at the office so as to exclude British who, confirming the stereotype, barely spoke Portuguese, or the bypassing of the Portuguese interim coordinator, whom Jack insisted (at least to me) was the person in charge while he had "taken a step back", for decisions about sales and issues with shows.

Nevertheless, while there were contradictory decision-making processes, unclear accountability dynamics and a sense of lack of trust at times, to reduce social and intercultural dynamics to such divisions would not suffice to tell Bright's story. If some tensions could be articulated in a way that apparently polarized British and Portuguese, it was clear that there were more than two factions at stake and that people shifted positions, aligning themselves differently depending on the situation. The following conversation with sales representatives illustrates this.

> I asked permission to interrupt the work of sales representatives so as to ask their help in unpacking the adverts that they helped create. I explained to both the coordinator and the representatives at the station that the goal was to investigate the way the target audience(s) were constructed and what the interests and needs of English-speaking foreign residents were imagined to be. Yet, I accidentally triggered a collective rant: for about two hours they listed all the commonplace negative aspects that, as I came to realize overtime, the stereotypical "expats" are accused of. When examining adverts emphasizing "cutting red tape", "English-speaking staff" and "enjoying the lifestyle of southern Europe" conversation departed from the texts and spiraled into notes about tax evasion, not learning the language, expectations to be catered to, not integrating and even acting superior. They framed these criticisms in relation to the negative

[227] As noted previously, in order to gain a better grasp of the station's social life, I tried to get involved in events promoted on air. The play "Churchill, the musical" was such an event. During the weeks before the première, actors, writers and the director were interviewed in live shows. A promotional spot was also running on air. It was not clear for the commercial production coordinator why and how the spot had been made pro bono.

> consequences for the region and the locals. They also went back and forth between talking about the British and "other foreign residents". At this point in time, the team consisted of four women: one Portuguese who had lived in South Africa, two other Portuguese and one French. I wonder how the discussion would have gone if the English and Canadian representatives formerly involved with the station were present. (Field notes, October 2011)

During the two hours that the collective rant that I triggered lasted, it was clear that strategies of positioning drew on larger narratives about the social realities in a region that is a destination for tourists and migrants alike. As was not uncommon during fieldwork, the references to the British overlapped with discourses about other foreign residents that did not come to the Algarve to seek financial stability, but rather to enjoy the amenities in the region. What is more, this distantiation from the British could quickly alternate, and coexist with, identifications and proximity with them. Sales representatives capitalized on their cultural belongings (to South Africa, in the case of Portuguese returned migrants, or France in the case of self-designated "expatriates" working at the station) quickly re-aligning themselves with the same foreigners they criticized. Sales representatives wielded their international background not only to gain rapport with clients but also inside the station, to position themselves in relation to peers who had never left Portugal. While not invalidating the critical stances they assumed, their similar mindsets, international experience and greater knowledge of social life in English in the Algarve constituted a partial identification with the British and other "expatriate" foreigners who constituted the English-language programming target audience. This also seemed important to making sense of their own lived experience in a culturally diverse region in which the British presence is significant, as illustrated by the following interview excerpt about which cultural background to highlight or shun in different circumstances:

> A Portuguese, no. Even if he speaks English, he will prefer to speak to a Portuguese person. To represent the firm, I go, or if Lúcia was here, she would go, because we are Portuguese and speak Portuguese. And it is a lot easier for an English person to sell to another English person than for a Portuguese to sell to an English. And why did they send me to sell to the English? Because when I speak they understand right away that I haven't always lived here. That I have a South African accent. I understand the way they think, certain things they say… so they feel more at ease. Comfortable (…) And *there is* a certain empathy from them knowing that I am Portuguese but I did not live here [all my life]. They think I have, and I do have, a different way of thinking. Maybe I know them better. And you too because you didn't always live here. There are terms that they use that I understand. And even a Portuguese person who speaks English well doesn't know some terms. So there is always a bit of that connection. And the same thing

> when I go to a Portuguese client. I am Portuguese; technically I am Portuguese, I speak well. I don't need to tell them that I studied abroad. (Interview excerpt, Patrícia, sales repreentative)[228]

Other dynamics that also complexified a dichotomous perspective opposing British and Portuguese related to interpersonal relations tempered by gender and kin dimensions. Signaling the smaller scale context in which the station operates, relationships within the small team were permeated by all: long-standing friendships, stable unions, separations, in-laws, and parents of these practioners' children's sweethearts. On a daily basis, interactions at the station were also shaped by the overbearing presence of women at the office. Although the station did operate as a place where live shows' guests, listeners, clients, contributors and others circulated, among the few people present daily at the station the only men were Clive, who had a lunchtime show and Luís, the playlister (see table 14, Appendix III). As such, work interactions were framed by a default register consisting of jokes about men and relationships, comments about diets and (in/adequately sexy) attire, and general gossip – a context which facilitated my entrance into the field as a 29 year-old woman. Along with work-related tensions, personal, ideological and cultural differences were also at times bridged for the sake of advice and support through, for instance, pregnancy or divorce.

Furthermore, although accompanying cultural differences, struggles over modes of working related more to the backgrounds and contexts informing different trajectories of Portuguese and British practitioners in the radio world than to struggles for authority in representations. To be specific, opinions were divided in what concerns the quality of broadcasts and the best way to do radio. This related to media ideologies concerning how the station could be most successful and better cater to

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[228] "*Um português não. Mesmo que ele fale inglês, ele prefere falar com uma pessoa portuguesa. Para representar a firma, vou eu, ou se a Lúcia estivesse cá ía ela, porque nós somos portuguesas, e falamos português... e é muito mais fácil um inglês vender a um inglês do que um português vender a um inglês. E porque é que me enviavam a mim para vender aos ingleses? porque quando eu falo eles percebem logo que eu não vivi aqui, que eu tenho sotaque da África do Sul, percebo a maneira de eles pensarem, certas coisas que eles dizem, ... e daí sentem-se logo mais (...) E há uma certa empatia, de eles saberem que eu sou portuguesa, mas não vivi aqui. Acham que eu tenho, e eu tenho uma maneira diferente de pensar. Se calhar conheço-os melhor e tu também como não viveste sempre cá. Há termos que eles usam que eu percebo. E mesmo uma pessoa portuguesa que fale bem inglês, há termos que não conhece. Portanto há sempre um bocado aquela ligação e estou mais à vontade com eles. À vontade. quando vou a um cliente português, a mesma coisa. Sou portuguesa; tecnicamente sou portuguesa. Falo bem, não preciso de lhes dizer que estudei no estrangeiro*."

listeners. In other words, to what "good" radio making meant for different segments of the team. To be sure, media ideologies are the culturally specific, nuanced understandings of a) how media shape communication and b) what are considered to be appropriate utterances to different media, which shape the way people use different communicative media (Gershon, 2010b). They are further informed by concepts of selves, relationships and communication (id).

On the one hand, staff, in particular the Portuguese in charge of programming, were strongly engaged in constructing Bright FM in a professional way. According to the production coordinator, this meant building a coherent image for the station, which would associate it with an energetic and positive feel matching the tourism destination (as explored in 6.1). Part of that coherence entailed catering to a Portuguese, young and female audience with pop dance music. Moreover, a professional ethos meant methodical and meticulous logics in modes of production, ranging from the type of music to play (organizing hits in a coherent line across all the programming, with the exception of specific shows) to rules for jingles (e.g. alternating between male and female jingles or playing mellow jingles before ballads and more energetic ones to match the tone for faster-paced songs), while privileging quality (namely in terms of the versions of songs played, which should be properly catalogued in a library). Following such procedures was more important than the playlister's own musical preferences which were far from these dance beats: Luís' dream would be to work at the alternative music station based in Lisbon. Ultimately, this coherence also overrode his ideas about the principles underlying the organization of the playlist. For instance, agreeing with the older colleagues, he found that the Algarve, unlike urban contexts, was a place where people would not necessarily only, or mostly, listen to radio in the car for short periods of time, but could leave it on throughout the day. As such, he was particularly careful with not repeating songs more than a certain number of times throughout the week.

As suggested, such differences were telling of the background the practitioners came from and the context they found themselves in. The ethos underscored by the concern with professionalism among the Portuguese resulted from those practitioners' opinions about the current contours of the local radio sector in Portugal and their aspirations for a career in a saturated market. Aware that trying their chances in bigger stations in Lisbon would entail a series of sacrifices, they preferred staying at

Bright than working in other local radios, which they found still used outdated modes of production.

> Carla: I think that, in general, local radios work like they worked 20 years ago, in terms of vision and management. (…) This is my perspective, obviously. Because the more I know, the more I see, the more I understand … the more I realize how archaically we work. (…) And in Portugal we have people who manage radios and change the playlist because their girlfriends don't like the music, people who do radio and don't understand that saying 'I've been doing it this way for 20 years and that is how I am going to keep doing it", don't understand that that's not good. you have stopped in time! (…) So we [Carla and radio practitioners of other local stations] don't speak the same language. Do you see what I mean? I have a colder posture. (…) [For them] it's more emotional. … In other words, I didn't found a station! I wasn't back in the 80s hiding and broadcasting pirate radio and what not. But most people were! They had that experience. (…) Those people still live on that memory, the initial stimulus, and I can't have it because I didn't live it. (…) Therefore, for me to go elsewhere, I would need to think about a lot of things. First: leaving Bright for another station in the Algarve is out of question. (…) This may sound presumptuous, but it is a bit like that. I can't pretend that I don't know what I know. Then, leaving the Algarve. I really like the Algarve. (…) Then, it was a bit of the money issue. (…) I hear stories of people who went to Lisbon, even working in radio, and how much they made when they started earning, and the sacrifices they made. (…)[229]
>
> (Interview excerpt, Carla, station's coordinator)

They preferred enduring the difficult work situation at Bright than opting for the precarious conditions created by the transformations brought about by new technologies. On one of the many occasions I observed him working in his tiny studio, the playlister compared the 1990s, when radio workers like himself could earn attractive salaries, to the present moment. Currently, companies prefer not having employees and related responsibilities (e.g. social security) and take advantage of the possibility of collecting voice-tracks from free lancers. At the end of the day, his peers contribute with shows and other sound products to different stations and (music,

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[229] "*Acho que na generalidade, as rádios locais funcionam como funcionavam há 20 anos atrás, em termos de visão e de gestão. (…) Isto é a minha perspectiva, obviamente. Porque quanto mais eu sei, quanto mais eu vejo, quanto mais percebo... mais entendo também o quão arcaicamente nós trabalhamos. (...) E em Portugal temos pessoas que gerem rádios e que mudam a playlist porque a namorada não gosta da música, pessoas que fazem rádio e que não percebem que dizem 'Eu já faço isto há 20 anos que faço assim, e é assim que vou continuar', não percebem e que isto não é bom. (...) paraste no tempo! (…) Então nós não falamos a mesma linguagem. Entendes? Eu tenho uma postura mais fria em relação à rádio(…) Ou seja, eu não fundei rádio nenhuma! Eu não estive na década de 80 a esconder difusões piratas e não sei o quê. Mas a maior parte das pessoas têm! E essas pessoas continuam em cima dessa memória, do estímulo inicial - e eu não consigo tê-lo, porque não vivi. … (…) Daí que , eu para ir para outro sítio tinha que pensar em várias coisas. Primeiro era: sair da Bright no Algarve para outra rádio, está fora de questão. (...) Isto parece um bocado presunção, mas, mas é um pouco assim. Eu não posso fingir que não sei o que sei... Depois, sair do Algarve. Eu gosto muito do Algarve. (….) Depois, era um pouco a questão monetária. (…) ouço histórias de pessoas que foram para Lisboa, mesmo fazendo rádio, quanto é que começaram a ganhar e os sacrifícios que fizeram.*"

jingle, advertisement) production companies, for much cheaper, possibly after their workday at a station.[230]

In contrast, the British DJs who were most involved with the station were more inclined towards an approach grounded on having fun around the studios and on air. Doing radio was presented to me as more of an intuitive practice, based on celebrating the specific type of music being played, such as Motown and Northern Soul,[231] as well as, "middle of the road" songs, able to cater to an adult and older audience. Additionally, they valued strategies such as humor and familiarity to captivate listeners, even if sometimes at the expense of technical procedures. The following jingle and advert illustrate such an amusing tone and recognizable references, which were constructed through creatively found and edited sound bites:

Advert running through most of fieldwork, 2010-2011

Voice 1(Male, young adult, dynamic voice): **X bar bistro is now open in Vilamoura marina**!
(Overlapping soundtracks with different music)
Voice 2(Male, young adult, from Only Fools'n'Horses): **I can't believe it!...**
Voice 1: **Yes! Your host Dell boy has done it again!**
Voice 3 (Male, older, also from Only Fools'n'Horses): **What will the neighbors gonna say?**
Voice 1 (over a busy background of dynamic music): **Open everyday from 8:30 'till late! Everything you could expect from a X bar plus breakfast, lunches, tapas, full evening menu and Sunday roast lunches too! Enjoy the outside terrace with great views over the marina! For more information and reservations call 289XXXX52. X's bar bistro, Vilamoura Marina. Now open!**
Voice 3: **Lovely joint, ain't it?**

Jingle for the lunchtime show featuring classic hits

Quick succession of sound bites

[230] The current dynamics result in a very competitive market where free lancers may provide voices for very low prices, which stations and production companies prefer, but that, at the same time, undermine the possibilities of finding a stable job with an attractive salary in radio. Although famous personalities in radio are above these dynamics, working in the sector is difficult for most practitioners. This scenario is probably also heightened by the concentration tendencies which have been subsuming radio stations into large media groups.

[231] These two intertwined genres of music were very popular in the UK during the pirate radio days. To be sure, Motown stands for the record label (Tamla-Motown, to be precise), which release a number of famous artists from the soul music scene (e.g. Jackson 5, The Temptations, Marvin Gaye, Diana Ross). From the 1960s until the 1980s, the musical influences from the United States generated curiosity among listeners and pirate radio practitioners alike. Radio broadcasts and concerts provided access to styles, which came to be known because of the history of their appropriation in the UK (e.g. Northern Soul was American dance music that became particularly popular in the North of the UK and which had faster beats than other soul).

Voice 1 (male, adult, deep): **Bright Klassix with Clive**!

Voice 2 (female, young adult, dynamic): **60s, 70s, 80s – your ears will love it**.

Voice 3 (female, a bit older, higher-pitch): **Will love it!**

Voice 4: (male, older, higher-pitch): **Whoa!**

Voice 3? (female, adult sexy, whispered): **Will love it!...**

Voice 4?: (male, adult, with different emphasis): **Whoa!**

Voice 2? (female, adult, brisk): **Love it!**

Voice 5 (male, expressively surprised but dragging): **Who-a…**

Voice 6 (female, adult, edited to sound as if speaking over the phone, as if it were a clip from an old movie): **Was it as good for you as it was for me?**

Voice 7 (female, adult, assertive, with the resonance of someone speaking on a microphone or in a wide empty room): **May I have our attention?**

Voice 1? (male, adult, deep and with broadcasting experience): **Algarve's Bright FM!**

Voice 8 (male, young, singing) **Bright FM!...**

The British' approach to radio making was informed by a long tradition of radio in the UK, to which some of them contributed, and, it seemed, their experience as "expats" in the Algarve. Talking to different contributors, I could learn first hand about broadcasting from the iconic Radio Caroline as well as about other experiences of radio pirates in the UK during the 1970s and 1980s. While sitting in the studio during live shows I accompanied the DJ's revisitation of memories of placing antennas on rooftops while someone kept watch, moving broadcasting places so as to avoid being caught, receiving responses at 3 am from a listenership that was avid for new and alternative music, DJ'ing in soul music concerts around London, or recording jingles and voices with famous names of the time, such as Bill Mitchell. Like in those days, projecting personalities was important and cutting corners was tolerated:

> I know worldwide everybody voice-tracks shows, and whatever, and everything is perfection. My shows have never been perfection, I make slip ups. The ability to get around them, to me, is a bit of a talent. You don't make a big fuss about them. You make a cheeky comment. Like when the computer stinks, and it just got the hiccups, you just make a joke of it and carry on. And you don't go into a blind panic. Whereas with the modern stuff, you know, you do it wrong, and then you redo it and it's always perfect. Sometimes there doesn't seem to be personality. (Interview excerpt, Clive, live-show DJ)

In a way, the "pirate-informed" way of doing radio is looser and fits well with the relaxed way of living that most "expatriates" emphasized they looked for when moving to the Algarve. If practices could sometimes give people with some experience the sense that Bright operated in an impromptu way, such lack of planning was not necessarily seen as a negative thing. This is apparent in the comment of a

previous British newsreader who worked for different media overtime, both in the Algarve and abroad:

> T: (…) They didn't know [who Bright was speaking to and what rules to follow because of that]! Had no idea. We made up our own rules - like we never said Lisboa, we said Lisbon. Because we were speaking in English. And Lisbon is the correct name of Lisbon. Like you'd say Paris and not *Paris* [using a French accent]. You'd say Cologne instead of Koln.
>
> I: What about local terms and places?
>
> T: We had to be careful with places here. We'd say Albufeira where most Brits would say Albufehra, which we didn't. But it was difficult because there was no book. We'd say Cape Vincent instead of Cabo São Vicente. Whenever there was an English version, we'd use it.(...) So we made those rules ourselves. We were following the BBC's model as far as we knew it, but didn't have anything to refer to. I quite like that sort of thing!
>
> (Interview excerpt, Thomas, free-lance media practioner)

This more light-hearted and fun oriented posture regarding radio-making practices transpired in the taste for sharing stories of moments of thrill and shared times. For instance, a show host recalled how Jack came in with the presenters into the studio after an all-nighter, so as to pull them through an early morning show with a cup of coffee. Another recalled a broadcast on a boat, on one of Bright's first birthdays, and how they ingeniously solved technical issues to broadcast live along the coast. Possibly, the glasses of Port and beers involved in some of those stories about doing radio in the Algarve helped creating such a valued image of "good times", associating a relaxed way of doing radio to enjoying a life with fine spirits in the sun.

In sum, although culturally and historically situated experiences with radio making informed the divergences within the two main segments at Bright, the social organization of production cannot simplistically be reduced to a division between Portuguese and British. By the time I arrived at the station, and for the year that it took until the station was sold, it was possible to observe shifts in alignments and dis-alignments along and across nationality lines. Additionally, I witnessed a number of instances of everyday close and good work relations which were not hindered by divergences in terms of ideas and approaches to radio making and to Bright in particular (e.g. patiently tutoring how to read an advert with intonation when local voices had to be used; help with correcting advertisements' texts; joining in on someone else's broadcasts with quick visits to make jokes on air). However, Christmas dinners were no longer moments of teambuilding and mingling as

(reportedly) before: by the time I arrived, there were a number of tensions deriving from the period of transition.

4.1.3.3 Transition

Although the contract establishing the interest of parties in a sale (*Contrato de Promessa de Venda*) was signed in July 2010 the sale took place in January 2011. The process was dragged, on the one hand, because there were far too many loose ends, previous debts and other issues to rectify. On other hand, the process was prolonged because the media group's main stakeholder was particularly cautious in doing business so as to, the staff imagined, avoid adding to an already negative reputation. If foreigners initially resorted to Wikipedia and Google to learn more about the Brazilian Pentecostal Church *Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus* (*Universal Church of God's Kingdom* - IURD), they quickly learned from their Portuguese colleagues, neighbors and friends about its uncomplimentary standing in the country. IURD, which has been establishing itself in Portugal since the 1990s through, for instance, acquiring media space,[232] is rumored to be involved in illicit businesses (e.g. money laundering) while inviting believers to contribute with monetary contributions to the church, as DJs reproduced off air in conversation about expectations and concerns for the future. They grew suspicious of what could happen at the station given they could not find a website for the media group and because the relations between the Church and the group were unclear for a while.

The suspicion both within and outside the station was only appeased after the sale, when the Portuguese Media Group's representative made the conditions of the sale clear. In contrast to the short statement on the press releases published by the local English-language newspapers, which the staff wished were a bit more expressive so as to remind the British audience that Bright would still be there for

[232] The Church has progressively bought programming in different media platforms. In addition to a number of radio stations in the Aveiro, Braga, Vila Nova de Gaia, Setúbal regions, IURD's masses, talk-shows, church's events' advertisements and promotional spots with moral and spiritual messages are also broadcasted by Rede Record. In Portugal, the Brazilian Record media group is present on cable television and local radio (in Lisbon). Although it boosted the performance of Record, as I found from practitioners during the mapping stage, it also left many Brazilian migrants in Portugal unhappy when it replaced Globo, one of the major Brazilian television networks on Portuguese cable, in 1995 (Ferin Cunha 1996), according to representatives of Casa do Brasil's association.

them, the interview on Bright's talk show clarified doubts for listeners and clients alike. To use the French host's translation of new director's statement:

> Right, for those of our listeners who are not completely familiar with the Portuguese language I would like to humbly translate this piece of conversation as I know many, myself included, wonder what is the nature of the relationship between the Church of Brazil and the group's activity. Mr. Pereira explains that it is a partnership that started a few years ago, and that it [the Church] is a client of some of the radios managed by *the media group*. It is a partnership that provides financial support to the group and in return allows the church to address their public. *This* is not the only media group with which the Church develops partnerships. It [the Church] doesn't have an influence on the groups' activity. Simply, some of the radios are more adapted to the public the Church wants to address. [expressions in italics replace the Media Group's name][233] Friday evening's Show's broadcast excerpt, January 2011

The plan had always been to maintain Bright's project as a bilingual station and with a similar programming. Although the group was interested in the Algarve and did eventually buy a station where religious programming is broadcasted, it had made a compromise with Bright establishing that there would be no interference with the project as long as the station not only sustained itself but also increased profits. The group would only provide extra programming to enrich pre-packaged playlists and replace employees in functions that it could cover with staff at its other stations and for lower costs. Internally, however, for months people felt uneasy about upcoming, and somewhat uncertain, changes. Subsequently, there was no collective get together to mark the sale. Until new contracts were signed, people tried to show their commitment and effort without being sure of their success to remain involved with the station. Bright was suddenly very populated early in the morning, new jingles were made for specific shows, and, in some cases, discourses about the multicultural concerns of English-speaking programs were emphasized by noting their international listenership. Meanwhile, to deal with the idea of becoming associated with the religious group, the staff formulated an objective narrative discarding religious prejudice. They reproduced Carla's following ideas:

> I: Does it bother you that it's IURD's media group?
>
> C: If they asked me that question, if the group asked me that question, I would say – does it bother you that I am not [in IURD's group]?... If we go to RFM and ask "Does it bother that it's [the station] the Catholic Church's?" (…) You obviously need to have guidelines of conduct because you're still associated to a Church, right? There. I'm sure there are songs that RFM doesn't play because they are against the principles of the group. Right? But beyond that, I don't believe that people working there on a daily basis really feel it!...First, because even if you play the spiritual messages, it's a recording. That's like publicity! You also don't listen to all the adverts. [Then] You believe in your God, I believe in my God. And we can talk about it, but I

[233] Expressions in Italics substitute the media group's name

don't make you do anything and you don't make me do anything. (Interview excerpt, Carla, coordinator)[234]

Yet, given that listeners' and clients' worries were no so quickly satisfied, the station had to work so as to secure its place among the English-speaking audience. The underlying idea that the British audience was already won-over, unlike the Portuguese, was suddenly shaken. And yet, to protect Bright's identity, the team relied on that audience to convince the new owners that no change was needed in terms of project. Trying to establish that Bright would be "like a BMW in a [media] group composed of Fiats", they suggested the British were a different market than the Portuguese and would pay higher prices for radio advertising. It was with a big smile that Patricia handed a check for a 2000-euro campaign from a client I had just visited with her to Carla, in front of the group's representative. What did not transpire then was Patricia's worry about the client's reaction to the station's sale. She convinced the pub owner, whom she had known for years, that the ownership change was for the best and carried no implications for the normal functioning of the station. Using her sales person rhetoric, she compared the station to a gold mine that is worth nothing if you do not know how to dig the gold out. The pub owner conceded, but Patricia was aware that the station's identity was tied to the previous owner for his "expat" peers. On the car ride back to the station, she commented on how other clients expected the old discounts because of being personal acquaintances of Jack's and were weary about future developments to the station. She noted that the Algarve "is like a village", and that rumors about religious programming were circulating. She feared that programming could be imposed on the station and push listeners away.

Other difficulties pertained to the lack of resources to rework the programming, team, and brand of the station quickly. The sale had inspired dreams

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[234] I: *Faz-te confusão que seja o grupo da IURD?*

C: Se me fizessem essa pergunta, se o grupo me fizesse essa pergunta, eu diria - faz-te confusão que eu não seja [da IURD]?... Pá... se nós formos à RFM e perguntarmos "Faz-te confusão que seja da Igreja Católica?" (...)Obviamente que tens que ter linhas mestras de comportamento porque não deixas de estar associadas a uma igreja, não é? Pronto. A RFM. de certeza que há músicas que não passam na RFM porque vão contra os princípios do grupo. Não é? Mas tirando isso, as pessoas que trabalham no dia a dia, eu não acredito que sintam isso na pele!... Primeiro porque mesmo que tu passes as mensagens divinas [tom jocoso] é uma gravação! Não quer dizer que tu tenhas que ouvir! Não é? (…) Aquilo é tipo publicidade! tu também não ouves os anúncios todos! Eu não ouço os anúncios todos. Tu acreditas no teu deus, eu acredito no meu deus, e podemos falar sobre isso, mas eu não te obrigo a nada e tu não me obrigas a nada."

and opened opportunities for a "new chapter" for the station. The coordinator, now settled in her decision-making role, was excited with the possibility of working in a group that, in practice, could cover the whole of Portugal's coastline. She also projected big plans for a new location for the station (by the beach) so as to have people in the street talking to tourists and residents in features that could be sponsored by clients. DJs, previous newsreaders and even regular guests proposed refashioned and new shows (e.g. a multilingual live show presented by teams with both men and women; a talk-show hosted by a psychologist) hoping to create and improve jobs in the process. Different newspapers approached the coordinator to study possibilities of partnerships. Sales representatives expected to add more profits to secure salaries by offering the media group's clients in Lisbon the possibility to reach a whole new niche market in the Algarve.

Yet, a number of difficulties stalled projects and made for a rocky new start. With no financial support from the group, the station could not so quickly engage in projects to find new attractive quarters. Additionally, there were lingering issues hampering the projection of a continuity image for listeners and clients who tried to accompany the progress of the station. For instance, there were contractual and technical issues with email accounts and the website's domain, which disturbed communications for some time. Furthermore, despite efforts to "turn a new page" at the station, its own physical space posed limitations. the station's office remained a small single room operating mostly in open space seen through its glass walls facing the street. Additionally, a standing billboard could not be removed because it was concealing a mess of chords and cables from different phone, computer, print and other lines – one of the "typical Jack fixes" as everyone there noted with a sigh when the billboard was put back in its place.

Major changes were apparently distancing Bright from its English-speaking target. Sales representatives who were bringing the least profit were dismissed while representatives that had previously been involved with the station were hired, as was the remaining staff.[235] The commercial department was then essentially composed of Portuguese, some of which with international experience. The secretary was replaced

[235] In the case of sales representatives, being hired meant they no longer solely earned through commissions.

with a younger Portuguese woman supposed to promote the station in Portuguese on Facebook. Newsreaders and DJ's working at other stations of the Media Group started sending voice-tracks to fill programming with continuity shows in the morning and afternoon. These were all in Portuguese, even if it was noticeable they worked from the north of the country because of their accents and the mispronunciation of some places' names (e.g. Salir became "Sahlir"). The DJs who stayed at Bright (the foreign residents) agreed to work as external contributors and to avoid seeking sponsorship from clients targeted by the sales representatives. Although all noted having plans to leave and even contacts with other stations, nobody did more than occasional advertisements or promotional spots in English for another local station. Although they did not change their style of presenting, they did emphasize discourses about the international dispersion of listeners so as to justify the added value of their work.

Notably, tensions were not exclusively polarizing the Portuguese and the English. The transformation of the physical space mirrored changes in the social life of the radio to the extent a new structure was created. It signposted a sense of new beginning: wiping walls of pictures; replacing the wooden table of the broadcasting studios with inscriptions made over the years by guests, newsreaders and DJs; hiring a cleaner, discarding unused equipment phones, radio sets, etc.; hiding extra cupboards were hidden in a back room; removing signs on the station's door that advertised the services of a previous team member's friend, replacing inspirational quotes in a white board with graphics with month's sales meant to stimulate sales representatives to do more. Yet, materiality accompanied and contributed to tense dynamics as not everyone benefited from new equipment and bonuses (e.g. desks, chairs, subsidy for fuel) and office equipment that was in use disappeared (e.g. lists of guests for upcoming live shows). A clean look became heavy with the silence at the office whenever the radio set was turned off (one common opinion was that the group's continuity DJs were either annoyingly perky or excessively monochordic). New rules were also materialized, for instance, in a log checking entrance and leaving times for staff – which some found to be an inadequate requirement for a station that needs to operate 24 hours a day and where various members used the flexibility to work from home and make their own schedules.

Such tensions pertained, among other things, to an unsurprising lack of comfort with the formal ascension of a peer to a decision-making coordinator position

(even if she fulfilled much of that role in practice before), heightened competition for clients, and to frustrated expectations, as the station was not doing much better than previously.

4.1.4 Phase 4 – Revamp, rebrand and expand

The turnaround for the station happened in the beginning of 2012. In hindsight, it became clear that the "baby steps" that the coordinator mentioned until then related to the preparation for a "bombastic comeback". More than important internal reorganization of the production practices (e.g. a data-base for clients was developed with the assistance of a technician), the process of rebranding Bright happened through a series of changes. For instance, Facebook became a compulsory form of communication for DJs during shows, which was a step to integrate the two languages of the station also on that medium. Some ideas for optimizing broadcasts while targeting a population were put in practice (e.g. sponsorships for key informative features, such as the exchange rates' bulletins). The overall playlist framing shows and commercial breaks was "aged" so that songs would be more palatable for a generally not very young audience.[236] Also with the collaboration of British DJ's, a new feature consisted of an "album of the week", which was meant to focus on the UK's latest hits with a new song everyday. Finally and most importantly, along with a new website, logo and brand image, a daily breakfast show in English was launched on the very first day of the year. To save the station enough money so as to hire a contributor as a presenter, Carla and Luís did the single change in the Portuguese programming: they replaced the media group's two DJs and re-started doing the morning and afternoon (pre-recorded) continuity shows, which they used to do previous to their strike, as extra functions to their jobs. A few months later, with a renewed presence among listeners and bolstered sales, the station could hire other DJs, such as another over 60 year old Englishman who had been involved with Bright previously, and returned to do his Soul music show before becoming a daily presence during the drive-time, from 5 to 7 o'clock (see Table 16 featuring the new schedule in Appendix III).

[236] To be sure, this meant including more artists such as Scissor Sisters, Vanessa Evans, Emily Sunday, the Rizzle Kicks, and hits from the 90s and early 2000s (e.g. Chumbawamba's Tubthumping), and reducing the dance music with stronger beats.

Granted, the turnaround was not without some drawbacks. By January there was still no final agreement with local newspapers nor other resources to do local news in English, as hoped. Additionally, the new image of the station, chosen by the media group, was deemed to be too young and urban for a station with a recently re-adjusted older target. Not even the 30 year-old sales representatives really identified with the youngsters with huge headphones, skateboards, tattoos, tank tops and sexy looks on the posters decorating the office and studio on my last field visit, in April 2012. Moreover, the merchandising was also deemed unfit because of the strong and bright pink and blue colors of key chains and beach balls and, more importantly, re-used appearance of cotton bags (which had a different company's name printed in addition to Bright FM Algarve's logo). To add to that, the hosts still felt frustrated at times with the lack of participation in competitions and on Facebook. It was awkward in the studio when no Facebook messages arrived after direct suggestions to "show someone is listening out there" or when the phone did not ring after the host directly (though jokingly) addressed the staff upstairs, in the office, to call if they were listening.

Still, despite initial criticisms and a few weeks long kickstart, the morning show in English was an astounding landmark for Bright FM. The program had been in preparation for a few months by the coordinator and Tim, one of the local British DJ's, whom everyone seemed to forget about when listing people in the team during initial stages of fieldwork. When he replaced one of the most famous DJs of the station during his holidays, apparently as part of an experimentation to test how well he would do in a different show than his own, I learned about his previous experience in the TV and radio industries in the UK. As I sat with him in the studio in November 2011, Tim just hoped to move beyond his routine as a host of Karaoke nights in the Algarve's bars who also did administrative work online for a company in the UK and a soul music program on the local English-language station. When the Breakfast show was launched, interestingly, initial criticism came from the fellow British in the team. More than noting Tim spoke far too much, too fast and said his own name far too often, they emphasized that including such a large amount of English-language on the broadcasts was a bad idea. Possibly annoyed with not gaining a stable contract or the possibility to have more visibility themselves, the elderly DJs also recalled their own participation in Breakfast shows in the past in Portugal to argue breakfast shows in

English do not work: "people don't like having English thrown at them in the morning", as one recalled his Portuguese co-presenters saying. Additionally, they commented on the format, which they felt was too urban for the Algarve, where people are not "rushing to work in the morning, while combing their hair and drinking their coffee". Yet, Tim quickly built a large following, judging from participation on Facebook, phone calls to the show, besides, of course, the opinions of people who listened regularly. "Either you love it or you hate it", many said. From the comments below, which were collected on Facebook and email and posted at an office' board by April 2012, almost as a proof of an achievement, many people liked it:

Table 3: "Breakfast Show – what listeners are saying". Comments on Facebook and email sent to station by listeners by April 2012[237]

Hi Tim, good morning to ya from North Wales! Just back last Friday after the last 3 months over there on the Algarve in the sunshine listening to you every morning (sad eh?)Must be something in your show, as we now listening every morning over here in Rhyl too! (even sadder!) Good station you have there, good choice of music, pretty good DJs too! My God, JUST heard your -4 forecast for today, hell man, that's colder than HERE right now lol Keep playing the music and we'll keep on listening! See the Algarve and listen to you (on FM) again, same time next year! Take it easy Andy
Hi Tim Can you please say 'hi' to my son Benj who has a history test today & play anything from a Bond film for him. 8:10/8:15 would be great as we are only in car from about 8:07 to 8:17 :) Thanks & well done on the new show - big improvement. Alice
Morning Tim, You managed 17 brilliants from 9-15am till close of play! 18 if you count a double brilliant. You are what you are, at that time of the morning no one is paying too much attention anyway as they are still half asleep! Pat.
Hi Tim Really like the show we are getting up earlier than ever to listen. Why don't you go on till 12. (...)Is there any way you could fit in Portuguese news in English feature maybe after the 9 o clock news.

[237] As elsewhere in the thesis, all names are pseudonyms.

Thanks for making our mornings more cheerful.

Michelle

Back in the studio in April 2012 with Tim, now on his new show, I tried to explore why the program seemed to work so well in the Algarve and how he achieved "more interaction" and the "fun and uplifting" and "familiar" characteristics he aimed at by November. The program seemed to be adjusted to the "more relaxed pace of life" that so many people mentioned throughout fieldwork. For instance, it did not follow early morning schedules that the British DJ's mentioned (6-9 o'clock, by the time which people have supposedly arrived at work). It started at 8 and went through to 11, and later, 12 o'clock. This suggested the show accompanied a later work starting time than in urban centers and that it targeted the daily school runs. An unsystematic accompaniment of the show's Facebook page suggested that people tuning in did not switch off but continued listening at work and at home as well.

The program openly tried to recreate a style of breakfast show that was popular in the UK in 1960s, 1970s and early 80s (and, for Tim, shaped what radio is today). The style of presenting and of banter were inspired in famous British radio hosts known for their comedian skills and very personal, at times extravagant, styles. In addition to Chris Evans, mentioned in the listeners' comments above, Tim admitted being inspired by personalities such as Noel Edmunds, Dave Ward (also known as Curly Shirley), Timmy Mallet or Dave Lee Travis (also known as Hairy Cornflake). In a "disorganized organization", the happy, silly and energetic tone of Tim's performances on air transpired as he invited a different mood and participation from the regular types of messages sent to the older DJs (e.g. requests for help with finding lost dogs and announcements of events):

> I sat with Tim through the famous Breakfast show. It is impressive to see him – quite literally – filling the room: he sings, screams, whispers and chats while moving things, and sometimes himself, around. Unlike Clive, who is very present on air, but stays put in his chair, tapping his foot as he moves the volume control up and down to speak over songs, or even unlike Terrence, who sometimes tries to create images in listeners' minds by exaggerating the sounds of someone eating something really tasty, Tim takes presenting to a different, more theatrical level. Doing 360 degrees in facial and vocal expressions in less than two minutes, he picked up the phone with a mocking "Steve's underwater parachutes, how can I help you?". He then rapidly assumed a fatherly tone to the young girl requesting a shout out and a song for her friend, who had her birthday and would be on her way to school like herself. Switching into a cheeky persona making comments about the lyrics of the upcoming songs, he pursued to engage in a multi-character conversation: he would answer the cheeky DJ, pretending to be someone else, by silencing the main microphone, increasing up the volume on the microphone facing the person

> sitting at the table across from his seat (where guests usually sit) and shouting, so that listeners would hear a voice literally coming from across the room, back and forth. He quickly transitioned to the song of the moment ("Mamma do the hump" by the Rizzle Kicks), noting he loved it, by challenging the listeners to dance along. And dance he did, with his chair (which has wheels) despite the lack of a camera to prove to listeners he was doing so. (Field notes, April 10th 2012)

Additionally, jingles were reminiscent of decades past in terms of the light-hearted tunes they used and allusions to everyday and family reception contexts (e.g. waking up at home, working at the office, having a drink at a bar, driving somewhere in the car with the family).

Features also fulfilled similar functions, whether addressing an audience in family contexts (preparing for the morning run to schools and work), or creating familiarity through the use of linguistic and cultural references. "The Geek", a character played by one of Tim's friend who sent him voice-tracks from the UK (and occasionally that friend's friend, presenting himself as the "Geek's cousin twice removed"), briefly explains a "word that you are never gonna use, you probably never gonna need, you probably don't even know what it means and never even heard of in your life". The short feature that is aired around school starting time allegedly caused late arrivals to classes, as children and youngsters wanted to stay in the car until the feature was on, as also suggested in some of the messages above. From Lisbon, I could accompany online the various comments to "Cockney Bob" on Facebook, where people had fun deciphering what the expressions in Cockney meant.[238] Other UK-specific references were cultivated in features that maintain an updated connection to the country (updates on popular soap operas such as East Enders and Coronation Street, and on football matches).

Familiarity was created in the allusion to both the past and the present. To be specific, unusual facts and random news items picked up online are framed by a jingle alluding to the position that radio used to have as the prime medium of information in

[238] Cockney is a term with different linguistic, regional and social associations. As I was told in the station, it pertains to the accent and dialect used by Londoners born within the earshot of Bow-Bells of St. Mary's Church, on the Eastern side of the city. According to Tim, who is from Manchester, the rhyming slang serves to sustain a rivalry between Londoners and Manchunians, whereby the latter are mockingly stereotyped as being slow and, thus respond with jokes about Cockney. Others note there is a class overtone to Cockney to the extent it is associated with lower echelons of society. On air, the feature is meant to be "English fun" and focus on the linguistic aspects. It consists of a brief daily example of at cryptic ways of talking which is based on rhymes (stairs is replaced in a sentence by apples and stairs

society, noting **(**by a choir singing a capella) that "It must be true 'cause I heard it on the radio! It must be true, it must be true." In turn, to complement and situate broadcasts, other features focus on relationships with the Algarve. One focuses on residents by inviting live guests (mostly, local business owners) to briefly answer the question "Who are you and what do you do?". Another also targets tourists by translating a "Portuguese word of the day", and showing how it should be pronounced. Accordingly, expressions are usually related to contexts a tourist would find him/herself in, such as ordering food at a restaurant or a bar (such as the Portuguese feature's presenter's, where Tim used to work).[239] In this case, however, the loyal listeners seem to be older ladies who complain if Tim is late with the feature.[240]

Overtime, and post fieldwork, subsequent changes confirmed both a clear investment in the English-language programming and the station's improved performance. By April, discussion over cigarette breaks included the preparation for a recreation of popular models of television competition-based shows (namely, "Britain's got talent") on Bright: "Bright's got talent" was meant (and came to be) a competition for listeners to prove their ability to sing and earn the possibility of recording an album professionally. It was hosted by the pub where I had been with Patricia, inside one of the main resorts – a long-standing client. From Lisbon, following broadcasts online, I learned about the engagement of younger listeners, who participated as "junior reporters" (and won entrances to the local zoo showcasing sea animals) as well as Tim's temporary co-hosts. After stopping to listen regularly, I realized the team was enlarged with more British DJs (though at least one seemed to be fluent in Portuguese). The programming has also been expanded to include national and local news in English and other features catering to "expats", such as the money minute, which gives information about the Portuguese fiscal calendar so people are aware of when different taxes are due, for example. By 2014, the old plan

[239] An example, from the Facebook post following the feature is:" Todays Portuguese word of the day is .. " Where is the bathroom " ? .. = Onde é a casa de banho .. pronounced " Ondeh eh er Caza De Banyo " ... enjoy ..:-)"

[240] The show also includes other features, such as famous birthdays.

to retransmit Bright in Lisbon became a reality as the media group acquired a local station in Oeiras that retransmits the signal.

4.1.4.1 The significance of mobilizing culture

What this phase revealed was the importance of a cultural identity both on air and off air for Bright FM. To recap, with a change in formal ownership of the station, and without the personal connections strongly cultivated by Jack among the "expat" population, Bright needed to re-establish itself as "the Algarve's number 1 English speaking station". To bolster revenue so as to prevent an editorial project modification, as well as subsequent major adjustments for the production team, the strategy was to "Britify" the broadcasts. Although the English-language programming had not changed, and innovations were restricted mostly to one daily show and adjustments to the musical line, there was a clear investment in instilling identification among listeners so as to make the radio a more attractive vehicle for advertisers. It may be unsurprising that a station initially founded by an Englishman would resort to that listenership, which is, after all, not only a large and prominent population in the region, but also a generally relatively affluent one. Yet, this marketing strategy's strong cultural dimension is telling of two major things. On the one hand, it reveals the long-standing but naturalized relationship between Bright and the British audience. On the other hand, it is informative of different positions regarding this mobilization of culture within and beyond the station.

To be sure, the relation between Bright and the British, or, more precisely, with Britishness, was a major stumbling block throughout fieldwork. I struggled to understand what kind of relationship the station maintained with that population and its cultural world given that the team underplayed any affiliation with the latter, although it presumed and entertained that connection. On my fist visits to Bright FM, the Portuguese staff emphasized the popularity of the live British DJs among the foreign population, (specifically) British listeners' habits to interact more with the station (e.g. contacting the station about programming they (dis)liked or coming by the station in person, whether to see the studios, ask for information or meet people) and radio's involvement in social solidarity because of the British engagement with it (chapter 6.3). Yet, British DJs strongly rejected the idea that they were speaking solely for their countrymen, even if they recognized that the British constituted a large

listenership whom they addressed in more direct ways because of linguistic and cultural proximity (e.g. through idiomatic expressions or concrete references to public figures or media products), which seemed to happen in an almost unconscious, naturalized way. As clear in the following conversation, one DJ adamantly dissociated himself from such narrowcasting but also showed that he imagines his listenership based on a very British model of how people spend time:

> Inês: (…) everybody here keeps telling me that Bright is special because it's unique in using in English programming. So, some people would argue, because the news is specifically UK [focused], the weather is [showcasing] Portugal and the UK, that [the target audience] would be mostly British people. And also because [of] social networks, and
>
> Terence: I think the reason for that is, and what I found, I can only speak from my show, there is an awful lot of people who listen online, who either got homes here, or connections here, or family here, who've got families who live here. And also, I must add, in Australia, Canada, France, Germany, United States. And I've also got a lot of Portuguese listeners, who also live and work out of Portugal. A lot in the UK. (…) a lot of our listeners are Portuguese, … We are not, and you've got to get rid of this idea, that an English show is purely for English people. No, it's not. It's for people who speak or have knowledge of English. But in the end, the music is the international language. (…) My show is catering, for people who speak English, who aren't necessarily English (…)
>
> I: And what do you think the show, in what way does the show play into the lives of people?
>
> T : I think you've got to put yourself, as best you can, in the place of the person listening. What are the people doing on a Sunday morning? Most people have a lay in. Young Portuguese people of course don't get up until I got home, had lunch and had a sleep and got up. Most people take it easy on a Sunday morning. I know that typically on an English household, if the weather's fine, dad is washing the car, or mowing the lawn. Mum is cooking lunch. Kids are probably doing homework if they are school age, or youngsters are playing in the garden. The radio is on. English people tend to listen to more radio in the mornings, I feel. And particularly on a Sunday morning. It's a family day, isn't it? It's a day when most people don't work. … and I think that is the audience that we're playing to. (…) What are the Brits who live here for the most part? Let's talk about the retired and the semi-retired. What are they interested in? What they eat, what the weather's doing, their health, and their pensions and their wealth.
>
> I: But you're going back to the Brits!...
>
> T: Yeah.
>
> I: I mean, fairly, if they are the majority of the listeners.
>
> T: Well, not necessarily the Brits but the foreigners who live here. The Portuguese are also interested. C'mon, the Portuguese are the best eaters in the world! Most of them eat two cooked meals a day. We Brits have one. (…)
>
> (Interview excerpt, Terence, live-show DJ)

Also slightly shifting away from the subject, the other mainstay of the station was more prone to recognize that the majority of the listeners are from the UK. Though actually circumscribing the audience to the English, whether purposefully or not, he was quick to articulate the concern that seemed to underlie the resistance to a simple and direct association of Bright to the British. Instead of emphasizing the diversity of listeners, like other minority radio producers interviewed during the mapping stage, he insisted on the importance of integration. As explored in chapter 5,

in this case, avoiding the idea of seclusion resonates with the recurrent criticism to the stereotypical "expat" posture, which is infamous for a lack of effort to learn and adjust to the new context of residence. This happened when I tried to explore to what extent Bright operated as a community radio station:

> Inês: Community radio. Is it [Bright] the same? Does it work that way? Does it make sense to work that way here?
>
> Clive: Amm, well I think it does, because you got a community. Well, now, our community, whichever way you look at it, is the English community. But you know, it's to provide information to them. (…) It's trying to find things that are of interest for the community. But it's not trying to alienate English from Portuguese. It's trying to tell English people about things that are happening here. I mean I had some great fun nights. I'm always going to go along and see some of these little Portuguese events, you know? (…)It's a way of telling people, I don't like this isolation thing. I'd rather everybody did integrate and in a way we're helping, because we're telling people, in a language they can understand, what's going on in the country they are living in. (…), because I don't like to think, oh we come on and do programs for the English and they do… It should be mixed. (Interview excerpt, Clive, live show DJ)

On the other hand, throughout fieldwork, the Portuguese and other staff members, also did both acknowledge that Bright ultimately served the largest group of English speakers, which have always been the British, but also usually further added, for the sake of accuracy, "all the English-speakers in the Algarve", like the first DJ. Like him, they also did not elaborate on who would fall into this group despite a tacit understanding that it referred to the Dutch, German, Scandinavian and other Western Europeans, as well as North Americans. The presumption implied in the label suggest other groups of foreigners do not speak or rely on English to get by in the Algarve, which may be the case with the largest minorities in the region (Ukrainians, Brazilians and Cape-Verdeans - see table 6 in chapter 5). Notably, this is not the case for the Indians and other migrants from the subcontinent who actually used to come to Bright because of their linguistic needs: they used Patricia's services as a translator. The defining lines of this audience, which is also suggested in the subtext of the advertisements constructing the needs and interests of the target audience (see chapter 6.1), relate, then, to the tourism-informed mobility that brings these populations to the Algarve. Yet, these differentiations between migrants who seek economic stability more than amenities, which coincide in the Algarve with the labels of migrants and "expats" respectively, were however not elaborated upon. The staff would tend to focus on stressing the Portuguese contingent among listeners, who were less visible ("because unless you're offering something, [Portuguese] people

won't participate."), thereby reinforcing the aforementioned stance defending that Bright was made by and for Portuguese *as well*.

The English-language and British connection was confusing and elusive for a number of reasons. As further discussed in 6.1, there were various instances suggesting a prevalence of Britishness on Bright, both on and off air. Nonetheless, they were framed by a general discourse and mode of address that did not so specifically narrow the target audience. In live shows or adverts, for instance, Bright often constructed and explicitly addressed listeners, in English, as "expats" and visitors. As noted earlier, the term "expats" seemed to merely include the British in some instances, but also equate with the British in others. In that sense, the use of the term diluted references to that population by grouping it with other English-speaking foreigners in the Algarve. Moreover, the association of the English language and British culture was also obfuscated by the globalization of the English-language as a prime vehicle for communication, particularly in a tourism destination such as the Algarve, where English is the lingua franca. To add to that, British music, like other cultural industries' products emanating from North America, circulate internationally and pervade programming in, for instance, local radio stations. British culture is further particularly present in the Algarve, as a result from the sheer number of people visiting and residing in the region from the UK, which has been the main sending market for years.

What was telling in the 2012 shift, was precisely that, until then, Bright had no conscious or open intention to reinforce the cultural connection between the English-language and British culture even though it could be said to add to it. To recap, it started as an opportunity to build on a niche market that capitalized on the cultural backgrounds of practitioners. Although they could be contributing to construct their audiences as British, they were not following community-making projects. Instead, they are practitioners who happened to be British, and whose cultural belonging transpired, for instance, in the ideologies concerning how radio should be done. As such, what the explicit shift to targeting the British after 2012 highlights is that the underlying and elusive association had always been not only present but also central, though in a naturalized way.

The instrumental construction of Bright as more intensely British is telling of this long-standing naturalization, in part, because there were other options to redesign

the programming. When I asked Carla about whether people saw the transition as an opportunity window to propose other projects for Bright, she mentioned that Luc, the French talk-show host, had suggested refashioning the programming so as to better reflect the cultural diversity of the region. This was in line with his personal goal of using radio to stimulate critical thinking, engagement with society and intercultural relations:

> Luc: … The British and the English are still one of the largest community [sic] here in the, but very... I discovered that the Ukrainian [sic] are just as many here in the Algarve. Then come the Brazilians. We have also the Germans, the Swedish, the Swiss... we have communities from everywhere. (…) When I started the show, most of my guests were English. And then I decided I wanted to do a show about various communities. (…) So really, I wanted to use the English language, which is the language of Bright FM really, and use it as a common language more than the language of the English people. My program is definitely not directed to the English audience, but to the international and the Portuguese audience. (…) Also, in terms of music for example in my show, there is very little English music. I've introduced Italian, French, Spanish, Arabic, Indian... So I really, I am using Bright FM's possibility to use another language than Portuguese, but more to open to a universal culture than to a British culture. (…) So in that sense I think I am bringing, I am opening these new doors in Bright FM.
>
> (Interview excerpt, Luc, DJ)

While accompanying him to a hairdresser's inauguration, where he made short interviews for his program, he told me about his proposition to expanding the linguistic and cultural range of the programming through a talk show combining other widely spoken languages in the region, such as Ukrainian and Portuguese. Without explicitly stating that some foreigners did not constitute attractive niche-markets, which Luc was convinced was the reason for discarding the program, Carla noted that further exploring cultural diversity was a great idea for later. She presented a number of arguments to justify the choice for the British, which she established as the obvious target-audience in a time when it was necessary to bolster revenue so as to prove the potential of Bright's editorial project and prevent changes in the programming (e.g. including religious programming in Portuguese) which could, ultimately, mean the loss of jobs for people in the team.

To be specific, she emphasized that it would be useless to do a breakfast show in Portuguese because Bright had no (human, technological, financial and other) resources to be able to compete with national radios, whose morning shows are lively and professional productions. Additionally, she maintained the importance of differentiating Bright from other local stations by avoiding a "patchwork" type of programming, dotted with different language shows (the Russian hour, the Romanian hour, the Brazilian hour, etc.), and assuring coherence. Before that, however, almost

naturalizing the line of thinking, she justified the option by asking, "What is the biggest foreign population in the Algarve?" (November 2011), which she reformulated in a later conversation after my answer (Brazilians, at the time) to "What is the largest English-speaking population? (…) With less resources, we'll do what we do best" (April 2012). "Best" hinted at the station's longstanding proximity with the British by setting aside the other migrant populations and, although not seeking to exclude other "expats", investing in the relationship with the longest-standing, largest and most responsive audience.

With a formal change of ownership, it seemed necessary to instill the (informal) sense of ownership in listeners and clients alike by adding to the English language programming. If the English-speaking population had been taken for granted as a captive audience on account of the bilingual license, while the Portuguese needed to be allured, the philosophy changed after the sale. Earlier, the key to Bright's success was the privileged access to the "expat" population to the extent that clients targeting the tourists and English-speaking foreign residents would prefer to advertise at Bright, which had programming in English, than with local stations which only occasionally broadcasted some commercial spots in that language. It follows that, even though approximately 50% of the adverts were, according sales representatives, of Portuguese clients, most were produced in English so as to target the foreign population. To build on that trump card, which had secured the station so far but would not bolster sales on its own, it seemed more efficient to use the connotation of Bright as the "English" station (meaning the British station) and explore the already established relation with that audience than exploring Bright's potential to serve all "expats" in the region.

Accordingly, advised that British listeners had reacted in the past to accents on air (namely contacting the station to criticize a South African journalist), the plan was more firmly based on the idea that speaking English is not the same as speaking to the British. For instance, Carla noted that Luc had been considered as a potential presenter for the breakfast show but was not given the job because he would not create affinity with listeners to the same extent as Tim. At stake was then not simply the (grammatically, phonetically, etc.) correctness of language, which had always

meant that broadcasting was generally restricted to native speaker,[241] but the ability to stimulate identification. Notably, although the British at the station initially questioned the success of the strategy, they cooperated by simply continuing doing what they had done previously (with the exception of Tim). Eventually (by April 2012) they were convinced that it produced results as listener participation and revenue increased. As noted, the strategy was so successful that the station expanded to Lisbon by 2014. Interestingly, for listeners and clients the shift seemed to constitute an upward swing after a rocky period and not a change in direction per se. Their relation to the station is outlined in the next section.

4.1.5 Synthesis of section A story in 4 chapters

Bright's story can be divided into four phases that were shaped by both contextual factors and internal dynamics. Its quick establishment as a popular station among all Portuguese, tourists and foreign residents derived from the combination of factors such as: a unique bilingual license, the founder's personal connections in the UK's music and radio industry, the consolidation of the Algarve as a mass tourism destination, and a team filled with talented youngsters who were keen on playing with new ways of doing radio. However, the latter were intertwined with dynamics which ultimately left the station dwindling: the loose management style that permitted and encouraged experimentation and the exploration of different ideas of how to do radio ultimately also resulted in high rotation of staff, unbalanced accounting, and an increasingly emptier programming. Attempts to revitalize the station, update content and technological resources, were stalled by an incoming economic crisis, diminishing resources, a seasonal local economy, and an already difficult starting point. Fieldwork accompanied the long period of transition in which the station was sold to a Portuguese media group associated with a Brazilian Evangelical Church. Despite initial concerns with the maintenance of English-language broadcasts and a slow resurgence, Bright underwent a process of rebranding which not only re-established Bright as a popular station but enabled it to fulfill earlier efforts to expand to Lisbon.

[241] Luc and the French sales representative who participated in some adverts, were the only two exceptions I heard of. Both had joined the station through one of Jack's loose invitations to participate at their own costs at a time when the station was already not doing too well.

Although cultural differences did shape the social organization of production, tensions riddling relations within the team were not organized around cultural aspects. The internal frictions that are bound to shape everyday life at any station were, in this case, related to unclear decision-making cartographies, ascension of peers to leadership positions, and kin, age, and gender dynamics. Nevertheless, the inter-relation between Portuguese and English members of staff did influence the social organization of production and broadcasts. In practice, the Portuguese became more associated with the backstage practices of designing, producing and organizing all items composing the broadcasts while the British were always mostly engaged with presenting their own live and/or pre-recorded shows. If the first were strongly committed to differentiating Bright from other local stations by insisting on "professional" practices of production, the second followed a different media ideology. Instead of systematic and theoretically grounded rationales, their approach to radio-making was informed by their British (radio presenting and musical) references, their experience as radio pirates as well as, possibly, by their current stance as "expats" in the Algarve. This translated into, essentially, a more fun and relaxed way of broadcasting, with less preoccupation with technical rigor for the sake of reaching listeners and entertaining them while enjoying work.

Notably, although the Portuguese made a point of claiming partial authorship for the content and success of Bright in its early years, and did act towards fighting the generalized connotation of Bright as "the English station", there was no apparent struggle to address one specific audience over another. In other words, entertaining three types of listeners, the team did not compete over Bright's identity. On the contrary, until the sale, the audiences were taken for granted to the extent Bright had a bilingual license and they addressed both the Portuguese locals and the English-speaking populations visiting and residing in the Algarve. This was compartmentalized in different slots of the programming, with some shows, news bulletins and adverts in Portuguese and others in English.

The sale to a Portuguese media group generated concerns about the station's future orientation in terms of programming among team members, listeners, advertisers and other audience members, which were tackled by a strategic emphasis of English-language content. The playlist was re-fashioned to become more explicitly geared towards, specifically, the British. Significantly, the adjustments made did not

constitute a rupture in the station's general programming and relationship with the audience. Conversely, the few but high-impact changes constituted continuity albeit privileging a segment of the station's multicultural English-speaking target-audience. Such instrumentalization of Britishness suggests the importance of this audience for the station. Additionally, it was telling of different positions within the station given it was coordinated by the Portuguese long-standing members who came to be in decision-making positions. What constituted efficient marketing strategies for the latter, raised uncomfortable associations with seclusion among the British in the team. Having always emphasized the multicultural orientation of English-speaking broadcasts, they cooperated with the new strategy somewhat apprehensively. Yet, in practice, that meant maintaining their line of work, which, apparently, need not change for the strategy to stimulate the overall identification of British listeners with Bright to result.

The process of Britification of broadcasts was consequently also revealing of other two major points concerning the role of Bright for its British audience. On the one hand, without ever having set out to stimulate community making on the basis of Britishness, cultural background and frames of reference transpired in the way the founder and the DJs broadcasting in English did radio. If it could be said that broadcasts had been privileging a British audience, the central point is that doing so was naturalized. Even if also concerned with political correctness when refusing to be serving solely or principally their peers, the British practitioners did not seem to have questioned the way to construct the English-language broadcasts until the sale presented the need to re-establish the station among its English-speaking listeners. To the extent that the project did not entail a conscious effort to reproduce cultural identity, at least until 2012, it does not qualify as an ethnic project like other minority radio initiatives. The normalized way in which cultural identity was reproduced on air, without being clearly acknowledged or articulated, suggests Bright was an ethnocentric project. This ethnocentrism is further explored in the way the radio contributes to the construction of belonging to the Algarve, in chapter 6.3.

On the other hand, to stop the reasoning here would fall short to understand Bright's role in processes of management of cultural identity for its producers and consumers. More than simply being torn between an elusive but present relationship with Britishness, Bright seems to be an agent operating towards the construction of a

third place of enunciation, or a "new ethnicity", to use Cottle's (2000) expression, relating to the English-speaking "expat" audience. The interchangeability of the terms "English", "British" and "expat", meaning "English-speaking foreign residents, suggests this. Moreover, Bright's focus on English-language programming, especially when confronted with the possibility of diversifying broadcasts so as to encompass other (non "expat") foreign populations living in the Algarve further indicates this idea. Throughout this thesis, it will be further argued that, although using the identity material of a particular population – which, unsurprisingly is the largest in the region and the most represented in the station's staff - Bright seemed to operate to construct and sustain an "expat" (and in particular a lifestyle migrant) stance of connection to the Algarve and way of being in the world.

4.2 Situating the station in communicative ecologies

Moving beyond the station to explore how Bright features in mediascapes and media diets enables a better qualification of the evolution described above. To explore how these relationships are shaped I must note some choices made during fieldwork. First, given the necessity to circumscribe the object of study and the reality I found, I privileged the British population in my research. "Following the radio", as noted in the methodology, led me to various social contexts in which the British were predominantly present. Whether in theatre plays, "charity" events, shops, clubs' activities, bars and restaurants, and local festivities, the British were the largest foreign group present (if not the very largest group itself). Additionally, the English-ness of Bright soon became a clear central element in the research, which further encouraged a more detailed exploration of the importance of "Britishness" and of actual relations (in)forming it. Consequently, I did seize the opportunities to explore the relations of Portuguese and foreign people with Bright as they emerged. However, this meant, for example, seeking and interviewing non-British advertisers I heard on air and listeners who participated on Facebook rather than engaging in a comparative study of audiences per country of origin, for instance.

Moreover, to better contextualize Bright, I opted to explore the multiplicity and complexity of relations to the radio. In practice, this meant using a wide concept of audience, based on the proposal of Livingstone (1998). As mentioned earlier, instead of being restricted to listeners (whether regular, occasional, participant or

other), audience is understood as "a way of focusing on the diverse set of relationships between people and media forms' provided they become meaningful ways in which people engage with media (Livingstone, 1998: 250-1). As "a relational or interactional construct" (id), it is then a shorthand way of pointing to the ways in which people stand in a relationship to the media and to each other through and/or because of the media, rather than "a thing of which people may or not be a member and whose peculiar ways must be discovered." (*ibid*). As such, I focused on identifying and understanding the different types of relationships. Consequently, I did not explore reception contexts in depth. The information was gathered mostly with key informants I followed more closely and who were chosen on the basis of their distinct profiles in what concerns their relation to place. To be sure, criteria informing the choice relates to type of permanence (full-time resident, second-home owner, visitor, etc), gender, age, professional status, fluency in Portuguese and general embeddedness in Portuguese society. This information was complemented by comments and observations I registered throughout other sites of research among people with whom I had much shorter and superficial contacts.

This section sketches the type of mediascapes that Bright participates in and contributes to, as well as the array of ways in which people relate to Bright. The clues provided by both not only complement the description of the population at stake in 5.1, but also further set the scene for the rest of the argument (chapter 6).

4.2.1 Serving a niche market at the intersection of mediascapes

As a station founded and located in Portugal, Bright is situated, first, in the local Algarvean radioscape. To understand how it figures in it, it is important to briefly note the history of the local radio sector. Bonixe (2010) describes it by noting the three main challenges that marked the configuration of the local radio sector in Portugal. Until the mid-1970s there were only a handful of radios in Portugal, which belonged to the state (RDP), the Church (*Renascença*) and a private enterprise (*Rádio Clube Português*) (Azevedo, 2001; Bonixe, 2010; Reis, 2006; R. Santos, 2005).[242]

[242] To be rigorous, there were also two small stations that were no competition for the three networks with national coverage: *Rádio Clube do Centro* and *Rádio Altitude*. Like the Church's radio,

Like elsewhere in Europe, a number of independent, also known as "free", radio projects emerged in the 1970s and 1980s so as to provide local alternatives.[243] The three challenges describe the specificities of the Portuguese sector's evolution until the present day.

Local and independent projects struggled, first, for the quest of legalization from the mid-1970s until 1989. Aware of their ability to reach populations, operators joined efforts to call for a space for Free Radios in the model of radiophonic licensing in Portugal. Although over 300 licenses were awarded in 1989 to local radio projects the 1980s and the very beginning of the 1990s were still marked by volatility in the radioscape as many projects faced problems of sustainability and often folded (Bonixe 2010: 192). A related second challenge was concentration, whereby bigger stations and media groups bought airtime among local stations throughout the country. Although some authors note that network cooperation among local stations could be a strategy to cope with limited resources (by sharing news bulletins, as Santos (2005: 149) notes), this process of concentration is best described as "cannibalization" or "colonization" of local radios (Bonixe 2010: 192), whose broadcasts became disembedded from their local contexts when broadcasting content mainly originating in Lisbon and Porto (Bonixe, 2010: 194-5). Despite legal efforts to contain this dynamic,[244] it only aggravated the competition posed by media groups that have

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these were not nationalized after the dictatorship ended in 1974 precisely for being insignificant in the national radio panorama (Bonixe, 2010: 190).

[243] Moved by all sorts of reasons (e.g. cultural and socio-political aspirations, regional and local identity projects, technological advancements and, as noted by Bonixe, news of other free radio movements in Europe that challenged authoritarian broadcasts) projects were initially essentially amateur initiatives (Bonixe, 2010: 188-190). Azevedo (2001: 114) further distinguishes between young radio enthusiasts from local associations organized around industrial, commercial and political powers. By the mid-1980s, more commercial, technologically savvy and professional oriented groups (formed by dissidents of larger radios) seized the opportunities provided by the entrance into the European Economic Community in 1986 (namely in what concerns supported establishment of media projects).

[244] The 2001 Radio Law tried to halt the proliferation of radio chains by establishing a new way of classifying radio (generalist and thematic) granting only the second type of licenses if municipalities already had a generalist station. (Bonixe, 2010: 196) and preventing one single entity to own more than five stations (R. Santos, 2005: 141). During research and at the time of writing many stations in bigger cities are musically-oriented, many local stations (namely in the Algarve) retransmit broadcasts of bigger stations (like M80 and Cidade FM, the golden-oldies and young popular stations attracting the audiences Bright targeted) and there are a number of small media groups with coordinated broadcasts in their two or three stations (namely in the Algarve). However, reports note only a third

national and regional radio licenses and, subsequently, own retransmitters across the country. A third and also inter-related challenge concerns the technological innovations bringing radio into the era of the multimedia and multiplying the platforms on which to listen to music and other audio content.[245] Although at least 50% of local radio stations stream online as a result of ROLI, a project a project co-sponsored by the European Union, Portuguese Government and the Portuguese Association of Radio Broadcasting (Bastos et al., 2009: 69), there are little resources to capitalize and optimize the possibilities of digital technologies (Bonixe 2010).[246] Stations lose competitiveness in a market where large private networks worried with the latest trends in radio operate side by side with small operators.[247] Specifically in the Algarve, practitioners note how the recent economic crisis worsened an already complicated seasonal market. Adding to the difficulties of paying regular bills with revenue accumulated over the summertime, local stations compete with other local media for a reduced amount of publicity given the small number of advertisers and their reduced investment in marketing given the crisis. This is especially the case given there are no subsidies to proximity-based media despite the public service that directors feel the local radios provide.[248] In the words of directors, stations struggle to survive:

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of local radios synchronize programming with bigger stations and for no longer than to 2 hours (Bastos et al 2009: 75).

[245] Although these issues were mentioned in the interviews conducted with directors of other local stations, research has consistently noted that the transition to a multimedia world has not influenced radio consumption to the extent radio audiences continue to decrease in what has been a long-standing slow decline (Bastos et al 2009: 19). Although dramatically changing the context and medium through which to listen to the radio (less at home and more in the car or online, at work), Portuguese audiences have remained relatively stable since 1994 (Bastos et al 2009: 50).

[246] The use of the internet has not been sophisticated: it has served mostly as a complementary mode of distribution which enables expanding the geographical coverage area. In practice, this is no small feat and enables maintaining a proximity model of communication with emigrants (Bonixe 2010: 198). Yet, it does not make full use of the online possibilities for distribution, interaction, audience research, and so on that other stations in Portugal are taking advantage of (see, for instance, Cordeiro (2007, 2012) for examples).

[247] These include, namely state channels (*RDP África, Antena 1, Antena 2* and *Antena 3*) and private networks (such as the Media capital group's channels RFM, Cidade and M80, Renascença's channels Mega FM and Rádio Renascença, and Controlinveste group's TSF).

[248] Municipalities can provide some support for local stations but, as one director noted, a number of problems add to the lack of means to provide assistance. On the one hand, there are bureaucratic

> … Everybody is doing the obligatory minimum, because there is no capacity to generate revenue, there is no capacity to invest, right? Everything needs to have a line, a horizon, which is sponsorship. (Interview excerpt, Director at *Rádio Algarve F*M)[249]

> … we're still a little bit alive, for the meantime alive. But this is bad. There are too many media. There is as much of an excess in media as there is among university graduates. Because there isn't enough publicity for all. (Interview excerpt, Director of *Rádio Lagoa FM*)[250]

To situate Bright in this panorama entails noting that it resembles most stations in many ways but is distinct from it in key aspects. As one of the 94% "generalist" stations, it features diverse content addressing the local population (namely 5 daily local news bulletins), while observing Portuguese music quotas, although not dedicating a show to it as is usual in other stations (Bastos et al 2009: 67).[251] Additionally, with a core team of 2 or 3, it was not much worse off than most stations outside of the metropolitan areas of Porto, Lisbon and Setúbal, whose teams are comprised, on average, by four members (id: 21). Generally struggling with lack of resources, most local radio practitioners complain about similar issues to those troubling dynamics at Bright (e.g. delayed salaries, bad production conditions, long-hours, etc.) (Santos, 2005: 149).[252] Also fitting with the sector's dynamics, Bright was bought by a media group after having had attempted to join other stations in a small network. Finally, with the changes in technology, which intensified the relations of cultural industries across borders, Bright no longer plays music that is evidently different from other stations.

In contrast to other radios, Bright's editorial line purposefully did not include football or religion, although English-language DJs sometimes spontaneously

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hurdles (e.g. difficulties to justify public expenses with antennas and other material for the station). On the other hand, there are ethical issues related to impending political influence in the station's project if accepting assistance from local or national political entities.

[249] "…toda a gente está a fazer o mínimo obrigatório, porque não há capacidade de receita, não há capacidade de investimento, não é? Tudo tem que ter uma linha, um horizonte, que é o patrocínio." (Excerto de entrevista, Diretor da Rádio Algarve FM)

[250] "… continuamos assim um bocadinho vivos, por enquanto vivos. Mas isto está mal. Há meios de comunicação a mais. Há tanto meio de comunicação a mais como há licenciados a mais. Porque não há publicidade para tanta rádio" (Excerto de entrevista, Diretor da Rádio Lagoa FM)

[251] The strategy at Bright was to condense Portuguese-language music in the few hours before the morning drive-time.

[252] Significantly, one of the complaints among radio practitioners registered by Santos (2005) was not pertinent at Bright, where the news were not locally produced.

announced results of championships they accompanied on their shows. As noted earlier this was because of Bright's specificity: a bilingual license and an established reputation conferring it a privileged access to a niche-market. Notably, despite the dire conditions in which it operated, the station never did actually fold – something that seems related to being perceived as the only option in radio for business-owners to reach the English-speaking populations and, capitalizing on that position, the higher price they charged for publicity. Advertising at Bright averaged 5 euros per spot whereas the national average, with the usual discounts for local companies, according to length and type of contract, falls to 3 or below (Bastos et al., 2009: 126).[253] That niche-market also attracted a media group that opted for the unusual strategy of injecting resources to allow improvements on the project. Notably, this strategy was only a common practice within the group to the extent its philosophy is to invest in proximity based media. The network's stations shared content that included religious programming that Bright did not have to broadcast. According to incoming director, Bright was meant to make money because the group believed it could easily do so.

> The XX [media group] is a company. A company needs money to run. (…) I think it [Bright] is a product that is very easy, it is very known, and it is very easy to sell.(…) Bright is [a] success because it is unique. There is no other station with bilingual [broadcasts] (…) so the network will never go until [encompassing] Bright. (…) When talking about a network there is usually a single product. A target. That's not what is going to happen. I can't put a Record FM here, I can't put a Bright FM in Lisbon, because they are radios that are turned to different audiences. I can't see a Bright in Lisbon. Speaking English. It makes no sense. Or a Record here. Because certainly the Englishman is not the target of the Church. (Interview excerpt, Mr. Pereira, Director of Bright under the media group's ownership)[254]

Mr. Pereira alluded to the circumscription of audiences according to linguistic and cultural affiliations. While one could question to what extent the future would not

[253] While complaining about the wasted potential of the station before the sale, one of Bright's practitioners noted that publicity at Bright could be as far as 7 euros per spot, whereas other Algarvean stations would concede to spots under one euro sometimes.

[254] A XX é uma empresa. Uma empresa vive de dinheiro.(...) Acho que é um produto que é muito fácil, é muito conhecido, é muito fácil de se vender. (...) A Bright é sucesso, porque é única. Não há outra que tenha bilingue (...) por isso, a rede nunca partirá até à Bright. (...) Quando se fala em rede normalmente tem-se um único produto. Um target. Não é isso que vai acontecer. Não posso pôr uma Record FM aqui, não posso pôr uma Bright FM em Lisboa, porque são rádios que estão viradas para públicos diferentes. Não estou a ver uma Bright em Lisboa. A falar inglês. Não sei. não faz sentido. Ou uma Record aqui. (…) Porque de certeza que o inglês não é o target da igreja. Seria mais uma rádio popular. (Mr. Pereira, diretor do grupo de media)

reserve a single networked broadcast for the media group, at the time, Bright was perceived to have added value because of its association to a particular population. It was left unsaid that this niche market is particular to the extent it mixes tourists and residents who are predisposed to advertise and acquire a greater span of products and services than other minorities. That was implicit, although Mr. Pereira clearly was not yet aware of the potential of Lisbon (and in particular the Cascais area) for an English-speaking station such as Bright – which is now being explored.

Wondering about why other stations did not pursue Bright's strategy to tap into the "expat" population - by extending their English-language programming – was revealing about what made a "unique station" that "has no competition", as Bright's team repeated countlessly. The lack of English programming in other stations was not a result of a rejection of content in that language or of discarding the foreign population as potential audience. As the following quote from one of the local directors I talked to, in an economically difficult environment, the English were conceived as desirable customers and a tolerable presence on air as opposed to other minorities, who were therefore often not included in the programming. Arguing against listeners' complaints about the interruption of broadcasts with languages they do not understand, the station director further articulates the conception of the English (which seem to include other English-speaking residents and tourists) as aiding the locals in the Algarve by spurring the local economy as customers.

> Director: Why am I going to put – if an English who helps us live here in the Algarve for so many years, and still there is someone who says they don't like it, why will I like Russian, that I can't understand at all? [laughter] In English we still can understand at least "yes", right? For those who don't know [the language]. Now Russian is much more complicated and doesn't make any sense, so the sponsorships were not maintained. (…) [For instance:] Inês has a restaurant. If I come there and say, Inês, I am going to advertise your restaurant in the Russian language, Inês will tell me 'No, but what do I want [that] for? No Russian clients come here!' But English clients may come. (…) But that doesn't mean I wouldn't put [shows on air]. We could also have some in Brazilian [Portuguese]. But in order to do that we would need to find a solution that would entail going in that direction.[255] (Interview excerpt, Director Algarve FM)

[255] *"Porque é que eu vou pôr - se um inglês que nos ajuda a viver aqui no Algarve há tantos anos, ainda há quem diga que não gosta, porque é que eu hei-de gostar do russo que eu não consigo perceber mesmo nada? [riso] O inglês a gente ainda consegue perceber quanto mais não seja o "yes", não é? Pelo menos quem não sabe. Agora o russo é muito mais complicado e não faz sentido nenhum, portanto não se mantiveram os patrocínios. (...) [Por exemplo] A Inês tem um restaurante. Se eu chegar lá e disser, Inês eu vou fazer publicidade do seu restaurante na língua russa, a Inês vai dizer "Não, para que é que eu quero [isso]? Não vem cá cliente nenhum russo!" Mas os ingleses poderão ir. (…) Mas não quer dizer que não viesse a pôr [programas no ar]. Também poderíamos vir a ter em brasileiro. Mas para isso era necessário encontrar uma solução que passasse mais por aí.*

However, in addition to some advertisement spots in English, which were conceived of as a responsibility (e.g. "given that we are a region that receives a lot of foreigners, we have the need to broadcast foreign music", "we live in a touristic region, so there is the need to give information to people"[256]), only one station had engaged in broadcasting an English language show in the region (the program "Get Real Radio").[257] It was discontinued when the show's producers and the station disagreed on the terms of the partnership.

It seemed that although these station directors recognized the potential to target English-speakers they did not find it was easy or worth it to pursue that project if it were not proposed to them. Algarve FM's director claimed to be open to projects, but was not keen on actively creating them beyond the advertising spots he already produced either in house or with the assistance of native-speakers. Stations like *Rádio Fóia* and *Solar FM* emphasized that their contribution to tourists and foreign residents would be reduced to some English-language municipal announcements and advertisements, as they targeted the local Portuguese population. Another argument, by *Rádio Lagoa*, noted the lack of interest in their stations by the English listeners, who are more resourceful in terms of finding information than other migrants, have their own structures and means of communication and are keen to communicate themselves with foreign markets based in the UK and elsewhere, thus living in dynamics running parallel to those of the station.

> And the English is a person who seeks information. It's different. We, for instance, in Lagoa, have cultural activities and the English are all there. They fill an auditorium with 300 people. In other words, the information they have, the way to receive information for them is different. They are more informed. (…) People from the East are, then, different. (…) there are also a lot of qualified people, (…) But we're talking about workers who came to work in construction, they fled their country – Ukrainians – and we're talking about English who are here in big companies, hotels, in managers [sic]… which is completely different! They are making their living! With publicity agencies, agencies of this, agencies of that – they are services, and what they want is to promote those services abroad. They spend their money [in media

[256] "*Atendendo a que somos uma região que recebe muito estrangeiro, também temos a necessidade de passar música estrangeira", "vivemos numa região turística, portanto onde existe também a necessidade de dar informação para as pessoas*."

[257] The two-hour long talk show complemented the weekly edition of the "Get Real" newspaper boosting its visibility and revenue. It featured interviews with business owners, music and general chat three times a week, in the evenings. It also promoted a singing competition in partnership with *Casa Inglesa*, a local café and restaurant in Silves.

communications] abroad and not here, which is the logic. The corporate logic. (Interview excerpt, Director of Rádio Lagoa FM)[258]

More importantly, to actually compete with Bright one show would possibly not suffice to the extent sponsors would prefer to advertise on a station that the listeners (clients for the advertisers) can tune in at different times of the day as opposed to having to tune in for a show. Nobody mentioned the lack of ties with the population to start a project, possibly expecting that finding them would not be difficult. That seemed to be an issue for the only director considering acquiring a bilingual license after Jack dissociated himself from Bright[259]. Also, one should note that other "expats" could not simply start another radio station: the spectrum is limited and there are no frequencies available for people to start a radio. Someone could potentially buy an existing station, apply for permission and change the core of the editorial project to privilege English-language programming. Nevertheless, this would require a large amount of know how in what concerns doing radio and dealing with Portuguese institutions.

As a result, the competition that Bright faced did not come from local stations. As alluded to earlier, large radio networks that were present locally and that broadcasted

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[258] "*E o inglês, é uma pessoa que se informa. É diferente. Nós por exemplo, em Lagoa temos atividades culturais e os ingleses estão lá todos. Enchem um auditório com 300 pessoas. Quer dizer, a informação que eles têm, a forma de eles receberem informação é diferente. estão mais informados. Portanto eles têm mais facilidade. (…) As pessoas de leste, portanto, é diferente. (…) também há muita gente qualificada, (…) Só que nós estamos a falar em trabalhadores que vieram para aqui trabalhar na construção civil, vieram fugidos do país - ucranianos - e estamos a falar de ingleses que estão aqui em grandes empresas, em hóteis, em gerentes [sic], ... que é completamente diferente! Os tipos estão aqui a ganhar a vidinha! Com agências de publicidade, agências disto, agências daquilo - são serviços, e eles querem é promover os serviços lá fora. Gastam o dinheiro [em meios de comunicação] lá fora e não aqui, que é a lógica. é a lógica empresarial*."

[259] To be sure, the one station director who was reluctant to concede an interview did admit to having applied for a bilingual license when I chatted with him as he covered a local gastronomy festival (*Festa das Chouriças, in Querença*). I could not gather more information from him through postponed phone calls ("he's not available now. Call later") and conversations literally standing on the outside of the gate at the station's building. I can only imagine that maybe I was associated with Bright among radio practitioners and that influenced the research negatively in this case. However, I could learn during a pub quiz, after I presented my project to the people around the table, that the director had approached a long-standing resident because of his intentions to buy a license. According to the lady, who was fluent in Portuguese as she grew up in the Algarve, his lack of proficiency in English would be a problem in an endeavor to make an English-language project. Although this station did worry Bright's team, as I noted in the rare moments when the discourse about "Bright having no competition" was broken (e.g. after the sale and before the rebranding process), none of the presenters ever accepted that director's offer to switch stations as far as I know. I also could not find ERC's documentation concerning the alleged application for a license.

similar genres of music, whether golden oldies (M80) or young pop music (Cidade FM or Rádio Comercial) constituted competition driving listeners away from Bright's frequency. Additionally, contrasting with the description of "the days when Bright could be heard playing in all bars along the coast", which various listeners and advertisers mentioned with a smile, my sound-walks around marinas and down-town areas revealed that bars, cafés, restaurants and shops have turned to other sources of music and entertainment: satellite television, often showcasing some football championship, colors pubs soundscapes; cafés have their own music or digital radio from the UK (such as Smooth FM); Portuguese souvenir shops often tune into other big stations; and Brazilian and Indian owned-shops usually feature channels from the shop assistants' home-context through laptops kept behind the counter and television sets. However, there was no direct competition, which, as one of the members of the initial team mentioned "is also key, especially with all the tactical mistakes that Jack made throughout all these years" (Interview excerpt, Pedro, Technical Assistant).[260]

Overall, Bright both resonates with the dynamics shaping the Portuguese local radio sector and stands aside from them. Because of its privileged access to the niche-market composed of English-speaking tourists and residents, it is uniquely positioned to cope with competition and difficult conditions posed by the national mediascape. The station therefore converses with both the Portuguese local radio sector realities but also with what can be called an English-language public sphericule.

4.2.2 Contributing to an English-language public sphericule

The notion of the public sphericule was proposed by Gitlin (1998) to underscore the fragmentation of the public sphere into ubiquitous mediated realms as a result of the multiplication of new technologies and accompanying diversification of audiences. It is a useful notion to draw on to the extent it reflects the image most interlocutors painted of the English-language mediascape that Bright is inserted to. As noted below, the metaphor they used de describe life among "expats" in the Algarve, and that was very much applicable to the latters' media use, was of living "in a bubble". The media are noted to be a key continuity between pre and post-migration

[260] *"...isto também é fundamental: Especialmente com os erros táticos que o PAul fez ao longo destes anos todos".*

life to the extent people can essentially maintain the media diets they had because of possibilities of access.[261] To be sure, I disagree with a generalized idea of a hermetic social and media world regardless of the veracity of the circulating stereotype of the aloof expat who lives in a parallel reality. Like Dayan (1998), I contend that there are porosities between the clusters of media constituting public sphericules and the overarching public spheres they converse with. Particularly in what concerns production, Bright certainly interacts not only with the locally produced English-language media but also with the mediascapes originating in the UK and Portugal.

Porosities with the Portuguese mediascape are manifold. For instance, Bright's Portuguese language shows follow the model of continuity broadcasting of larger stations in terms of playlist of songs and style of presenting. Like their peers at other stations, Bright's practitioners attended and covered local events (e.g. Loulé's music festival, MedFest; beach football championships, municipal events, business fairs). There was also lending and borrowing in what concerns content: some of the presenters could be heard on local stations' advertisements and municipal announcements occasionally. Moreover, material for the local news bulletins in Portuguese often drew on news produced by agencies like *Observatório do Algarve* or *LUSA*. In parallel, world news were retransmitted from the UK. At the same time, like other local English-language media, Bright and its practitioners were sought by British and Portuguese main media news teams whenever issues brought the general public's attention to the Algarve (e.g. the searches for Maddie McCann or the confusion about the plan to evacuate the Brits in case of an economic collapse during the crisis). Beyond the aforementioned comments on football championships or soap operas that some hosts made, there was also music coming directly from the UK, updates about the musical scene, the showcasing of weather forecasts in the UK and the British lotto numbers along with the mention of the Portuguese equivalent. Last

[261] Although communication technologies are disembedding mechanisms that connect people from the comfort of their living room to distant elsewhere, when national broadcasting media extend across borders they can operate as embedding mechanisms that maintain consumers within the realm of symbolic membership to the nation. In other words, if national broadcasting media provide stable frames of reference to interpret the world (along with collective cultural memory and cultural imaginaries) and, thus, ontologic security overseas (Morley, 2000: 86), they expand their sphere of influence when people tune in from abroad. In that sense, situated in Portugal, they remain (more or less intensely) connected to the UK. This positions them insofar as some remain centrally rooted in the English-language media, which combine UK and local sources.

but not least, interactions with locally produced English-language media included mutual advertising[262] and sharing news stories when Bright had the local news bulletin in English, which was replaced by hosts' spontaneous mention of key news pieces on air.

Like Bright, these media target the British and other foreigners using English as the main language to get by in the Algarve.[263] Among the more pertinent English-language media were, first, three weekly newspapers, one online daily news service[264] and a wealth of leisure-themed magazines focusing on where to go and what to do in the region. Some are part of media groups with publications targeting tourists and residents separately. Although newspapers are generic, magazines focus on exploring the Algarve as a visitor ("Welcome") but may provide more detailed information about the new offers in areas such as "Golf and Property" or "Dining Out", or in geographical regions, such as "Eastern Algarve", "Central Algarve" or "Inside Almancil and the Golden Triangle", as titles suggest. To complement this panorama there are ubiquitous small media,[265] which may not always be regularly or

[262] Publicity included not only the newspapers but also the business fairs that the two main media groups organized (Better Living in Portugal and the Golden Triangle Exhibition).

[263] As a contextual note, I should add that the newspapers were more forthcoming in recognizing this connection to the UK than Bright. One of the newspapers runs a survey, whose results the director graciously shared with me, that clearly shows the majority of the readership (62% of respondents) is British whereas the second biggest group (9.5%) is Portuguese. Staff would make sure of stressing that the focus is not restricted to the British, but did recognize that the Portuguese did not participate much (e.g. in the business fairs they organized) and that news about local authorities featured mostly the British consul and ambassador, rather than other English-speaking diplomats, such as the Dutch or the German. The latter were rather featured in other northern Europeans' media, such as the Dutch and German magazines and newspapers (respectively, "*Blik Op Algarve*" (Look at the Algarve) and "*Ent Decken Sie Algarve*" (Discover the Algarve). The latter add to radio shows (e.g. *Sons de Leste, No Djunta Mon, Russkaya Linia*) and publications (e.g. *Maiak Portugalii*) targeting the Eastern European, Cape-verdian and Russian populations. Some of Bright's audience members follow these media. However Bright and the English-language media entertained distant or no ties with these minority media.

[264] Unlike the Algarve Resident, which is a local publication, The Portugal News focuses on national current affairs and has national distribution. Unlike the latter, neither Algarve 1,2,3 or the Algarve Daily News are part of media groups. The first is run by a multinational team and is a trilingual publication that includes a news section but is essentially a classifieds paper. The second started as an insert in the Euro Weekly News, developed into a print publication under the title "Get Real", which was coupled by the aforementioned radio show temporarily, and eventually became an online news portal with a new name.

commercially produced nor evenly distributed, but that significantly engage people with local realities. These include, for instance, pamphlets, free maps overloaded with advertisements, municipal cultural agendas, directories of local services in English,[266] business cards standing on counters or posted on walls inside shops, stickers of 'charity organizations' in the street, billboards along the main roads reaching across the whole of the Algarve, or floor standing sign holders in front of shops' entrances.

Although not restricted to local circulation, there are a number of other locally produced media that further add to this panorama. On the one hand, there are online media. These include (news, personal, thematic) blogs which are locally produced and/or animated (e.g. servicesalgarve.com, livinginthesun.info, algarvenewswatch.blogspot.com), forums and directories which may be part of international services (e.g. AngloInfo.com, ExpatinPortugal.com, Britishexpat.com, etc.), newsletters of local associations and of private enterprises distributed upon subscription (e.g. the Association of Foreign Property Owners in Portugal's (AFPOP) "Update" and the luxury oriented "Inspirations Algarve") and even a television channel (Algarve Channel 5)[267]. All explore matters such as news items, available services, local events and ways to come to know and navigate the region. Finally, there are more artistic media that explore life in the Algarve from a foreigner's point of view, and that include novels, tourist guides,[268] themed books (e.g. about

[265] The use of this concept is distinct from the work of Sreberny-Mohammadi & Mohammadi's (1994), who re-popularized it in the book "Small media, big revolution". The authors focused on the role of public forms of communication produced, ran and distributed by citizens in the Iranian Revolution. Although also meaning to differentiate these media forms from "big" and more traditional forms of media resources, in this project the point is not to highlight the public, participatory and civic nature underscoring various media's ability to, create awareness about, politicize or mobilize people for causes. Instead, the term serves to allude to a wide stock of media forms coloring and participating in the relationships people establish with place and with each other through media which are particularly catering to English-speakers in the Algarve.

[266] Organized like the Yellow Pages per theme and business are, the Blue Pages are published yearly by one of the local media groups as well as "the Golden Triangle Directory", featuring services in the region known by the same name.

[267] The television channels are in practice a collection of video clips showcasing the Algarve's festivities, beaches, history, resorts, golf courses, gastronomy and similar aspects. It is not a continuous broadcast and seems to focus on promoting the region for tourism purposes.

gastronomy) and, recently, an award winning film that will be featured on the airline Transportation Air Portugal flights in 2015.[269]

From a consumer's point of view, this panorama is closely intertwined with the international media and, particularly, the UK based media. In fact, the media from the UK have shaped the place of Bright in these mediascapes. The advancement in technologies consolidated connections to the UK to the extent that television, radio and print content became more readily available. Bright's centrality therefore quavered as it was no longer among a handful of local media options,[270] BBC world service's broadcasts, days old newspapers which one could buy at tourism focal points or magazines and video cassette tapes with recordings of favorite shows which people like Clara - a 30 year old who suffered with her parents' choice to relocate to rural Algarve when she was in her teenage years - asked her relatives to send or bring with them when visiting.

Although rain can still disturb satellite reception and restrict people to the Portuguese four public channels, satellite strongly changed dynamics by inviting people to stay in more and socialize less, according to some long-standing

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[268] The renowned British artist Patrick Swift, who settled in the Algarve in the 1960s, produced a few books about Portugal with his friend and poet David Wright. Among them was "Algarve: a Portrait and a Guide" (1965). Most guides are now part of online directories advising visitors and migrants about how to navigate in the region.

[269] Novels showcasing narratives about life in the Algarve include "The Algarve Now and Then", "Happiness and Wild Herbs" and "An Algarve Affair". The film was produced in between 2011 and 2014 and has been released in cinemas in Portugal. "The Right Juice", also tells the story of a British person's adventures, surprises, expectations and disillusionments concerning their relocation to the Algarve. This film is part of the mediascape to the extent it involved casting, fundraising events, publicity and other types of contacts and relationships with people in the Algarve during production. However, it was not the first audiovisual content made by residents about the Algarve: the producers of The Right Juice had been involved in filming adverts in the Algarve for decades for brands as big as Coca-Cola. Additionally, there are records of other films about the Algarve in compilations about the history of tourism in the region (namely, Sortilèges de l'Algarve) (Mangorrinha, 2012: 266).

[270] As far as I could gather of the history of English-language media in the Algarve, by the 1970s-1980s there was a newspaper ("Anglo Portuguese news") and magazines for tourists, such as Frank Cook's guide to what was on the different towns and "2 weeks in the Algarve", tailored to people who would come to spend that amount of time in the region. The Portuguese airline Transportation Air Portugal supposedly distributed such magazines on flights. Other publications included Euro News Weekly, which is now only distributed in Spain, where the contente had always been more focused and the Good Life magazine, which was eventually bought by one of the owners of one of the key newspapers in the region, the Algarve Resident. More systematic research would be needed to track the emergence, concentration dynamics and disappearance of a number of publications in the region.

interlocutors.[271] British newspapers also started resorting to printing and distribution facilities in Spain so as to reach the growing number of UK citizens residing in the south of the Iberian Peninsula, where the amount of British citizens justified such an investment. Finally, although access to the internet is still not to be taken for granted (especially in rural areas of the Algarve),[272] its increasingly pervasive access has enabled not only the intensified use of social networks and video-calling applications, but also the access to a wealth of sites that fulfill informative, connectivity and entertainment functions. As satellite dishes became a common sight over rooftops, the Internet's accessibility became easier and music-listening technologies used in the car multiplied (cds, iPods, cell phones), Bright lost centrality as a means of communication.

Accordingly, if in the early days people could hardly avoid using Portuguese media, it is currently now possible to virtually maintain one's media diet when relocating from the UK to Portugal. This is clear when considering the media habits of Marie and Laura, who are fluent in Portuguese, and Lynn and Norma, who arrived later and have to resort to gestures and numbers written on calculators when selling items to Portuguese customers at the "charity" shops they volunteer at – which is one of the few contexts in which they have to interact with locals.

> Marie arrived in Portugal before the dictatorship fell in 1974 and remembers well how bored she used to get when watching the sole TV channel's broadcasts, which were often interrupted

[271] Satellite transmissions were supposedly reduced as of 2013, which generated commotion in the local newspapers. During fieldwork however, most people had satellite. A few simply used the free-to-view channels whereas a vast majority subscribed the British Sky Broadcasting Limited's services so as to access a wealth of British channels (including ITv, BBC, Channel 4 among others depending on the package, which ranged from free-to-view to more complete and varied options). In practice, this implied having a UK address associated with the contract and a box to connect to the television set. As the box functioned in Portugal, most people used friends', relatives' or their own homes' addresses in the UK to celebrate the contract but enjoy the service in Portugal. It was unclear to what extent this transgressive consumption was an issue for the company certainly profited from the viewers located outside the UK. In practice, some customers were not aware they were using services meant for UK's domestic use only, although most shared practical information concerning, for instance, the use of Skype when calling the company so as to not denounce their actual location. In 2013, the company replaced a satellite distributor, which also reduced its coverage footprint, thereby excluding the Algarve.

[272] It is telling that one of the companies advertising at Bright provided Broadband services in the Algarve. Motivated by their own difficulties to run online businesses from their house inland, a British couple founded a company to overcome slow and interrupted connections with dongles. Cable connections that Internet providers use in Portugal to distribute the signal do not reach across rural areas evenly.

by a black screen with classical music when content had been censored. She also disliked the mournful music played by the Church's radio channel Renascença. To give me a sense of the scarcity of media she described how she learned about the revolution through BBC World Service and was the one to tell her neighbors, who had not yet heard about it through national media. By then she lived inland with her husband, a composer who often travelled to Lisbon and the UK because of his music plays. Now enjoying the comfort of an apartment closer to town she also enjoys the commodities of multiple Portuguese and foreign TV channels and radio. What differentiates her from most is that she still not only follows Portuguese media but is also careful to avoid tabloid newspapers like *Correio da Manhã*, which is widely popular among the British because it is sitting at virtually every café's table.

Unlike Marie, Laura came to the Algarve in the early 1980s. Her Portuguese-media oriented diet results from not having afforded the antenna so as to follow satellite transmissions. Although she thoroughly enjoys watching "come for Dinner", the BBC's news and other popular shows in British television at friends' houses, she has always mostly followed Portuguese television. Initially she followed mostly the un-dubbed English-language films and documentaries screened on public television to become acquainted with the language. Yet, unlike most of her peers, this 65 year old lady can refer to some iconic entertainment programs in Portugal in the 1980s and 1990s, like Herman José's shows (e.g. *Casino Royale*), and makes considerations about the implicit politics of morning live programs that generally aim at Portuguese retirees (e.g. *você na Tv!)*. While she does embroidery and other housework, she likes to listen to Bright's golden oldies live shows. Although she finds the station could use the type of interaction her local radio had in Liverpool (e.g. a swap show through which she exchanged a hoover for curtains, at one point), she finds the music helps her concentrate. She misses the writing competitions and other programs broadcasted by the BBC World Service. (Field notes November 2011)

Both Lynn and Norma follow almost essentially the UK based media. Both have arrived well after 2000, immediately installed SKY in their homes upon arrival to keep updated with the British current affairs and cultural scene. They both browse the four main local newspapers occasionally, but tend to pick up the free one when shopping at *Continente*. They complement that information with regular visits to directories like Angloinfo, which also list local events. However, Lynn prefers listening to UK radio at home and either plugs her iPhone into her car radio or drive in silence, so as to not lose her way. Norma, on the other hand, tunes into Bright either in the motor home parked at the camping site where she lives, or at the charity shop, where she is usually alone behind the counter. (Field notes February 2011)

These pictures suggest that, despite differences in material comfort distinguishing the ladies from each other, they can all benefit from a plethora of media tailored to people like themselves (who relocated to the Algarve) in addition to transnational media that, has been relatively accessible. As such, they suggest that consumers media diets restrict but justify the idea of an English-language sphericule.

To qualify that image, it is worth underlining that some people did follow Portuguese media, like Marie and Laura. Some interlocutors would make a point of stating they followed *Antena 2* (the public broadcasting channel featuring classical music and jazz) or *Visão* (a well reputed current affairs magazine), possibly to position themselves as people with high cultural capital and knowledge of the national language and mediascape, especially in relation to a Portuguese university student. Many were not straightforwardly settled in UK-centered, or English language-centered, media routines, even if remaining (admittedly) often quite aloof to the

Portuguese political, economic and social realities. For example, Margaret, who will become an important character in chapter 6.3, felt somewhat disengaged from the UK and the British media she followed daily. Claiming "I care about what's here", she did not always feel connected or affected by the events concerning the UK, which, nevertheless, she followed on a daily basis through British television channels. In other words, although transnational media provide the infrastructure to remain connected to the UK as if not having left home, thereby fostering imagined communities while shrinking time and space in migratory contexts (Morley, 2000a; Silverstone & Georgiou, 2005; Tsagarousianou, 2004), people's consumption of those media from abroad can be detextualized (Robins & Aksoy, 2005) to the extent they do not entirely identify as the addressees of the broadcasts due to living in a migratory context.

Most commonly, however, people noted the language barriers which they were admittedly too lazy (or too old) to overcome, especially when the "Portuguese want to practice their English" and barely create a context for interaction in the country's language. When asking about media consumption, whether in interviews or generic conversation, people with less proficiency in Portuguese usually reported watching Portuguese television whenever in restaurants and cafés and browsing through *Correio da Manhã* in such public places. This was even the case when "expats" had previously lived in Brazil and recognized *Público* would be their preferred paper, but simply found the sentence construction too complex and the vocabulary too different to follow it. As a result of similar personal media routines, shop and restaurant owners did contribute to demarcating the English sphericule by not providing Portuguese publications for clients alongside with the updated English-language local and UK magazines. As the owner of a Cornwall's Cornish pasty's specialty shop remarked as we chatted over my lunch, she could only imagine that Cosmopolitan would be a similar type of magazine in Portuguese and English; yet, she would not know how to choose publications to have available at the shop.

4.2.3 Radio sociabilities and the appropriation of place

To say that Bright contributes to the English-language public sphericule is also to recognize that, for audience members, it was always an English-orientated station. This was the impression transmitted in a number of interviews and conversation in

passing. Though not detracting from the service provided to other listeners, Bright was assumed as one more element in the rather British local mediascape. Presenting it as takenfor granted, one listener stated: "It's just Bright FM. You just know it. (…) It's English recognizable music. And English people like that recognizable fact. It keeps them comfortable". This perception of Englishness was reproduced also by dynamics in the social organization of production and Bright's media sociabilities. More than cases of mobilization of social capital whereby English people related to the radio were believed to own the radio, thereby creating the impression the station was also English-oriented (as I realized also happened), the following examples show how Bright was introduced through its Englishness to different audience members.

> After having seen the booklets that will be distributed amongst the viewers for the musical I am volunteering in, and that is being promoted by Bright pro bono, I have to find out how the publicity for Bright on the booklet was made. It occupies one full page. I found it strange that the only shows listed are the most well known – the ones I was told about on my very first day in the Algarve. There was no mention of Luc's Friday evening show. Or Portuguese features, such as news. Or Tim's soul show on Saturday evenings. The only programs listed are the most popular live shows on a Sunday morning and weekdays' afternoons in addition to the times of the daily UK news bulletins and the exchange rates listings. At the station it took a while until someone took responsibility for having sent the email with the information for the booklet to the musical's producers: some people at the office did not know about this mutual publicizing arrangement and others may have been embarrassed for having it let pass by with little scrutiny. Ultimately, it seems that it was a task that needed to be done quickly while Jack was on his way out (although he was still in charge of the partnership) and was done by an English person, from an English perspective – with "the basics that everybody listens to", as she commented in passing to answer my queries. (Field notes, October 2010)

> Accompanying sales representatives visits to clients is very instructive about the connection with the British advertisers. In shops, pubs and restaurants the negotiation is not always smooth. Some clients do not have much money to spend on marketing and are unconvinced about "the power of radio to keep repeating information and remind listeners of the business when they are driving", that the sales representatives tell them about. Soon into the conversation the sales representatives usually suggest the possibility of sponsoring an hour, a feature or simply having spots running at particular times in the day – namely on commercial breaks during the English-language live shows. Interestingly, although not always being listeners and barely recognizing DJ's names, most clients reacted positively to that suggestion. They had the impression that "right, I hear a lot of people listen to that". That can make the difference in striking a deal. When asking about the Portuguese clients, sales representatives noted that everybody wants to hit the tourists and foreign residents. Even if sales are equally divided among Portuguese and foreign clients, 80% of the advertisements are indeed in English. (Field notes November 2011).

These two excerpts render visible how the association of the station with Englishness was reproduced through social relations. Because both the musical and the clients' own audience were largely the British people (in the first because the story concerned the life of Winston Churchill and in the second because most of the foreign clients are, as noted already, mostly British), Bright's practitioners emphasized the point of contact with their interlocutors: the British audience. Despite

not meaning to exclude other publics, the station's association with Britishness was consolidated by this.

These two excerpts also serve to illustrate how audience categories identified resulted from the observation of interactions that mobilize the radio as a product, while, at the same time, also materialize it as a social organization. In other words, the radio must be seen as an entity, which is sometimes personified insofar as "the station has friends", that things are done "for the well being of the station" and that a number of radio sociabilities are entertained with the various people who relate to it from outside the station. The various categories are listed and described in the table 4, which describes the audience categories.

4.2.3.1 Audience categories

Table 4 - Audience Categories

Designation	Description	Radio sociabilities
Announcers	People who, individually or as part of some (more or less formal) organization, have their events promoted on air for no charge.	Announcers contact DJs requesting them to promote the events they are organizing pro bono. Promotion usually consists of mentions during programs, but can also materialize in interviews to announcers on live shows.
Advertisers	Business owners who choose to advertise with Bright as part of their marketing strategies. Advertisers may choose to sponsor a whole hour of a show, a specific feature of the broadcasts (e.g. the daily exchange rates) or to buy different packs of spots. Contracts establishing these differently priced packs of spots vary in terms of: scheduling times in which the spot is aired (e.g. drive time), number of repetition throughout the day, and length of months they are aired.	Advertisers buy publicity in different forms. They may approach the station themselves spontaneously or be approached by someone working at Bright. They are usually contacted by sales representatives, but can also be approached by DJs who find sponsorship for their shows, or, previously, Jack himself.
Drop off points	Establishments assisting the station in its Christmas campaign by receiving and storing Christmas presents dropped off by listeners across the region.	Establishments gain visibility and credibility by associating themselves with the station's effort to promote a good cause. The station is assisted in mobilizing people across the Algarve who can conveniently pass by the closest drop off point, and otherwise maybe would not participate. Interpersonal relationships ensue from collecting presents to redistribute them to institutions.
Guests	People who participate in shows. Some may be advertisers whose sponsored	Whether guests were also advertisers or not, they interacted on air, in live shows, with

	feature involves a personal interaction with a DJ, live, and, usually, regularly.[273] Occasional guests include various types of people who presenters invite to their show so as enrich content (ranging from actors on local theatre plays, visitors who used to be residents and work in the arts (music or film industry), celebrities with houses in the Algarve (such as Cliff Richard or Bonnie Tyler), people organizing events for their clubs or "charities" .	DJs. The rapport created between them served a mobilization of social capital in both directions.
Characters	People who are interviewed by DJs outside the station for shows, which are included in the mix of talk and music that DJs compose in post-production and before airing.[274]	Answering to questions of DJs who are covering events (e.g. inauguration of businesses, plays, live broadcasts at pubs, fairs and supermarkets, etc.) or issues.
Listeners	This self-explanatory category was subdivided according to frequency of listening (regular, occasional, non-listeners), active participation (participants or non-participants), and place of listening (in the Algarve or elsewhere).	Participation could consist of: a) Texting the answers to competitions (which could be questions to earn prizes or simply regular anagrams, or quiz like questions about the music industry), whether via SMS or via the station's Facebook page. b) Phoning in to request songs or dedications[275] c) Sending messages to the station, or to specific DJs, dedicating songs and/or commenting on their opinion or relation to the station, via SMS, email or the station's Facebook page Listener's radio sociabilities could also include one-sided, parasocial relations (Peterson 2003)
Ex-media practitioners	People who had participated in Bright as practitioners (DJ assistants, DJs, weather or news readers, and so on)	Use the station's facilities occasionally, if needed (e.g. voice recording)

[273] Most regular guests are part of the Sunday morning show, which included, during fieldwork, a health focused "Doc Spot", a financial's adviser's discussion of relevant topics, a "celebrity chef's" recipe of the week, and a weather forecast (which is the only phone-in feature).

[274] This category pertains mostly to the Friday evening show which was pre-recorded. As I could learn when accompanying Luc to the inauguration of a hairdresser, some people featured were not listeners and were barely aware the station existed, which suggests they could possibly not come to hear themselves on air. Many of these characters were also not residents in the Algarve, although they visited and became part of the local reality in one way or another (by exhibiting art in galleries, giving workshops in Buddhism, participating in major golf events, and so on).

[275] These were only aired during the Breakfast show, for other DJs did not include that possibility in their interactions with listeners.

To be sure, these relations do not exhaust all the sociabilities Bright entertained, namely in the production realm, even though most contribute to creating content for broadcasts (whether in the form of advertisements, chats with DJs, or messages read by presenters on air). As noted earlier, program producers and people at companies providing voice-tracks in the UK can enjoy perks during their visits to the Algarve. Additionally, DJs play with each other on air. Moreover, there was a significant amount of overlap between categories: listeners could be advertisers, announcers, and/or drop off points. The following description is also not meant to scrutinize all relationships, but instead to give a sense of station's social life.

Some dynamics were noticeable simply by listening in, while others gained new meanings with the off air context of what was broadcasted. Between the presenter and guests, for instance, the flow of social capital and social control (in the sense Portes [1999] and Putnam [2000] conceptualized them) was noticeable. The regular guests were sometimes subtly reprimanded for skipping weeks. As they commented off air, this was a struggle they fought also at home, when their families wanted to reserve Sunday mornings for family time, especially around the festive dates. In turn for sacrificing family time, they saw the image of their business being constructed as "always busy" and "doing extremely well despite the crisis". Still, the host maneuvered special deals for listeners who would call during the show (e.g. a 50% discount for a dentist, acupuncturist, or any other doctor's appointment). In what concerns general advertisers, some business owners capitalized on previous advertisement relationships to gain visibility through the station. They found it was only necessary to send in a comment or request a song for the mainstay DJs to associate their name with their business (noting on air "Jane from x shop, says…"), and henceforth give it the visibility that an advertisement could provide.

In what concerns advertising, however, business owners claimed that the best marketing strategy is a complementary multi-method approach that capitalizes on various media's affordances. Bright was considered a secondary medium even though, for some, a worthy investment. Radio was seen as a better longer term investment, for the adverts keep repeating several times a day, therefore probably exposing listeners to them more frequently, as opposed to the newspapers, which people would browse only once. Accordingly, establishment owners felt that the day

in which they sponsored an hour in a live show was the day with most influx of clients, which they imagine could be a result of drivers listening to the advert and thinking they could pass by. Conversely, previous advertisers focused on the competitive disadvantages of radio in comparison to other media. For example, they found repetition can become an automatic turn off, for people will not pay attention anymore to an advert they know by heart, while the visual component of the newspaper can be easier to remember. They found there was no return from advertising with Bright. Interestingly, Bright's practitioners would add that some clients make basic mistakes in their advertisements despite being warned against it (e.g. including unretainable full phone numbers in features that are long).

Between producers and listeners there were also a number of interactions, which took an extra dimension off air. Personal relationships seeped through when, for instance, a DJ read out a listener's dedication to his wife, both of whom he knew personally, and addressed the dedicator directly and jokingly ("…or else she'll' … I can't say that on the radio! What are you trying to get me into Peter?"). Conversely, constructing the illusion of interaction, I also witnessed that a DJ wished happy birthdays according to the announcements of the station's Facebook page for that day. Other types of interactions include the DJs opportunity (and obligation) to visit a sponsor and use the service advertised on air (which could mean driving across the Algarve for a meal). Clients could then comment if they had not heard the advertisement on air. Tensions could also arise with drop off points, as DJs expected establishments to warn in advance about closing days when listeners were being told to pass by and drop off presents during the festive season.

With people whose primary (and often only) relationship to the station was that of a listener, relationships seemed to be generally tension free and more positive even if distant. Granted, occasional listeners would turn off the radio on account of numerous reasons suggesting negative opinions about Bright: feeling overwhelmed with the amount of advertisements, many of which were old; personally feeling annoyed by a DJs accent when trying to speak Portuguese; preferring UK and even Portuguese stations to outdated and "bang-bang" music; the lack of something interesting to look for apart from the useful exchange rates and English-language news (e.g. a debate show, in the case of Linda, who only listened when her friends would be interviewed); or because of how aggravated they felt with the style of

presenting of DJs which they found were far too "typically middle-class English", which they reckoned could resonate with many in the Algarve. Opinions were divided as what seemed parochial to some (e.g. calls to help find lost dogs) was the appeal of the local context and proximity to others.

Moreover, both tourists and residents would thus use the station as a station (meaning a site where one stops by) and would come to Bright looking for the latest information on flights (namely during the spread of volcanic ashes from Iceland which closed down airports in the UK in 2010), to buy phone cards or to approach DJs about "charities" they would like to announce on air. In addition to other indicators of the pervasive presence of radio listed earlier (e.g. children staying the car longer because of the Breakfast show's features), both occasional listeners, and some people claiming to be non-listeners, would sometimes comment on content. Car rides, which I hoped would be more informative, often barely yielded any radio-pertinent data, for drivers were focused on the road or on the conversation. As I had hoped, it was in unexpected situations that radio was mentioned with no prompt, like the rehearsals for a play promoted by the radio and announced on air.

> During one of the last rehearsals before the opening night I heard people who clearly were not regular listeners mention the radio. In the dressing rooms, the two younger men in the cast (under 20s) were talking about having fun after the premiere in their usual banter. To complete a sentence and make a joke, one of them suddenly started to reproduce the intonation and words to the advertisement of a bar regularly advertised on Bright ("where every night, is a party night!"). Approaching him while people dispersed during break, I learned that Harry's family had run the bar next door to the station and knew Bright well. That is why he recognizes the voices of people who are still on jingles but are no longer involved with the station. In any case, he prefers stations like Cidade FM, whose music are more to his taste and whose presenters are much younger than Bright's.
>
> At the café where many people in the cast concentrated, I sat with stay at home mothers of children who were taking part in the play. Bright was a conversation starter to the extent they tried to learn from each other whether the play was really being taken to the West End as they had heard on an interview with the directors on a Sunday morning. Retorting to my queries about their opinions on Bright, some were quick to complain about the amount of advertisements and, in particular, those which tried to create scenarios and stories. One lady expressed their annoyance at one spot recreating the sounds and buzz of a party where some people are praising the services of a transportation and moving company. Out of the blue one voice does make the listener imagine a head popping into that picture and jumping into the conversation so as to add more information. Reproducing the scenario and the character's lines one mother impersonated the characters and responded to it: "Did someone mention company X? Yes, but it's none of your business." Although not able to recognize DJ's names, another, half-jokingly but half-critically, was also able to reproduce the full chorus of song that her children love (entitled Sexy Bum). (Field notes, October 2010)

In what concerns listener sociabilities, one of the specificities of Bright concerns the geographic place from which people tuned into Bright, which is visible through

the participation by messages sent to the station. A first group, of locals and second-home owners, communicates with the radio from the Algarve, whereas a second group sends messages from abroad. This second group also includes second-home owners in addition to regular visitors (who, in turn, can be tourists or former residents who have returned to their country of origin). The first tend to be the ones mostly announcing local events, and commenting on local things (e.g. the aforementioned calls for help with lost dogs, warnings about robberies in a particular area, announcements of local events and the like). The second vary in terms of approaches: occasional tourists usually simply enquire about songs they did not recognize but liked (Figure 4),[276] whereas returning visitors, whether tourists, former residents or second-home owners may accompany broadcasts from abroad. This second group, which overlaps greatly with the first (for second-home owners tune in from both the Algarve and abroad and people move through categories, becoming regular visitors after being residents, for instance), constitutes one of Bright's specificities to the extent that all tune in to the Algarve as a context they grew fond of. Whether because of its association with the lightness and fun of holidays' time, or because of the memories constructed throughout experiences of living in the Algarve (both part- or full-time), as Terence put it "if you have a connection to the Algarve, or to Portugal, you can keep that connection going by listening to Bright FM. Because you can hear us wherever you are". It is clear that they entertain connections to the Algarve through the radio, as the following Facebook posts illustrate Figures 5,6,7, and 8).

[276] Usually these requests would pertain to Portuguese summer hits, like Buraka Som Sistema's "Wegue Wegue".

Figure 4 – Facebook post by a tourist requesting information about a song

Figure 5 – Facebook post from a regular visitor and regular listener

Figure 6 - Facebook post from a long-term resident and regular listener

Figure 7 – Facebook post by a second-home owner and regular listener

Figure 8 – Facebook post by a former resident

4.2.3.2 On air and off air communities?

It is hard to describe the listeners and the very audience in terms of what kind of sociation they constitute. What strikingly distinguishes Bright FM from other minority stations, such as the Portuguese in Argentina (Moura, 2010), Greeks and Cypriots in London (Georgiou, 2001) or Bolivians in Argentina and the USA (Grismon & Soldán, 2000), is that the latter (re)create in their broadcasts a sense of a collectivity unified around a melancholic and nostalgic feeling for a homeland left behind for economic reasons. Instead, Bright FM hints at the fragmented and diverse nature of a population whose contours are a challenge to describe, as noted previously. Some listeners did speak in terms of a community so as to underscore the people who were involved in the local realities, whether as advertisers, announcers, drop off points and listeners alike. This seemed more reflective of a social dynamic among "expats" living in what can be perceived to be a small place. In other words, a social dynamic in which people might not know each other directly but tend to "know of someone" – for the lack of a better designation, this could be described as a one degree of separation type of collective affiliation. What is more, listeners did often not know each other given that a significant part of this population, second-home owners and regular visitors, can entertain a transient relationship to social worlds in the Algarve (see 5.1).

Granted, DJs read out on air Facebook posts, text messages and emails, which give a sense of familiarity and localness to broadcasts. Informative messages include occasional reports on heavy traffic in a certain area, warnings about schemes to deceive and rob foreigners, announcements of events and, reports about egquiz winners. Phatic messages comprise birthday, anniversary and get well wishes, besides obituaries, congratulations for accomplishments, thank you notes and simple "hellos" between friends and/or to the DJs. Not infrequently, these are coupled with notes announcing the next visit or return from the yearly period of time spent abroad. As noted in section 3.1.2, these messages can constitute forms of maintaining a presence in local social networks.[277] Ultimately, one can imagine children singing in the

[277] More than denoting that listeners are accompanying the broadcast and contribute to the production of content, as Crisell (1986) notes, messages constitute social practices inscribing the radio in listeners' communicative ecologies. In that sense, Arps' work (2003) is useful. Arps focused on messages, which he calls letters, read on air on local radios in Indonesia. As the author notes, such

backseat as the parents requested a song for them, tourists dancing by the swimming pool of their rented apartment to the tune they requested, and the processes of return of people owning homes in two disparate contexts (the Algarve and anywhere from Australia to Canada), whose messages usually close with comments contrasting the weather wherever they are with the Algarve.

Yet, these apparent relationships seemed to lack texture when following them through the experiences of some listeners. Listeners did not draw on strong narratives fostering a sense of identification with other "expats" or a sense of a clear and cohesive imagined community with fellow listeners. The common denominators they mobilize, and which are returned to throughout chapter 6, concern their relationship to the Algarve more than to other listeners. As the following cases suggest, the "bubble" that was alluded to earlier and that purportedly connects all "expats" needs to be scrutinized. The following vignettes try to account for some of the possible lines riddling the "expat" collectivity in the Algarve. To be sure, as listeners, all of the people below cultivate a fairly strong and positive relationship to Bright, despite of doing so in different ways. Although only representative of possible modes of relating to the station and of modes of relating to place, they do also illustrate some of the "expatriate" profiles I could identify in the field.

The first two portraits are of retirees who have chosen to enjoy later life in the sun. However, Leon, who is 72 years old, is older than Steve or his wife Carrie, both in their early 60s. This is visible in the slow pace in which he moves, which contrasts with Steve's habit of running weekly in a hiking and running club where I met him. Having been a bookkeeper most of his life, despite having also done some gardening in schools, Leon is not as well off as Steve, who used to be a corporate business man travelling to Thailand constantly through a multinational company, or Carrie, who never worked to begin with. This is materialized in their different houses: a single person's apartment within a building mostly rented out for tourists in Alvor, as opposed to a two-story villa in a residential neighborhood of Galé, a quiet area located along a 15 minute drive from the center of Albufeira. Moreover Leon is a full-time resident whereas Steve and Carrie are second-home owners: they maintain a house in

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messages constitute discursive sociability precisely because they are read on air, mediated in a radio forum, in spite of the possibility and easiness of contacting the addresses directly.

England, close to their daughter, where Carrie spends at least half of the year and Steve about three months a year. Professional trajectory, qualifications, material comfort, and type of permanence in the Algarve distinguish them more than their listener profile, for both are regular listeners. Additionally, although Steve and Carrie are occasional participants, which Leon is not, they do not mention any sort of identification with other listeners.

> Leon fits the profile in the literature about international retirement migration (e.g. King, Warnes, & Williams, 2000): he started visiting as a tourist in the 1970s and moved in 2006. He was a contact of a lady who regularly sends messages in on a Sunday morning because or her social club for international retirees. Noting that she only tunes in because she knows the DJ she gave me the contact of Leon, "the number 1 fan of Bright FM". Having heard of me through comments DJs make, when they denounce my presence in the studio, he enthusiastically welcomed me into his daily routines. However, although he did know DJs and made a point of showing how Bright was always "always on!" both in the living room, kitchenette and bedroom radio sets, his listening seemed to be more for general background company. He noted in passing that having the radio on was also an advice from the authorities if one is living alone. He did not have much to say about content, the DJs whom he had never met or other listeners. Comments were scarce and followed the lines of preferring more accurate weather forecasts on air than in weekly newspapers. The only point he noted and that seemed significant was the fact that Bright also addressed Portuguese listeners in the Portuguese part of the broadcasts. This seemed important to him. Despite his rather British habits of following sports on the television, reading the Sun, or going for a Sunday roast on a weekly basis with people from his friend's club, he made a point of reaffirming his identification with Portugal. He tried to show that proximity with Portugal not only to me but also to friends in the UK, to whom letters about the nice life in the sun started with a "Olá" and ended with "Até breve", as he pointed out. Other practices noted so as to emphasize his proximity with Portugal were ultimately equally telling of the superficial way in which he engaged with the people and the culture. Applying for Portuguese nationality, as he would like to, was clearly out of the question for someone who barely spoke some courtesy words and spent his time at home, doing weekly shopping or, in the summer time, singing karaoke in hotels and places filled with holiday-makers. Yet, Bright seemed to be an element enabling Leon to construct a comfort zone in which he lived - an element in larger routines that enabled appropriating the Algarve as home. (Field notes December 2011)

> Steve and Carrie were by the pool in the back of the house, where they usually spent their afternoons. A long visit was a way of a change in their routine. Steve sometimes walks to the computer center in Albufeira after lunch so as to use the Internet. They use a dongle and phone cards in the Algarve because they are maintaining all Internet, phone, television, electricity and housing accounts in the UK. In terms of media diet, they keep up to date with the UK television daily and newspapers weekly. They complement this with various local media: an old directory which contains useful information (measurements, bank holidays, etc.), various magazines, free maps, newspapers and, of course, Bright. They were quick to criticize the decline of broadcasts' quality. Steve knew Jack and possibly associated a turning point in broadcasts because of that. Music, they found, became "a mix of Karaoke and Rap. K/Crap", there was not enough information about Portuguese realities, the advertisements were annoyingly overcrowding the broadcasts and the very idea of a weather forecast in a place that is always sunny was silly. Nevertheless, they recognized they were indeed more inclined to experiment and trust a business publicized through Bright. They were about to use an insurance company to secure themselves against a new burglary. Additionally, they did enjoy Clive and Terence's "middle of the road music". When I asked them about participation and whether they interacted with other listeners they remembered an enjoyable shopping trip to Free Port, a big shopping mall in the vicinities of Lisbon. Steve had embarrassed Carrie by telling everyone she was an unconditional fan of Cliff Richard. Steve also added that he knew one of the DJs whose show was discontinued. Laughing, he laughed at his habit of talking back at the radio set to his friend who presented "Late Night Algarve" from his house in Ireland, where he lived when not in Portugal.

> They recognized the station catered to other foreigners who enjoy the possibility of having a radio in a language they are comfortable with. (Field notes October 2011)

For both listeners Bright seemed more of an element in their routines as retirees in the Algarve. Largely through parallel listening (Crisell 1986), more pragmatically or more symbolically, it seemed part of their ways of constructing an everyday life as "expats" in Portugal. It was not, however, a proxy relating them to others as part of imagined or real communities. In contrast, the two following women did articulate the role of Bright in connecting them to others. The first is a former resident in her late 60s while the second is in her late 40s and working. They both arrived in the Algarve before the two men (in mid 1980s and mid 1990s, respectively). For the sake of further contrast, the second one is fluent in Portuguese and married to a Portuguese-native speaker (from Angola). They both were involved in organizing social events with the involvement of Bright.

> Taking advantage of attending a conference in London, I visited a listener who texts in on Sunday mornings regularly. Helen had moved back to her quaint hometown in the vicinity of London. For a few hours she added information to what she had put forth over email. She was a tourist before moving with her husband and two daughters to the Algarve. Having lost her partner she moved back to the UK although one daughter and a grandson are still in the Algarve. For approximately 20 years, she ran a restaurant and a business offering the well liked Portuguese piri-piri sauce[278] in powder for people to be able to travel back to the UK with it on airplanes. She has always followed, in particular, Terence's Sunday morning show. Her husband used to run a diet competition after Christmas whereby listeners would have to come to the studio and be weighed. It was one of the events they organized for charity. She likened the golden oldies show to BBC Radio 2's old program "Family Favorites", and later Two-Way Family Favorites, which she used to listen to when young.[279] That show also connected listeners in the UK and overseas through song dedications. Yet, it was a more family oriented show as it was meant to connect families in the UK with servicemen posted overseas. (Field notes, March 2012)

> I met Megan when she spontaneously joined in a conversation I was having with Clive just outside Bright, after his show. She later confessed how it took her courage to approach him like that, after waiting in the car that the show ended. She meant to use his regular invitation for listeners to send in details of "charity" events they know about so that he can "plug" them on air. She was the only person in Portugal belonging to the association promoting awareness and assistant for people with the serious condition she herself suffered from. Clive gladly took it to himself to repeatedly mention the Butterfly Ball, which she wanted to organize. When I interviewed her weeks later, she told me she felt she knew Clive before that first meeting, though. Before preparing a curry which we had with her family and some friends who were passing by, she spoke in great length and detail about the various ways in which Clive in particular, and Bright in general, had become central for her life.
>
> First and foremost, there was the emotional dimension attached to the kind of fleeting contact on air which encompasses a priceless type of attention one cannot find in, for instance,

[278] A spicy sauce usually served with grilled chicken.

[279] The show was successor of "Forces Favorites" broadcasted by the British Forces Posted Overseas, and ran from the 1960s to the mid 1980s.

print media. To be specific, Megan's younger daughter was distraught after her big plans for her 13th birthday fell through because of the rain: the activities and the sleepover she had planned with all her classmates was no longer happening. Megan texted Clive to give her daughter a shout, hoping to cheer her up. It was not the mention, which Clive promptly gave on air, which made the difference, but the fact that, upon receiving Megan's "thank you" because the girl was thrilled to hear her name on the radio, Clive made a point of repeating the girl's name four or five times in a row and to keep reminding people of her birthday throughout the program. The tears fell down the teenager's face and, I imagine, made Megan tune into Bright more often. As a Portuguese speaker, she used to listen to Rádio Comercial's morning team, whose sense of humor she shared, as well as, for instance, RDP Africa's music.

The emotional side of interactions was also related to how similar she found Clive's mellow, safe voice to be to Simon Bates, from BBC Radio 2, which she followed in the UK. In addition to that, the triviality of being part of the broadcast was a thrill for her (for instance, when Clive was explaining how to get to a sponsor's establishment and could not remember a part of the route, Megan would quickly message him on Facebook to confirm the route). By the time I interviewed her, Tim was the soundtrack for her routines, although she was working the night shifts shelving at a local supermarket and his show started when she was heading home and driving the daughters to school. She hardly identified with him insofar as he acted like the "typical British person who has no clue [about Portugal]". Yet, she found in him, and in Bright, a connection to her Englishness, which she was happy to maintain and cherish – from the comments on the latest program on "Britain Got Talent" the night before to the cheeky use of second meanings and connotations. Although she did not allow her daughters to listen to some Portuguese stations which do not filter songs with strong language in English, she listened to Tim with them while driving them to school, which made the girls feel special for being allowed in a more adult register which they could not yet use but were starting to understand.

At the same level of importance was Megan's relationship to other people through the radio because of the "charity" she volunteered for. She consciously chose Clive to connect her with the English population in the Algarve for she knew that would be a forum where people would be predisposed to help. She also engaged with several other media (magazines, newspapers, events, etc.). Yet, she found Bright was key in part because of Clive's pro-active attitude. With no obligation to do so, he kept a running mention for Megan's events (like the Butterfly Ball) besides associating any message she sent in with her cause even though she never asked for it. In addition to gaining visibility and credibility with listeners and groups in the Algarve mobilizing for different causes, Bright also elevated her within the transnational network of the organization she was promoting. Even the president in Canada would know to tune in (and apparently came to take a liking to Clive's show) whenever Megan wished happy birthday to one of the children suffering from her condition, wherever they would be in the world. (Field notes, April 2012)

For both Helen and Megan Bright operated as a hub in which she took part. It gave them visibility among people following Bright and allowed them to build on that relationship (which resulted in economic capital for Helen through her business and social capital for Megan). Unlike Helen, Megan was not only connected to others by Bright but also connected Bright with people across the border herself through her work in a transnational association promoting awareness and assistance for people in her condition. Additionally, although for Helen Bright seems to have been a "natural" addition to her routines as an English "expat" in the Algarve and a returnee to the UK, for Megan Bright sat at the intersection of her affiliations with Portuguese and British culture. Tim's non-offensive but sassy humor played some role in her Portuguese daughters' education in English and Clive's style of presenting connected her instantly to her UK days, when she listened to a host with an equally reassuring voice.

Notably, although lubricating her "Englishness" and concretely enabling an array of interpersonal connections across the Algarve, it hardly shook a clear sense of how different their lives are from hers. More than being married to a Portuguese native speaker while many of her new contacts still mispronounce the names of the towns they live in, she noted how they can organize an old clothes sale amongst themselves and raise 2000 euros while she does her shopping at Primark.

To conclude this alinea it is important to make a note on the other profiles that could be pertinent to think through what kind of collectivities is the radio playing into. On the one hand, the absence of some "expat" profiles in this list is not accidental. For example, the stereotypical wealthier "expats" I found, whether living in luxurious resorts like vale do Lobo, or in comfortable houses inland, in more "authentic areas", did not listen to Bright. To be rigorous, Bright's sales representatives also did not really reach for that market[280] because, as they explained, they have their own media and prefer an exclusive type of marketing which Bright, addressing a wider audience, did not provide. Additionally, younger listeners who grew up in the Algarve, like Harry, also tended to listen to other stations. Moreover, the relations with Bright of middle-aged people who retired early but are involved in business did not add to the picture presented above in terms of experiences as listeners.

The Portuguese listeners should not be discarded although there seemed to be minimal relations with each other or with foreigners through and because of Bright. This did not mean they were not regular and active listeners. One youngster I interviewed reported his friends prefer Bright's music, like himself. He is also one of the people letting Bright know when something is wrong with the broadcast because his alarm clock failed to wake him up. Having worked as a shop assistant, he also mentioned that having Bright on was a way to subtly create a comfortable and welcoming environment for foreign clients who walked in, and to maybe even have a conversation topic to ease transactions – a common strategy, allegedly. He added to the Portuguese tourists who write about their longing to return to the Algarve on the station's Facebook page, or to returned Portuguese migrants who like to have the English-language around them as they used to have in Canada or England. In other

[280] Nevertheless, some advertisements did refer to businesses in the so called "Golden Triangle" área. They seemed to be contracts arranged with the English DJs.

words, there was no clear community making dynamic promoted or embraced by Bright which encompassed both Portuguese and foreign audience members.

4.2.3.3 Significant appropriations of Bright FM Algarve

This short sections aims to complement and complicate the picture constructed above. It concerns the case of listeners who not only inscribe themselves into Bright's audience but also use it as a significant referent for their everyday lives as "expats" in the Algarve. More than Portuguese, who would be expected to be part of Bright's social worlds, their case is thoughtprovoking and raises a number of questions. The couple in question could be classified as French, although Gastón was born in Poland but grew up in Kenya before moving to Switzerland and later to France in his youth. They were primarily French speakers who moved to the Algarve because of Gaston's mother, who had fallen in love with region, moved and eventually was buried there. He recognized in the Algarve the type of tranquility he was fond of in Mombasa. He moved in 1999 and eventually brought Clarisse, his partner, who was also in her late 30s. They quickly started to socialize at bars to learn English. Gaston had become involved with multinational companies and, for a while, was a commuter – in the Algarve this means a person, usually a man, who travels weekly to urban centers in Europe (e.g. London or, in Gastón's case, Frankfurt) because of highly paid but intense jobs. Yet, he felt he was not actually living in a type of routine that barely allowed him to call Clarisse at the end of the day. They jointly decided to take up what they consider to be the "challenges that the Algarve poses" (namely, to find oneself, to creatively make ends meat, to learn how to enjoy life). Aware of the macroeconomic circumstances and seasonal realities they lived in, Gaston quit his job and opened a small company to do odd jobs.

We sat at their preferred pub discussing life in the Algarve and Bright's role in it for a few hours. Despite living more frugally than the other "expats" sitting around us inside that *aldeamento* (concentrated developments of "villas" and/or apartments), they were passionate about both the region and the station. It was clearly a choice to be embracing a life in the Algarve, although it was equally clearly not an easy routine. Identifying with the Algarve was expressed almost as a metaphysical experience, rendered concrete in the awareness that driving along the A2, the highway connecting the Algarve and regions further north, Gaston would "simply know" when he had left

the region, without seeing any signs. It was the same type of connection that he had felt in Mombasa. The energy of the place, which was almost a different country than Portugal in their perception, was also central to Clarisse's attachment to place and to a routine that is not the 9-to-5 job, which they described as "like having a flower in a pot and not giving it water. It's just a matter of time before it collapses". In a similarly strong fashion, they expressed how they felt that Bright was *their* station. The emphasis is purposeful, for they were the first and among the few people articulating their relationship to the station as such.

For the sake of context, it is important to note that Clarisse was organizing a social network for French speakers that was gaining momentum. The French consul had attended one of her events. Such an ethnic strategy was admittedly meant to compensate for a lack of local media in French and points of contact among peers. As an "expat" she did not lose her Frenchness, whether by assimilating to Portugal or "becoming diluted" among the English-speakers. It was also a way of reworking a connection to Frenchness because the transnationally reaching French media was not providing it: they were disappointed with satellite television, as movies on Portuguese television were more recent (even if commercial breaks and late night scheduling times made watching a hassle). Additionally, it was frustrating to become interested in products advertised on television, which would not be available in Portugal. In contrast, Bright was extremely local to the extent the places mentioned in advertisements or by the DJs were places they knew and immediately visualized. Recognizing places and learning about new things in their surroundings created a sense of belonging.

> … You identify yourself. You kind of… I don't know. For us, you notice that you are really a part of the Algarve because everything they talk about you know where it is more or less. What they can bring up is perhaps something new you don't know. A place [where] you have not been to eat, or you have not visited to make your shopping, but you know where it is. (Interview excerpt, Gaston and Clarisse, Regular listeners, Full-time residents)

It was particularly curious that the renewed interest in Bright coincided with the introduction of Tim's rather English breakfast show. For Gastón and Clarisse, the Breakfast show changed the station from a boring jukebox into a lively, interactive, fun medium. The possibility of asking Tim to call someone upon request to wake that person up, live, was not seen as necessarily new (in fact, they recognized it as being something that used to be done in France years ago). But it created emotion on air. Like participating in the quizzes and, as Gaston said while immediately smiling to

himself, hearing one's name on the radio, because "yeah, yeah! [proud, laughing] That's me! I found it!" They found the station became a "kind of common ground" for people have a topic of conversation (e.g. a silly something that Tim said), whether in person or on Facebook.

C: You feel involved in your radio also.

Gaston: For me, when I was 6 weeks alone at home, it was a social, how could I say? Like some pillar you can hold on [to]. Some kind of connecting pillar. Because it is Bright FM, so you know your friends are also listening to it. So you're kind of connected to your friends, in way. You don't really know if they are listening to it, but you can imagine that they do. And if they don't, the next day when you see them, there could be something you bring up in the conversation, and then they know it, because they heard it also, or then you can bring it to them. So it became kind of a, I don't know how to say it, kind of a central point somehow. Because there is nobody who doesn't know Bright FM. Everybody knows Bright. (Interview excerpt, Gaston and Clarisse, Regular listeners, Full-time residents)

Interestingly, they shifted in point of view throughout the conversation in what concerns the cultural dimension of the station. At points they emphasized how Bright was quite English, while at other points they underlined its relevance and potential as a multicultural station. For them, it seemed to ultimately be a station that not only was the obvious choice for non-Portuguese speaking foreigners but also a station they strongly could relate to because, at the tend of the day it addressed them, as "expats".

C: It is our radio.
G: It is our radio. It is interactive.
I: Even though, especially Tim, I find him, even more than the others, he is incredibly British. He doesn't hide it.
G: yeah, he is!
I: It's Cockney Bob, it's Britain got talent…
G: Exactly!
I: That is the [type of] references he brings in
G: Yes, and he is incredible stupid also once in a while. (laughter) (…). But once you know the person, how he is, it gets hilarious. Because he is crazy, no doubt, but it's ok, he brings life to it. So even [though] he is completely British … it's a good occasion to make jokes about the Brits, because he represents them! (laughter)
C: But it is a proper English radio station in Algarve. That is why probably Luc didn't hang. Didn't go any longer with the show he had.
G: connect with it. It's a pity because (…) I love the concept, (…) And I liked it even more because he has this kind of un-English, Italian kind of Frenchy accent, and it was nice. (…), and I would say even there would be space on Bright FM to have little 20 minutes of someone speaking, maybe a little bit German speaking, and to turn around the English-English Bright FM, into more like, I would say basically more French, English, German. It would reunify much more people. It could help maybe to develop businesses for French People for German people. Because there is [a number of businesses], but they have no way to add or to make themselves known, unless they speak fluent English or they are introduced to the English community. … I think with Luc it could have make the breakthrough to make that whole, to get out of the English ghetto concept, into more let's say a European concept. To open the doors, to widen the vision. But there was no money. And he left. (…)
C: For us, as French expats, it was an evidence. To tune on Bright FM. (…)
We understood better English still than Portuguese. So it was kind of an evidence.

G: but it also brought us closer to the Portuguese culture, because (…) as an expat, if you hear Portuguese 24/7, it is tiring. At the end of the day, you're just fed up of hearing it really.
C: And because in real life you have to speak English, so, why not…
I: And that is not tiring?
G: It is. Also. It's not the mother language. But the radio is that mix, goes back to English, goes back to Portuguese, goes back to English, so one of a sudden [sic], the Portuguese became far less, not less aggressive to your ears, but you were kind of fed up with the English, but you hear it in Portuguese, so you were trying to understand what they were saying in Portuguese and you think "ah, shit, I don't get it." And then the next thing comes up in English, and "ah, there I understand it again". So it didn't push you away, (…)
C: this kind of mix keeps your interest though. It was less tiring.
G: exactly, the radio becomes a kind of a… it belongs to you in a certain way. So you see, Bright FM became actually more than just a radio. It became a kind of ammm… kind of a common ground for a lot of different people. So I think this helps, this makes this radio so popular also.
I: Do you know Radio Alfa? A station for Portuguese living in Paris? How would you compare it?
C: But that radio is for Portuguese people living in France. So Bright would be that kind of radio for English people here. They got related with England, with English culture through the radio.
I: But not for you? How would you identify with it?
C: With the time. By listening [to] the radio. By the time we've been [here], identify yourself in [sic] the radio.
G: But I think in the absolute, at the ultimate, Bright FM is not an English radio, actually. It is an English radio because at the moment the people who pay the money for the ads are English. Because they have the money. They are the dominant crowd of expats. That's why it is like that. But if Bright FM tomorrow let's say, would be multicultural, because there would be French companies investing money, German companies investing money, and there would be some French moments, some German moments, some English moments, I think Bright FM would be still as popular. We are not identifying to Bright because it's an English radio, but more because
C: it's a sound.
G: It's a sound, it's a concept, and it's foreign. It's foreign, it speaks about the shops we know, the places we know, I think we identify more to that than to the fact that it is English. It's not really… The English is just because that's the language there is and I think that English might be good because at the end of the day, if you should choose a common language for foreigners, regardless now that the English are dominant in the Algarve, in other countries, most of the time, when you don't know what to speak to somebody when you want to speak with him, you will speak English. Because that's the biggest chance he will understand. And that is because it is the international business language, it is the international language in aviation. It's just used because basically it's a very dumb language: it is very short, it is very easy to learn, let's say, the basic vocabulary in English, anybody can pick it up quite fast. It's not just in the Algarve. It's all over the world. (…)
I: So you don't feel left out by things they say?
C: No, not really. The only thing that might leave you left out is the lack of vocabulary in English. if we don't understand the joke, for example. Missing the way of speaking.
G: But I feel [it is] more a radio for foreigners, for expats, for the foreign community, than English radio. Even there is a lot of English culture, obviously.
C: It's an expat radio

(Interview excerpt, Gaston and Clarisse, Regular listeners, Full-time residents)

Recognizing that the English language does enjoy the status of a *lingua franca* and can, therefore, not be conceived of as a cultural marker, Gastón and Clarisse felt the station addressed them as well as the majority of English-speaking people in the Algarve. the process of listening to a station that used a language with which they were somewhat familiar (English) before they knew Portuguese created an avenue for, over time, appropriate the Portuguese language and the Algarve as a place. For

them, Bright is a station for all "expats" which, at the moment, reflects the majority constituting it and which it serves, but can become a vehicle of unification of other foreigners if taking a more "European/multicultural" orientation. Ultimately, what their strong identification with the station suggests is that there may be different readings of the same media product for different people. Like Megan felt her Englishness revived when tuning in to Bright, Gaston and Clarisse felt part of a local and social universe composed of foreigners like themselves.

4.2.4 Synthesis of Situating the station in communicative ecologies

Embedded in the Portuguese local radioscape, Bright is more closely intertwined with other English-language media. Alongside with other locally produced newspapers and magazines, it constitutes the media connection to the Algarve and Portugal in English for residents and visitors with homes (also) elsewhere. For British listeners in particular, it complement a diet which is at the core of continuities easing circulation and relocation dynamics: regardless of the time spent in Portugal, most keep tuning into UK television, radio, and other media worlds through satellite, cable, online and other services. This despite the fact that some also followed Portuguese media. Significantly, Bright then an element in media diets drawing on UK based and locally produced English-language media. As such, even before the reorientation of broadcasts to become more interactive and more British the station had always been considered English by most listeners, which elicited various types of identification to the radio.

Yet, among the different categories of audience members were not only listeners and not only British. The various the types of relationships people established with the station overlapped relationships to it as guests, advertisers, announcers, drop off points and listeners. Notably, although some hardly followed the broadcasts and others were aware of its low performance for a period of time, the audience's proximity to the station probably prevented it from folding. Moreover, despite the variety of ways in which people relate to the station, as well as to each other and to the Algarve because of it, the radio sociabilities that Bright promoted did not seem to rely on a clear and strong idea of a community. It was an element in routines of people juggling a project to permanently live in Portugal while barely speaking the culture. In that sense, what seemed to be central was Bright's role in

articulating a relation to place rather than forming or maintaining communities – even if senses of community were mobilized in some instances, as explored in chapter 6.3. Complementarily, Bright enabled listeners who did not fit the stereotypical British profile of listeners to appropriate the station as "evidently" their own. This complicates a straightforward relationship with Britishness even after Bright's shift in programming, which suggests that Bright perhaps should be considered as a station catering for "expats" in the Algarve, albeit with British contours.

4.3 Conclusion

The story of Bright presents a number of singularities. First, founded by an Englishman and not having been constructed as a cultural or a community-making project, it became manifestly oriented to a segment of its target audiences when it was sold to a Portuguese media group. To secure the station's unique position as a bilingual radio, broadcasts were refashioned so as to privilege British residents and tourists. This instrumentalization of Britishness is interesting to the extent it was mobilized by Portuguese long-standing staff, then in decision-making positions. Furthermore, it is telling of the station's ties with a key audience group despite the self-definition of the station as serving the "English-speaking multicultural communities of the Algarve".

On the one hand, the instrumentalization of Britishness was telling of how Britishness had always been projected through broadcasts as English DJ's drew on their personal music and radio references to host the longest-standing and most popular shows. Accordingly, the station was perceived to be essentially British all along by Portuguese and foreigners alike. The fact that Bright's team at one point tried to fight an association with Britishness signals that. Additionally, the fact that it strategically embraced it at one point underscores what can be considered to be a shift from an ethnocentric enterprise to a commercially oriented ethnic project that further makes that evident. Yet, the shift constituted a continuity in that it did not exclude Bright's other English-speaking and Portuguese listeners. What It did elicit were more varied and intense forms of identification among the British. Significantly, it maintained – and possibly intensified - a sense of proximity and ownership in other, non-British "expats".

Therefore what is interesting to retain is that their point of identification with the station relies in their self-perception as "expats". Accordingly, the strategic choice to refashion the radio excluded programs (and narratives) widening the scope of the broadcasts to other migrants who are not perceived as relying in the English-language to get by in the Algarve, who are not considered "expats" and who probably do not consider themselves as such either. The narrative projecting a "we-ness" in English did not seem widened to the Brazilian, Cape-Verdean, Ukrainian, Romanian and other migrant populations nor appropriated as such.[281]

On the other hand, it was the station's privileged access to the British population that sustained it through the array of difficulties that afflict any local radio station in the Algarve (namely, scarce resources, few staff, and a seasonal market worsened by a global recession). In other words, it was the station's position within an English-language media sphericule and proximity to a niche-market, enabled by a unique bilingual license, which differentiated it from its peers in the local radio sector throughout the challenging dynamics of concentration and digitization, even if that period was troubled by difficulties at Bright itself. In that sense, Bright's evolution resonates with the story of many other local stations in Portugal, albeit with some key exceptions. The difficulties it has faced and the shift in ownership are typical of local radios striving to cope with scarce resources and, particularly in the Algarve, struggling to survive on the basis of publicity in a manifestly seasonal market. However, because of the minority that Bright has privileged access to, the station not only remained on air but also attracted investment. Therefore, integration in a media group did not result in retransmitting content from elsewhere as usually happens in Portugal. Perceived to be the prime and most logical radio channel to reach foreigners, Bright was at a vantage point. Additionally, as no other projects could be started, given there are no more licenses available in the spectrum for local radios, Bright faced virtually no competition.

[281] Hypothetically, they could resemble Portuguese listeners who use the station as a source of upbeat and new music, who capitalize on the broadcasts to attract foreign customers to their shops and who, as tourists, align themselves with other visitors who are vocal through messages sent to the station. This was however not visible.

Britishifying the broadcasts only consolidated that position, thereby further enabling the station to be used as vehicle to reach all English-speakers (that in reality are comprised by a majority of Brits). Notably, in turn, the station contributes to the consolidation of a media sphericule, which does enable non-Portuguese speakers to remain distant from the Portuguese mediascape. Regardless of how variably informative these media are perceived to be, they create alternative media offers that complement repertoires grounded in UK media that are accessible in Portugal. Although meaning to provide a service that better enables foreigners to engage with place, they ultimately also legitimate and trivialize the use of English in the Algarve, thereby contributing to the possibility of navigating the region without learning Portuguese. This is only possible because of the already privileged position of the English language in the Algarve, which has been noted elsewhere.[282] Although it depends on consumers to learn the language and make the effort to leave cultural, social and linguist comfort zones – as everyone I talked to was quick to mention – these media inadvertently contribute to creating what critical interlocutors class as a "bubble".

To start situating the place of Bright in this mediascape and "bubble", it is worth noting that, in constructing commonality among English-speakers, whether visitors and former (full-time or part-time) residents, broadcasts did not seem to draw on clear notions of community. Although, some regular listeners could identify and use the station as means to participate in networks they perceived as communities, the clearer common denominator was the relation to the Algarve that all cultivated, in one way or another. An exploratory assessment of the ways in which regular listeners made use of radio and perceived it to be meaningful to them concerned the establishment and maintenance of a relation to place: the connection that the station facilitated to Algarvean social spheres, both outside of one's network or from abroad; the triggering of memories of periods of time spent there, in holiday or as resident; the awareness of "what's on" and of business contexts. Despite British contours, the

[282] Considering the role of tourism in foregrounding the prevalence of English in the linguistic landscape, meaning "amalgamation of al the linguistic tokens that are present in, and thus mark, the public sphere" (Torkington 2009: 123) Torkington notes that such a dominance of English "both reflects the relative power and status of different languages in a particular sociolinguist context, whilst at the same time contributing to the construction of that very sociolinguistic context" (Torkington 2009: 126).

station can be considered to be particularistic insofar as it addresses people that relate to place as individuals who move along the continuum of categories connecting tourism and migration (regular visitors, second-home owners, full-time residents, tourists). This idea is developed in chapter 6, which articulates the specific roles that radio can have because of its affordances as part of a sphericule serving tourism-informed mobility flows. Before that, Chapter 5 explores the Algarve as the destination context of tourists and migrants alike and depicts the flow that I conceptualize as lifestyle migration.

5 "BETTER LIVING IN PORTUGAL" – SITUATING THE TYPE OF MOBILITY AND THE POPULATION AT STAKE

"Better living in Portugal" is the name of a yearly business exhibition organized by one of the key media groups in the Algarve.[283] The event's name encapsulates the essence of this chapter, which is meant to contextualize the migratory flow bringing the "expats" at stake to the Algarve. Indeed, the idea of a pursuit for a better life lies at the heart of the specificities of the tourism-informed mobilities (to use Williams and Hall [2002] term) bringing Bright FM's audience to Portugal. Before exploring the conceptualization arguing to establish such flows as "lifestyle migration" (Benson and O'Reilly 2009), I give a historical overview of the presence of "expats" in the country, and particularly in the Algarve, overtime. I focus on the British, who are the most numerous and significant population for this thesis, although I highlight the commonalities with other "expats" who are also present in the region. To close the chapter I describe some of the key dynamics of incorporation so as to set the scene for the roles that Bright plays for the "expat" population, which are discussed in the next chapter.

5.1 British presence in the Algarve

The presence of the British in the Algarve must be framed by wider tendencies spawning centuries of historical relations between the two countries. Additionally it entails considering how Portugal, and particularly the Algarve, figure in the under-studied but significant British emigration patterns. In turn, situating the specific flow bringing British to the Algarve entails considering how the British figure quite

[283] The event is an exhibition or fair, where local "expat" business owners can rent stalls where to advertise their services and products to visitors, who are mostly second-home owners and residents like themselves. Percolating through the halls of these fairs is telling of the interests and needs of the population targeted. Resembling the commercial breaks on Bright FM (see section 6.1), they showcase all financial services, pool maintenance services, security systems, Internet providers, health clinics, and some food stalls.

differently in distinct areas of Portugal and what kind of migratory destination the Algarve is.

5.1.1 Visiting and settling over time

The presence of the British in Portugal has accompanied a long-standing history of political, military and economic relationships over the centuries. Throughout the history of the oldest alliance in Europe,[284] and its complex episodes of close collaboration and tensions that articulated strategic political, economic and commercial interests of the two colonial powers, the British have visited and moved to Portugal. For this overview, more than instances of politically driven missions,[285] the types of visits and relocations worthy of note are those voluntary mobilities that forerun the current presence of the British in the Algarve. Although the most significant among them are the visits inscribed in the tradition of the so called "Grand Tour", it is important to note that there were families established in Portugal long before that, in addition to (mostly health) tourism to the coastal areas of Cascais and Estoril. As treaties with the British crown show, by the mid-1600 there were British subjects living in Portugal and benefitting from special rights (e.g. freedom of cult, permission to have a separate cemetery, the right to found and run companies, and some protection against inquisition's powers along with a number of trade facilities and fiscal benefits).[286] These families, which concentrated in the Oporto area, came to be well-known because of their profitable Port wine making and export ventures, especially after 1700.

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[284] The Treaty of Windsor (1353) establishes "perpetual friendship" and commercial relations between Portugal and Great Britain. The two nations had previously already been military allies (in 1140, when Portugal's borders were being defined in battles against the moors, and during the Hundred Years' War with France) besides having signed a few trade agreements (Dória, 1989: 320). The Treaty of Windsor was consolidated over time through a numerous of marriage alliances between the two royal houses in addition to subsequent treaties and agreements as well as military mutual assistance.

[285] Such as, for example, the temporary settlement and rule of British troops in Portuguese territory during the Napoleonic invasions (1808-1821).

[286] These treaties were signed in 1642 and 1654 and encouraged the relocation to Portugal of more British who explored national industries largely to channel products to the British market (e.g. cork, wine, canned fish) besides participating in the national economy through investments in agricultural as well as import and export sectors. (Cardoso, 2004: 161-164; Rosas, 1994: 120-124).

The "Grand Tour" type of travel is more related to the establishment of British "expats" in the Algarve (Russel King et al., 2000; A. Williams & Patterson, 1998). To be sure, it was a practice of cultured travelling through Europe among northern-European upper-classes which was popular in between the 17th and 19th century, before the railway opened the possibility of travelling to other groups of the population (Russel King et al., 2000). Young members of the British gentry and aristocracy visited places abroad, typically central and southern European countries, so as to enhance their classical educations with experiential learning while accumulating social capital (Buzard 1993: 100 cited in Norum, 2013: 34). It constituted almost a rite of passage and became a means of social distinction.[287] Travelers, who were usually young men, wrote detailed travelogues with their impressions of other cultures.[288] In Portugal, Lord Byron, William Beckford, and William Morgan Kinsey were among the many travelers who visited and wrote about Portugal[289] before others inscribed the Algarve in tourist guides (Williams and Patterson, 1998: 139). The Algarve was one of the preferred destinations since the 18th century (Mangorrinha, 2012).

The Algarve's status as a tourism destination has its roots in "Grand Tour"-like visits but also in a pioneer strategic effort to encourage tourism in Portugal. Soon after the monarchy ended in 1910, Portugal established one of the first Tourism Boards in Europe and started promoting visits for the sake of leisure in addition to health and wellbeing (Mangorrinha 2012: 164).[290] Since the first conferences to

[287] Some authors describe the practice of the "Grand Tour" in terms of the importance of the aesthetic sensitivities, individual growth and search for some sort of enlightenment as indicators of an upper-class type of journey. The extended character of trips and the resources needed to engage in such experiences made them unreachable could not be reached by the masses of people who started enjoying leisure more routinely since the late 18th century with different goals. Striving to come into contact with authenticity of places and people far afield was also a means to distinguish traveling from repetitive experiences of tourism in nearby geographical areas. See Norum (2013) for a brief discussion of these authors discussing tourism as an elite and educational pastime for the middle classes in pursuit of the exotic and of otherness initially.

[288] Yet, see Morin & Guelke (1998) for an interesting account of the journeys of British women through North American and their writings on gender roles.

[289] See, for instance (Martins, 1987; M. L. B. Pires, 1981; M. L. Pires, 1987) for some of these accounts discussed by scholars engaged with Anglo-Portuguese studies.

[290] The first official Portugal Tourism Department was established on May 16, 1911 by the then foreign minister Bernardino Machado during the International Touring Clubs Congress, which was

promote tourism in Portugal in Newport, Cardiff and Wales in 1912, and the organization of an excursion of English reporters through the country, has always been a target audience and market for tourism in Portugal (id: 166-168). This tight relationship has been maintained throughout the years, both through the visits of iconic British artists (e.g. Paul McCartney), and of numerous holiday makers and people on longer stays (which are apparent in the statistics registering the UK as the main sending market of tourists for the Algarve over the years), and, in turn, by policies promoting these transits (e.g. the tourism board's 2011 campaign to respond to the crisis by consolidating, deepening and bolster the relationships with the British market [E. Pires, 2011]). Presented initially as "Europe's best kept secret", the most recent approach is to transform the Algarve in "Europe's Florida" through the investment in the residential tourism model. Explored in more detail below, this model responds to the tendencies observed over the years whereby tourists became regular visitors, purchased property and eventually relocated on a permanent basis to the Algarve.

Accordingly, the Algarve was elected as a primary or secondary home since the 1940s, though more intensely since the 1980s. Long-standing residents, such as one member of the first handful of families settling in the region in the 1950s, remember the eclectic mix that, very much resembling similar contexts in Spain (O'Reilly, 2000, 2012), comprised people who had worked in various areas of the British Empire and retired in the hills of the Algarve as well as artists and "eccentrics" who were looking for the exotic and the remote and became enchanted with the simplicity and natural beauty of the place. The first included "ex-colonials" who had served in the military and maintained the manners and ideologies of the empire days, as well as others who had worked, for instance, in Africa, as engineers in railway construction, before choosing to start a life in the Algarve, working in the tourism

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held in Lisbon's Geographic Society that year. Other European governments only started endorsing tourism boards a few years later, between the two world wars, or even after World War II. The tourism promotion efforts included establishing that Portugal's official time counting would follow 0-24 designation and the UK's time zone (so as to more easily coordinate with international transport networks), founding a number of museums (e.g. National Museum of Contemporary Art), and iconic cafés (e.g. *A brasileira*, in Lisbon), better organizing of the associations of hostelry business-owners, starting a number of courses in the area as to professionalize staff, and establishing a rest day to encourage Portuguese to visit the rest of the country. (Mangorrinha 2012: 164, 204, 272).

sector. By then, however, most tourists arrived in expensive cars and private boats from Lisbon and Oporto as well as from abroad. It was not until the 1960s, when the airport was built (1964), that foreigners started to arrive in larger numbers. The subsequent development of infrastructures attracted not only visitors but also investors and contractors who were key in the multiplication of resorts and *aldeamentos* (concentrated developments of "villas" and/or apartments) hosting many British. They were followed by a strong movement of retirees and second-home owners (Russel King et al., 2000; Torkington, 2010) and by an after-wave of people who saw an emerging niche-market as an opportunity, and responded to the massification of visitors in the 1980s and the emergence of a second-home market in the 1990s by moving to work in what I believe could be called a "lifestyle migration industry" (as discussed in chapter 6.2) : bar and restaurant owners, villa management and housekeeping firms as well as directors of real estate companies and private clinics (Torkington, 2010, 2011b).[291] Contributing to the transformation of what was, essentially, a rural mountainous area bordered by fishermen's villages, the Algarve emerged on the maps of low-cost airlines and of multinational companies with local branches in places like Spain and Gibraltar.

To color these phases and illustrate the fluidity of migratory flows, the words of this long-standing resident are useful.

> In the 60s they all had a bit of money, and they all were very creative, and they all came from a certain class of people. Then, there was a revolution and a lot of them went back. And now they are all 120 years old, so you don't talk about them. They are the old kind. In the 70s, 80s probably, a different type came. They were obviously retirement people, that came with their money, they live in villas like wedding cakes, and they are also beginning to go back now because they are old, and they need to see doctors, and they are not sure of the doctors here and the quality of medicine here when it comes to private [healthcare], which they all use. (…) Brits (…) tend to be scared. "Oh, I don't want to be ill here, so I want to go back." But then, about the late 80s, 90s you had a lot of people who came here for business. Villa managers, bar owners, people that wanted to do business here - whether it was interior design, or awnings, or marinas, boats, cars, whatever. They did all that. And of course it is really tough, because the whole thing is collapsing around us! Everyday you take a step and something else has disappeared. Another shop is gone, another business is gone bust. (Interview excerpt, Leah, journalist at a local newspaper)

[291] According to my interlocutors, there was a downturn in tourism during revolutionary stage, following the over-throwing of the dictatorship. After political environment stabilized, those who had not left, as many who were scared by the sudden devalue of their houses and the on-going trend of expropriating estate owners, recovered their businesses. With the re-organization of some sectors, including tourism, construction resumed and visitors started to increase in numbers again.

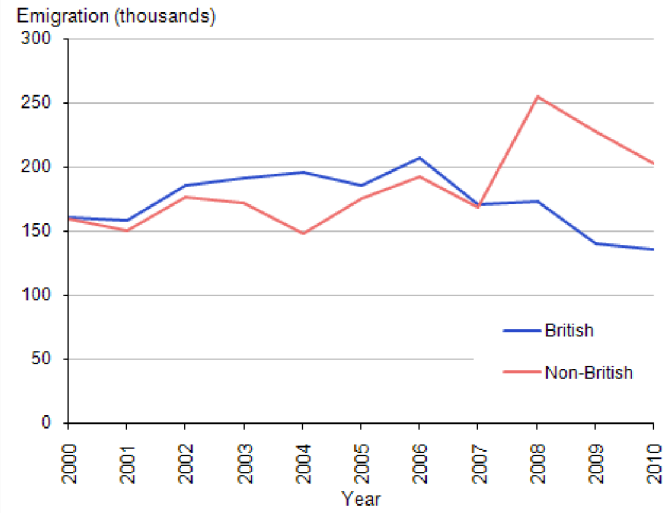
Leah frames the history of arrivals in the Algarve with the movements of return, which have always characterized dynamics in the Algarve. In addition to being a transient environment because of the constant circulation of visitors and semi-permanent residents, many elderly have always returned because of health related issues and/or the death of a spouse, for instance. According to transportation companies, early-retired people are also still arriving albeit in lesser numbers than before and in smaller proportion. The crisis that Leah mentions pushes people back to the UK has also intensified the return of retirees, especially as many planned their retirement on fixed pensions that are not affording them the lifestyle they expected given the fluctuations in prices, taxes and so on. This is also the case in Spain, where people opt to downsize and/or return, which, in most extreme cases, they may not always afford to (see Betty & Hall [2015] and Huete, Mantecón, & Estévez [2013] for discussions of return among the British in Spain).[292] Additionally, as Leah emphasizes, a lot of people who took their chances in coming to the Algarve found they had to leave. Throughout fieldwork, the closed shops scenario was common as was the discourse of people leaving. Yet, the point to make is that while the economic environment may have intensified return movements, they have always existed and did not replace incoming movements, which were fostered by specifically targeted policies, as discussed below.

5.1.2 The Algarve as a destination for the British

Despite these deep-seated and ongoing connections, Portugal is not a key destination for the British. The countries attracting most people from the UK comprise English-speaking nations of the Commonwealth and other holiday destinations within Europe. The recurrent top 5 destinations are, namely, Australia, the USA, France, Spain and Canada (Office for National Statistics, 2011: 6). Although remaining the same since 2006 (*ibid*) the top places gradually became a preserve of the Commonwealth countries as the economic recession discouraged

[292] This situation emerges more clearly because of the crisis but has been widely essentialized and criticized among the British media, which have commented for years on the unadvised move of elderly who did the math wrong and find themselves sometimes stuck in Spain, without the means to go back, struggling with ill health and loneliness (see O'Reilly, 2001: 174-5 for a discussion).

people to take advantage of the intra-European mobility – and of leaving altogether, which explains the decline in figure 9 (id: 4).[293]



Source: Office for National Statistics

Figure 9 - Long-term International Migration Estimates of Emigration by British/Non-British from the UK, 2000-2010 (Office for National Statistics, 2011: 3)

Portugal comes much later in the list of 112 countries hosting a population of over a 1000 British, although it was noted to be an increasingly popular destination (Sriskandarajah & Drew, 2006: ix) and it has certainly taken measures to become so, as discussed below. According to my interlocutors, Portugal, and the Algarve in particular, are part of the British' international transits to the extent that it is a) a destination elected following work in the former British colonies and/or as corporate professionals whose careers included working abroad (e.g. in Dubai, Brazil, Singapore, etc.); b) a second residency; and/or c) a place of reference for those who have lived in the Algarve before moving elsewhere in a continued search for a "better quality of life" (e.g. to Thailand) or before returning to the UK.

If official statistics are not uncommonly under-estimates of population inflows, in the case of the British in Portugal, and particularly in the Algarve, this is remarkable. Although the proportion of people distributed in the three main areas may be relatively accurate, the numbers concerning the Algarve (fluctuating between 11,129 and 10,214 people in 2010 and 2012 respectively) are strikingly below the

[293] The decrease of jobs and a weaker pound can have detracted retirees with a fixed pension, students and workers from moving to places like Spain but also beyond Europe, such as the case of United Arab Emirates.

numbers estimated by the British consulate in the region, which is among the busiest British consulates in the world. In other words, that the official numbers from SEF (see table 5) place the highest concentrations of British, in descending order, in the district of Faro (approximately 60%), Lisbon (approximately 12%), Madeira (approximately 5%), Leiria and Coimbra (approximately 4% each), and Oporto (approximately 2.5%) is not surprising. The capital attracts business and diplomatic officials and the nearby areas of Cascais and Estoril, as noted above, are akin to the Algarve in attracting people because of the amenities they provide. The Azores and Madeira probably resemble Cascais and Estoril in that respect. In tandem, the area connecting the seaside with central Portugal (from Leiria to Coimbra districts) attract people looking for the "Silver coast's" amenities, like the previous cases, and for a rural idyll, as documented by geographers (see Velez Castro [2008] and Sardinha [2011]). Finally, Oporto's area probably does not evidence a higher number of residents given long-standing presence of British there entails that many people earned nationality overtime and many others were born in mixed families in Portugal, thus having Portuguese or double nationality. In contrast, as the most popular destination, the Algarve reportedly hosts not a few thousand, but, according to the consulate, 40-50 thousand permanent residents – a number that rises to 70-80 thousand people if considering temporary residents. As Torkington (2010: 108) notes, in a region with 400,000 residents,[294] the British therefore constitute approximately 10% of the local population. [295]

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[294] This number ignores the seasonal dramatic increase in the population during the holiday season, which would also include a significant rise among the British because of tourism. Additionally, it does not take into account the estimates concerning the other northern and western European full-time residents and semi-permanent residents.

[295] The difficulty of quantifying flows that fall along the continuum between tourism and migration, such as the British to the Algarve, has been noted among researchers debating the features of these flows on a mailing list (related to the Lifestyle Migration Hub). Attempts to capture the mobilities have led to compilations of statistics from the countries of origin, of registered residents in the country of residence, of purchased properties in the context of residence, of airline passagengers passing through local airports. Yet, problems with these data include: a high number of migrants who do not register; the absence of borders where to document the inflow of people; the inadequacy of nationality as an indicator of whether people are lifestyle migrants (or other types of migrants); the impossibility of estimating how many lifestyle migrants are residents from data about property acquisition; the peripatetic movements of some migrants, which seep through measurement instruments. To give a sense of numbers it is worth noting that the total foreign population in the Algarve is 11.6% of the region's population according to the National Institute for Statistics' estimates (INE 2012: 28)

Table 5 - Distribution of population from the United Kingdom in Portugal, per district, 2010-2012[296]

Districts/ Year	2010	2011	2012
Aveiro	87	87	91
Beja	207	232	232
Braga	120	125	112
Bragança	18	17	17
Castelo Branco	104	120	125
Coimbra	668	739	732
Évora	39	42	43
Faro	11,129	11,137	10,214
Guarda	16	20	25
Leiria	689	757	787
Lisboa	1,945	2,153	2,114
Portalegre	96	113	110
Porto	455	428	407
Santarém	173	201	210
Setúbal	204	231	233
Viana do Castelo	126	139	130
Vila Real	27	26	27
Viseu	77	79	89
Açores	107	121	124
Madeira	909	908	827
TOTAL	17,196	17,675	16,649

Still, officially, the British have always been the most numerous European population in the region, as table 6 shows. As noted throughout the thesis, the British have clearly remained the largest European population in the region even though they are often grouped with other Western and Northern Europeans (such as the Spanish, Germans and the Dutch) who have remained comparatively much less. The British were only outnumbered by Brazilians in 2008, and have remained in second place consistently throughout the fieldwork period (2010-2012), followed closely by the Ukrainian population. Such a panorama accompanies the wider national immigration landscape insofar as it signals the significant size of the Brazilian and Eastern

[296] Table produced based on statistics from www.sefstat.sef.pt.

European populations[297] as well as the growth of the foreign population in the Algarve, which is now the most diverse region in the country.[298] It also reflects the diversification of migratory flows into Portugal after 2000,[299] which impacted on the position of the British population in the national landscape. To be specific, although remaining a rather small group among the immigrant populations in Portugal (especially when compared to the three biggest populations - Brazilians, Ukrainians and Cape-Verdians – as apparent in table 6), the UK had been the most numerous European population in the country until being unprecedentedly outnumbered by Romanians in 2008, just a year after the Eastern European country joined the EU (Ataíde et al., 2010: 37).[300] Overall, the British have at a shy 8th position among the predominant foreign populations in Portugal.

[297] By 2012, according to the national census, the largest groups among the foreign population were the Brazilians (18.7% of the total foreign population in the Algarve), the British (17.2%) and the Ukrainians (11.6%) (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2012: 29).

[298] The Algarve not only evidenced the largest population growth in between the two censuses in the country (2001-2011), but also became the most diverse region. The region reached 451,006 people, which meant a 14% rise, followed by Madeira (9%) and Lisbon (6%) (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2012a: 18, 2012b: 18). By 2011, the foreign population constitutes 11.6%, whereas it only comprises 7% of Lisbon's population 3% of Alentejo's (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2012a: 28). The high percentage of people living side by side and the variety of factors influencing this conviviality - such s the dispersal through a variety of residential patterns (coastal, inland, resort, shared housing, etc.), types of migratory flows (labor, "lifestyle", family reunification, etc.) and subsequently different historical and social vantage points in local society, a variety of legal statuses and subsequent entitlements and restrictions of rights, variably qualified professional activities, variably active professional situations – suggest that the Algarve could better be understood as a context of superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007b).

[299] As noted in chapter 3, Portugal became an immigration context since the 1970s but most strikingly so since 2000s, when new waves of migration from Brazil accrued to the arrival of a significant number of Eastern Europeans, which came to add to the ongoing important flows from African Portuguese speaking countries, such as Cape Verde.

[300] Previous data in a comparative study suggests the British were also the most numerous European population in the country at least since 2001 and until 2008, when Romanians outnumbered them. The UK's residents fluctuated between 14,953 (2001), 19,005 (2005), and remained Always 1000-3000 people above Spain, which were the second most numerous population (Carrilho & Craveiro, 2013: 70).

Table 6 - Most numerous foreign populations in Portugal and Faro district, 2006-2012[301]

		2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Brazil	Faro	6772	8834	12166	12569	12996	11498	10485
	Total	42319	55665	106704	115882	119195	111445	105622
Ukraine	Faro	8132	8825	10562	10409	9676	9167	8019
	Total	22846	34240	52472	52253	49487	49022	44074
Romania	Faro	2923	5789	7219	7926	8587	8770	7452
	Total	5446	17200	26425	32457	36830	39312	35216
Moldova	Faro	4401	5319	6537	6300	4704	3997	3246
	Total	7459	11414	21067	20726	15632	13586	11503
Germany	Faro	4423	5029	3374	3472	3526	3514	3245
	Total	13870	15498	8187	8614	8967	9054	8967
Netherlands	Faro	2528	2840	2075	2130	2176	2182	2129
	Total	5869	6589	4360	4577	4725	4862	4848
Spain	Faro	914	984	511	564	661	709	701
	Total	16611	18030	7220	8060	8918	9310	9351
UK	Faro	11137	13767	10424	10795	11129	11137	10214
	Total	19761	23608	15271	16373	17196	17675	16649
France	Faro	1180	1329	844	875	916	905	856
	Total	9737	10556	4576	4883	5111	5293	5201
Cape-Verde	Faro	4175	4269	3599	3289	2922	2723	2494
	Total	57369	61110	50887	48417	43510	43920	42827

There is little data to describe the resident British population in Portugal and in the Algarve. Focusing on the area under study, the national census highlights a balanced gender ratio (bordering 50%) and a remarkably older British population in comparison to the Portuguese and reminaing foreign population in the Algarve (see figure 6) (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2012: 202-205) – something that is indicative of the international retirement migration flows bringing the British to Portugal since the 1980s studied, namely, by King et al (2000).

[301] This table was produced based on data from SEFSTAT (www.sefstat.sef.pt).

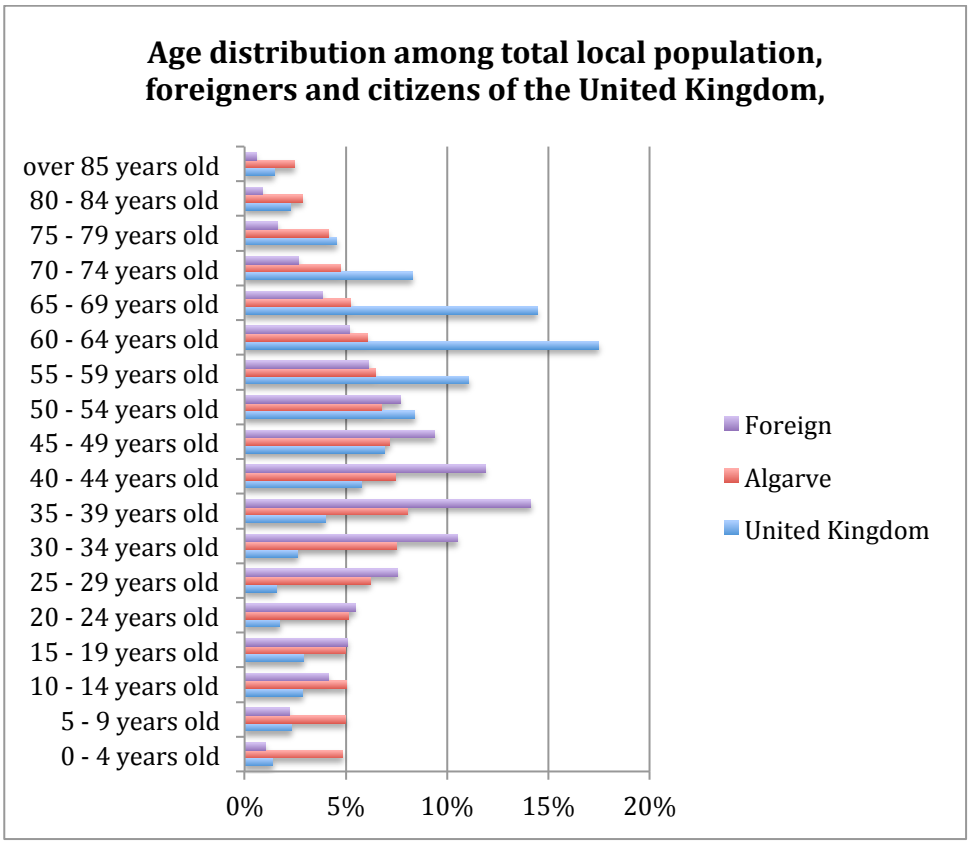

Figure 10 - Age distribution among the total local population, foreigners and citizens of the United Kingdom's (per percentage of the respective population's numbers)

More detailed sociographic information is only available through a survey conducted by one of the leading newspapers in the Algarve.[302] Their results for 2011, which were kindly shared upon request, coincide with the significant presence of British in the region (62% as opposed to 9.5% of Portuguese, which were the second biggest group of readers).[303] They also confirm the higher age of the surveyed population, but suggest the importance of slightly younger groups: over 65 year olds (33%), are outnumbered by the 50-65 year olds (40%), and followed by 35-50 years old (21%), 20-35 years old (5%) and under 20 years old (1%). This is indicative that population may be largely composed by retirees but is also strongly constituted by families and

[302] Although the newspaper has national coverage, the director confirmed that most readers are in the Algarve and, accordingly, the survey statistics largely reflect that population.

[303] These were followed by the Dutch (7.5%), Scandinavian (4.5%), Irish (4%), South African (3.5%), American (3.5%), German (3%), Canadian (2%), and Russian, Ukrainian and Bulgarian (under 0.5%) readers.

working age people, however deceiving this term may be given that many retirees complement their pensions with a professional activity. This has been noted by others (e.g. Torkington, 2011b) and is reflected in the presence of a handful of international schools and in the advertisements of Bright FM, which index the features of this population by appealling to their specific interests and needs (as discussed in 6.1). Finally, although most readers are, understandbly full time residents (68.44%), the survey suggests the importance of second-home owners (20.6%), [304] which complements the National Statistics Institute information. According to the national census, the amount of secondary residences largely oudoes the national figure (19.8%) by comprising nearly half of the housing in the Algarve in 2011 (39.50%),[305] and more than half in specific areas (namely Albufeira and Castro Marim) (INE, 2012: 70).

What these trends reveal is some of the particularities of the migratory flow. Taking advantage of free circulation rights within the EU and the relaxed regulations on employment and residency, [306] many people move to the Algarve but not necessarily on a permanent basis. Spending part of the year in the region, whether a few weeks or various months, many people own a house in the Algarve while also maintaining residency elsewhere – a trend is a particularity among the British seeking experiences abroad.[307] For an array of reasons (ranging from securing rights to healthcare to simply not bothering) many people do not register and seep through statistics, which is not uncommon in similar destinations (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009b;

[304] To be specific, some are semi-permanent residents staying longer that 6 months in the Algarve per yer (10.6%), and others temporary residents staying less than 6 montsh in the Algarve per year (12%).

[305] The number rose from an already high percentage of 38.46% in 2001 (*ibid*).

[306] The right to circulation and relocation within the EU for European citizens is regulated, in Portugal, by law 37/2006, of August 9th. This law stipulates that a European citizen and his/her relatives need to register as residents within 30 days after residing in the country for 3 consecutive months. Registering can be done at a town hall or one of SEF's offices dispersed throughout the country. To register one needs a valid identification document, proof of address in the country and declaration of oath stating one is working or, in the case of pensioners, one's has the ability to sustain oneself. After 5 years of residing in the country, European citizens and their relatives are entitled to permanent residency in the country of destination, which means they will not lose this right unless they move away for over two consecutive years. Failure to register cannot result in expulsion but is punished with fines.

[307] By 2007, in the UK, more people (per household unit) owned a second-home abroad than a second-home in the UK (Finch, 2010: 7).

K. O'Reilly, 2000; Sriskandarajah & Drew, 2006). | Although there have been whole families moving to the Algarve, the majority of the population is retired, which also coincides with a growing tendency in British emigration patterns.[308] Yet, in the same way that retirees may work so as to complement their pension, younger migrants who find in the Algarve an opportunity to explore a niche-market do not fit comfortably in the category of labor migrant. The motivations I registered for most of my interlocutors resonate with other studies drawing on the notion of lifestyle migration and with the reports on British emigration, which have discussed the singularities of migratory patterns that complement (or replace) the common work-related and family reunification reasons to move with lifestyle reasons (Finch, 2010; Sriskandarajah & Drew, 2006).[309] Additionally, the modes of incorporation I registered also suggest that these mobilities are best conceptualized as tourism-informed and consumption oriented movements.

5.1.3 Motivations to move to the Algarve

> Here the lifestyle is very, very good. Nobody is more than 10km from the beach. The air is clean. You don't smell the exhaust or fumes all the time. The sun shines rather a lot. We don't have anything called winter. [It] Gets a bit cold, but you couldn't really call it winter! (Interview excerpt, Peter, full-time resident)

> Steve: (…) predominantly when people move anywhere abroad it's for a change of lifestyle (…) just mainly a better lifestyle. (…) Well they used to think to sell their house in England for x and buy a house for half of that. The house prices were cheaper, you could get a bigger house for the same price or less. And you had guaranteed sunshine.
>
> Carrie: Because it is a lot healthier.
>
> Steve: A lot do it for the families- for the lifestyle, to have the pool....
>
> Carrie: (…) [though] we never ever considered moving away until - we always said that when we were retired we would move abroad.
>
> (Interview excerpt Steve and Carrie, Retirees, Second-home owners)

[308] The number of pensioners leaving has been on the rise since 2000 (Finch, 2010: 7), which makes the British lead the trends of International Retirement Migration (Russel King et al., 2000).

[309] This despite the prevalence of work-related reasons among motivations to move. Work related reasons have always been a key motivation for the majority of British leaving the UK in the past years (Office for National Statistics, 2011: 7). Most of the migrant population leaving is highly qualified and seems to remain abroad for relatively short periods of time (1-4 years), suggesting temporary contracts (Finch, 2010: 7), which puts the majority of British migrants at the crossroads of international skilled migration flows (Finch, 2010; Sriskandarajah & Drew, 2006).

The joke holding that "the British weather was the most powerful colonizing influence" is indicative of one the main factors characterizing what the main motivation encouraging the British to move to the Algarve: "a better quality of life". Indeed, a warmer climate and the sun were constantly present in responses justifying why people moved to the Algarve – even when they were, as was not unusual, combined with related factors, such as the importance of temperate climate for people suffering from some health conditions. Subsumed in this subjective and vague construct were also a number of reasons which other authors have found: a comparatively lower cost of living enabling a higher purchasing power, a relaxed pace of life, routinely contact with nature, a healthier and richer diet, a sociable culture, a safe place (namely to raise children) and a general "way of life" which seemed to combine a sense of simplicity and authenticity. These general constructions were usually accompanied by either (or all) of the following: a significant factor urging the decision to move (e.g. redundancy, divorce, or other "watershed moment", to use Benson & O'Reilly's [2009] expression) and the presence of relatives in the Algarve, or the fact of having found a partner there. In general, people had been tourists in the Algarve before deciding to move – a process that could be as short as one or two directed visits to "have a feel for the place" or as long as many years throughout which people often bought a house in the region. Clive's story is one example of such a situation:

> So, I decided I'd move on. My life had gotten a bit peculiar in England, with getting a divorce, and work not good... I just loved Portugal, had so many friends here. I just decided instead of waiting until I was old enough to retire, I'd come and give it a go. (…) It was actually my birthday the day I arrived. I sat there on a plane thinking, have I done the right thing? And in my suitcase were all my birthday cards from the family, they all were upset and worried, because I was going off to a strange country. And everyone was saying to me "oh, you're brave, going to a strange country" and I said, well it's not strange to me! I know everyone there. You know, I'm no… and it just went on from there. (Interview excerpt, Clive, live-show DJ)

Often however, the decision to move can often be made on very emotional grounds, simply because of having "loved the place", as Peter notes:

> But I think there is a justification based more on emotion than on hard facts about health care costs, costs of eating out, access to medical care - all the things you should have on the tick list. Actually you come out here, have a lovely meal overlooking the bay and think 'Ah, I could live here' (laughs) and then you go and buy a house. Looked there [Spain] and didn't like it. Yes, emotion does override facts (Interview excerpt, Peter, retiree, full-time resident)

These findings are similar to those of other studies of British in the Algarve (Russel King et al., 2000; Perdigão, 2015; Torkington, 2010, 2011b; A. M. Williams, King, & Warnes, 1997), in other areas of Portugal (Sardinha, 2011; Velez Castro,

2008), in Spain (Casado-Díaz, Kaiser, Warnes, & Casado-Díiaz, 2004; Haas, 2011; K. O'Reilly, 2000, 2003; Oliver, 2007), other European contexts (M. Benson, 2010, 2012; Etrillard, 2015; Lawson, 2010) and other non-European contexts, such as Australia (Clarke, 2005). They also resonate to some extent with the experiences of Northern Europeans and North Americans in southern contexts, e.g. Swedish in Malta (Akerlund, 2012, 2013b), North Americans in Latin America (Ecuador, Panama and Mexico) (M. C. Benson, 2013; Hayes, 2014, 2015; Spalding, 2013) or Canadians in Florida (Tremblay & Chicoine, 2011). Additionally, they coincide with the aforementioned reports on British emigration. The latter generically note that the search for experiences abroad underscore the projects of youngsters seeking adventure and improving their professional skills, and of middle-aged or older people who, whether still working or retired, seek a combination of an agreeable climate, an appealing exchange rate facilitating a higher purchasing power, and heightened opportunities in what concerns leisure (Sriskandarajah & Drew, 2006: ix). The only instance in which my findings are aligned with others' studies and not these reports is the weight of features of life in the UK. The reports insist that a negative view of the UK is not pushing people to leave. In contrast, like many of the authors cited, my respondents emphasized the stressful rhythm of everyday life, the gray weather, rising levels of general insecurity and, in some cases, dreaded overbearing cultural diversity with which people felt they could not relate to.

In what concerns the specific reasons listed to choose the Algarve as a destination instead of other places, the choice was usually articulated by noting the proximity to the UK, which facilitate visits to relatives (typically parents, children and grandchildren), and by distinguishing the Algarve from Spain. On occasions, the decision could be made more rationally by prioritizing distance (meant to remain under 2-hour flight from the UK) and include Turkey, Malta or Bulgaria. Yet, the choice usually weighed the advantages of the Algarve as opposed to the Iberian neighbor, and was made based on experiences as a visitor or resident there. This despite the similarities between the two southern countries in what concerns, for instance, a cultural orientation to the family, which results is perceived, for instance, to yield greater respect for the elderly and a therefore a friendly environment for them. As a long-standing resident put it: "there is a historical animosity, but it is interesting to see how the expats have picked up on it". On the one hand, people

immediately mentioned the "much greater friendliness" of the Portuguese, who they find are much more willing to speak in English and to help in general, as opposed to "neglect to oblige attitude" of the Spanish. On the other hand, the idea that the Algarve is not spoilt yet as the south of Spain has become, with so much concrete filling the coastline, underscored the idea that the Portuguese coast was "much nicer". The following quote illustrates this point:

> if you take the coast, southern coast of Europe, which is the Iberian peninsula. Close as you can get to the sun. Ok? That's your Florida of Europe. Then, you are going to get market positions. Spain, gets the bottom end. Because they have vast amount of space, cheap property, … The Algarve alone has less beds than one large Spanish town! You know: we can afford to be fussy. It's natural demands that this gets the top end of the market. And frankly, the Portuguese people are a hell of a lot nicer than Spanish people. Spanish people are hard… It's amazing how the natures are so different between the two (…) so Spain gets a totally different market than us!… This is the exclusive end of Florida. (Interview excerpt, Peter, Director of a local newspaper, Full-time resident)

> Steve: Middle 80s is when things starting really arising in the UK. Before that, I could go anywhere in the world, and I would stick my chest out and say I am British, and so proud of it! Now... Sometimes, pffff (…) I mean, there are times, both you and I can be out and we hear the Brits swearing. I mean British people's vocabulary is diabolical!
>
> Carrie: Well that's part of the reason why we don't frequent British bars, and things.
>
> Steve: Foul language and boisterous behavior and you think - does that make me proud to be British? No. (…) [the scenery in Benidorm] It probably is [realistic]. Unless the authorities do something, the Algarve is gonna have the same reputation as the [Spanish] Costas.
>
> Carrie: That was probably one of the reasons why we chose Portugal - people were gentler, we felt safer. We thought the lifestyle would be better, and it was why we came!
>
> (Interview excerpt , Steve and Carrie, Retirees, Second-home owners)

Moreover, as Peter and the retired second-home owner couple mention, there is a sense that the Algarve is "more upmarket" was often explained with reference how the Costas (Blanca and Costa del Sol) are overcrowded with too many "uncultured" British clustering together and "recreating England in the Sun". Residents present the Algarve as the place attracting those who made strategic economic decisions, steering away from the prevalent bling culture in Spain, a general lack of privacy among concentrated building and the crime that has become stereotypically associated with Spain.[310] It may not be a consensual opinion. Indeed,

[310] O'Reilly (2000, 2001) describes the presence of people who had been or were involved with different types of crime (spanning from drug schemes to people who flee the UK but are only involved in petty crime) in Spain and discusses how image has been over-emphasized by the British media, which has popularized phrases such as "Costa del Crime".

Garreth, a 30 year old who was spending some time as a volunteer in the Algarve after having lived there with his family years ago, recognized that Alvor, where they lived, "became an English resort". Recognizing that "it has done what the world has to do and moved on and earn money and survive as a place", he noted the loss of the essence of the place

> it became an English resort. I may be a snob in saying this, but it became cheap. [The family] Moved away because it became too English and too cheap (it was the cheapest place to be if you had 40 quid). (…) It lost its heart. (Interview excerpt, Gareth, volunteer working temporarily at a "charity", visitor)

Also, others signal the Algarve hosts people living in difficult situations which are stereotyped in the media, and which has been deconstructed elsewhere.

> … we saw real poverty amongst Brits there in Torre Vieja. And you don't see so much of that here. I guess the Algarve has more variegation in a smaller space – you don't have to drive forever for different sights. It's a micro-cosmos of Spain. You see Vale do Lobo and Quinta do Lago and you say it's upmarket - it is. But we got people in the hills, up where we are who can't afford to go back to England. And I wouldn't say it's more upmarket. You've got some real plonkers here... Many I wouldn't talk to them. Including the place where we are. I guess the place where we are, because it's remote, it's less expensive really. We went there for a different reason: because we are surrounded by Portuguese people who don't speak English. (Interview excerpt ,Thomas, free-lance media practitioner, second-home owner)

If Peter reinforces a perception that King et al (2000) had found in the Algarve 10 years earlier and expand the idea of glamour and exclusivity of the expensive resorts' area to the whole region, Thomas tempers this image with the realities afflicting people who move inland not because of pursuits for authentic experiences, but rather for the lower cost of a house far from urban and coastal areas. Still, this "upmarket" discourse has been picked up by the media, whose agents present the region as "an expensive and sophisticated place to visit. A very grown up destination if you like. This has always been one of its selling points." (Clara, marketing advisor at a main resort, 32, former full-time resident interviewed both in the Algarve and in England)

5.1.4 Migrant profiles

The proximity with tourism dynamics complicates a clear description of the population. As modalities of travel evolve, people craft original ways of inhabiting various spaces simultaneously and challenge boundaries between tourism and settlement (Amit, 2007). Namely, they circulate between overlapping and porous categories that complicate the classification of permanence in southern European contexts: usually starting as tourists, people may become recurrent visitors, evolve to

extend stays and become long-stay visitors, eventually buy a house and, whether opting for a seasonal visit or not, ultimately become full-time residents in retirement before returning to the UK upon, for instance, the loss of a partner. Given the current circulation and transnational relationships that many maintain, and which include bringing material and symbolic goods across borders, some could be described as transmigrants (in the sense proposed by Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton-Blanc, 1994), to the extent they sustain current transits between two contexts and manage life in both at the same time, as suggested elsewhere (Torkington, 2010: 101; Tremblay & Chicoine, 2011: 56).

Different "scales" have been developed by O'Reilly (2000) and King et al (2000) to address these different modes of settlement. The first study focused on the combination of a feeling of compromise and orientation to one of the countries and time spent in either residence. It identified full residents, who fit comfortably under the heading of migrants; returning residents, who return to their home country regularly, probably retaining a home in both countries; seasonal migrants, who live in the UK but seasonally move to Spain, and peripatetic migrants, who move back and forth between countries, often having a home in more than one place (O'Reilly 2000). Similarly, King et al (2000: 43-45), compiling the results of 4 studies in Italy, Spain, Portugal and France distinguished between: long-stay international tourists, to describe the retirees who optimize free time and have resources to travel at length (trips lasting often over a month to recurrent destinations where some social attachments were developed on prior visits); second-home owners, who aspire to move to a place in the sun when they retire and invest in it by returning to the destination where they acquired property for short stays; Seasonal migrants, people who circulate between north and south, either fleeing the winter northern cold (also known as "snowbirds") or from the peak of summer and tourism (also known as "Sunbirds") and who may have residency; permanent residents, migrants who live in the host country and may take holidays abroad but often do not own property elsewhere.

I use the second vocabulary given it is objective and I did not delve deeply into modalities of settlement as my focus was to understand the role of the radio for a mixed population. Accordingly, I identified a number of profiles that were present in the region without being able to gauge how representative they were. Above all, I

found a diverse population whose contours are a challenge to describe and that confirm that "movement and mobility are polythetic categories, containing within them a variety of types of experience" (Morley, 2000: 55). For the sake of sketching the general features of the "expat" population in the Algarve, I divide them according to type of mobility, grouping those people who are circulating, those who are in the Algarve temporarily, and those who are in the Algarve on a permanent basis. All the examples are of British citizens, but many of these categories could be extended to other European nationalities.

5.1.4.1 On the move – commuters, travelers, motor-homes, volunteers

The first set of profiles concern people who were essentially on the move. Some were comfortably well-off families that owned a house in the Algarve while, in practice, one of the parents commuted to big financial centers, such as 'the City', in London, on a weekly basis. In striking contrast, others distanced themselves from capitalist systems and opted for a travelling mode of living that consisted mostly of stopping in the middle of nature, in areas that are "off the beaten track". The ones I met were not classed as "hippies", as are the Dutch and German known to reside inland in communities following nature-centered ideologies and in houses with purposefully no electricity or city water. The British who designated themselves "travelers" tended to move in caravans throughout the country in search for adventure and authentic experiences – which of course may signify different things for each of them. Still, they shared little with people exploring Portugal on motor-homes that often cost thousands of euros and who would be happy to spend 100 euros on a good meal. These were typically older couples enjoying material comfort, avoiding the cold elsewhere for some months, and who had opted for a modality of experiencing places which allowed them the flexibility to stay longer wherever they enjoyed most. Finally, I also met younger people volunteering at organic farms and other institutions that they found online through international mutual help networks when taking time off from their studies and/or careers.[311]

[311] Two networks that are popular are HelpX (www.helpx.com), a platform that connects volunteers and people willing to host them, and Woofer (www.woof.com), a platform specific for volunteering in organic farms.

5.1.4.2 Visiting - Tourists, VFR, returning visitors, second-home owners, celebrities

Among those who are visiting, it is possible to distinguish upfront, the tourists that join Portuguese and other European and North Americans visiting the Algarve. The British tourists' journey to the Algarve is commonly organized by an agency, in a "packaged holiday". Like residents, second-home owners, long-stay recurrent visitors and tourists seeking cultural experiences tend to dread the masses of people who travel for hedonistic purposes. They are quick to note that it would not be surprising to sight some of these tourists in night-clubs and bars with "kiss me quick" hats and/or engaged in brawls during stag and hen parties in places like Albufeira or Lagos - although possibly not in the amounts that can be found elsewhere.[312] The latter contrast with the visiting friends and relatives (VFR, to use the acronym proposed by (Williams & Hall, 2002) who, as the acronym suggests, stay with relatives and friends that are living in the Algarve. They can be dreaded too when residents become annoyed to see their private spaces and everyday routines disrupted, as they are expected to organize entertainment and chaperone visitors around as if they did not have structured lives (and, in fact, work) because they live in a holiday destination. Yet, the visits consolidate family and friendship relationships and are often not only a way for tourists to experience an Algarve that is less tied to the mainstream tourist routes, but also a way for residents to feel they know and belong to the place, by assuming a position of hosts, as (O'Reilly, 2008) notes. In addition to these short-stay visitors are second-home owners, amongst whom are celebrities that are barely seen because they stay within their secluded properties.[313] Finally, there are second-home owners and long-stay tourists who, as King et al suggest, may remain for different periods that span from a few weeks to whole seasons or more.

[312] O'Reilly mentions these tourists for Spain as do various British Abroad reports. A colorful description of Croatia's touristy destinations is illustrative of the phenomenon: Collins, L. 2012. "Letter from Porec - the British Invasion. A Croatian town embraces an onslaught of partying." New Yorker, April 16th, pp. 88-91.

[313] The most popular is perhaps Cliff Richard, who owns a winery and does make public appearances, namely granting interviews to Bright FM Algarve. Among the people comprising the "quiet wealth" of the Algarve are also singers (e.g. Bonnie Tyler), footballers (Steven Gerald), media figures (Peter Jones), among others.

5.1.4.3 Full time - retirees, entrepeneurs, second generations

Finally, among full-time residents people can be divided according to age and occupation. In addition to the aforementioned retirees, who conflate positive ageing with seaside living but who can be more or less comfortably affluent people, there are whole families in which typically parents (or one parent) works and whose children attend school (whether international or Portuguese). Although early retirement pensions and/or accumulated capital may foreground the plans of moving, Retirees can be working on a company, running their own business in the Algarve, or online. Among people who are working there are a number of multinational company managers and branch directors, people who work for local businesses and the so called "expatriate entrepreneurs" (Stone & Stubbs, 2007), who are self-employed. Some may have started as youngsters looking for adventure who overstayed their visits and worked in bars and restaurants before marrying and settling. Others resemble the protagonist of the "Right Juice": a banker in his late 30s who's had enough of the "rat race" and risks a complete 180 degrees shift in his life when he moves to the Algarve to plant oranges (see (Hoey, 2005)for a discussion of similar self-transformation projects). For others, what renders remaining in the Algarve and living a "better life" viable is, for instance, being an English-speaking and certified doctor or assisting with the process of settling in the Algarve in English, through a (typically) small company.

> But all in all, I've enjoyed my life here. I mean, It's a difficult life. Getting work, surviving and that. (…) It's not easy to find work, especially if you don't speak the language. You're very often relying on someone with an English business that might employ you. (…) The best way is to come out and start your own business. You know, that is the way of doing it. But I've never really been on that. I've worked for myself. I rent out my services, and I've been reasonably successful. Once that successful means surviving, which is all I'm worried about. (Interview excerpt, Clive, live-show DJ)

As happens elsewhere (see for instance, Akerlund, 2012; Etrillard, 2013; O'Reilly, 2000), taking advantage of their cultural proximity with tourists, which many once were, before settling in the Algarve, foreigners sell an astounding amount of products and services to visitors and each other. They may end up in menial jobs (e.g. shelving at a supermarket, like Megan was when I interviewed her, or doing odd construction jobs, like Gastón and Clarisse did at one point – see chapter 4.2), as well as more skilled jobs (e.g. a regular guest on Sunday morning's show is a financial adviser working for a multi-national company). As others have noted (Benson &

O'Reilly, 2009b; Stone & Stubbs, 2007) work is a) not a primary reason to move, b) usually results in a situation of self-employment, c) entails a constant struggle to reach work-life balance. Among the people working one should also include "the people you have to watch out for", as they were described to me. Like most other professionally active "expatriates", these people can only afford enjoying a life in the sun if literally working for it in the niche-market catering to tourists and "expats". To engage in various types of scams they take the opportunity of being in a loosely regulated environment, distant from the UK, and of the carefree attitude of fellow British visiting and/or settling in the region.[314]

Finally, among the full-time residents are second-generations. I am including in this group people who grew up in the Algarve but either left to do university studies in the UK or interrupted their education to start working. They were usually not born in the Algarve and may have struggled through adaptation periods when (if) placed in Portuguese schools. In the Algarve, the youngsters I met work in leisure and tourism oriented industries (e.g. modeling, teaching yoga, being paddock girls in the autodrome, presenting yearly tourism awards shows) or in jobs that are assumedly not careers to be explored for many years to come (e.g. assisting with managing rental apartments), besides trying their luck as actors or singers. In tandem, those who left to study and work abroad sometimes returned to fulfill a longing for the Algarve. They reproduce the move their parents made decades before them and, although having escaped a tourism-oriented job market during university and early career years, they tend to integrate the industries serving the tourist and migration industries in the Algarve. They may easily resemble their co-nationals in Oporto to the extent they may have married into Portuguese families and are fluent in the language and familiar with the culture (which also seems to be the case in mixed marriages of "first-time" migrants). They are the ones presenting an identity-focused discourse, which problematizes their Britishness by adding a sense of belonging to the Algarve. I met people who straightforwardly reject any label beyond Algarvean – and who argue

[314] Although I did not personally find many examples, I was told of realities resonating with O'Reilly's (2000: 75-76) description of, for instance, time-share touts. However, I was also told that the crime that the south of Spain is infamous for was hardly the same in the Algarve where, possibly, the smaller scale would make it difficult for scammers to do business without being identified. Shattering the image of life in the sun, sitcoms like Benidorm stereotype these individuals.

with authority against "foreigners" (meaning Portuguese from anywhere north of the Algarve) about local customs and realities – and those who are more in between. Although, unlike Lucy, whom I cite below, I found that most people do not question their British affiliation, and that Lucy herself was very centered in her British networks for social and work purposes, her presentation of her position shows how attached she feels to her Portuguese background.

> (…) there is definitely a community here. I mean, I grew up here. So, I still have friends since I was three years old! Even if they are in foreign countries, they come back at certain times. But there is a community that stays here permanently. And they feel more Portuguese than what wherever they come from. After a while, it becomes your home. You know, because I grew up here, England is a foreign country for me. The Portuguese and the English seems to sort of mold, together. It merges. It's weird. (...) (Interview excerpt, Lucy, model, full-time resident)

5.1.5 Settling

> The elderly British in southern Europe are not 'immigrants' in the commonly visualized sense, (...) Nor is their integration conditional on as many dimensions as apply to such immigrants: employment, schooling, civic rights, and overcoming of barriers of racial discrimination (Castles and Miller 1998: 212-52). (Williams, King, Warnes, & Patterson, 2000: 136-137)

Although it is not possible, nor is the purpose of this study, to provide a holistic overview of such a heterogeneous population, it is important to highlight a few features concerning their process of settlement in the Algarve in order to later situate the role of the radio. The first main feature concerns "the unbearable likeness of being a tourist", to use Norum's (2013) apt observation. The second concerns a mode of incorporation, which seems to rely on functional and partial relationships with structures and local people even if, while being self-centered, it does seem to rest on strong feelings of a local or transnational community. This scenario sets the scene for the unpacking what being an "expat" living in the Algarve entails, which is explored in the next section.

5.1.5.1 (Un)like tourists

The British in the Algarve resemble tourists in many ways, as is not uncommon among "expats" living in holiday destinations like the Algarve (O'Reilly, 2000, 2007). Their lives are closely intertwined with tourism, first, because the very trajectory bringing them to the Algarve usually involved visits as tourists, as noted above. The perception and relation to the place was developed, at least initially, through the same imagery, appeal and extra-ordinary experiences typical of tourism,

as explored in chapter 5.2. What is more, as also hinted at, those who work are for the most part (if not all) involved in the amenity providing industries serving tourists, as well as fellow "expats". Finally, even among people who work, and who therefore have less time to enjoy leisure, "expats" share sites of socialization, habits and tastes, as well as demeanors and physical appearance as their British counterparts on holiday. Although a trained gaze could easily spot a tourist form a full-time resident in the street, distinctions are blurred by the fact both tourists and "expats" spend time eating, drinking, playing sports and relaxing in the same places (e.g. golf courses, marinas, pubs, horse-riding facilities, hotels, restaurants), besides using the same language, humor, and accent, as Torkington (2010: 99-100) also notes. In that sense, for the most part, they also resemble other Western and Northern Europeans and North Americans who moved southwards to enjoy leisure based everyday-routines, and who also include themselves in the category of "expats".

Yet, one of the most central tropes among the "expats" is the insistence to stress the distance separating them from tourists. Residents are aware that they need tourists to keep the local economy going – which, more or less directly, often impacts on their own incomes. Yet, they dread the confusion of the summer time, as messages among residents on air denounce when, for instance, praising the fact that "parking will be available again!" after the high-season. As noted above, there is also a general trend to criticize in particular the stereotypical hedonistic tourist who seeks sun, sea and sand rather than a cultural experience when travelling. More importantly, full time residents, but also second-home owners and people who visit the Algarve on a regular basis for extended periods of time, draw a sharp line between an orientation to explore "the real" Portugal as opposed to an artificial experience that they find the tourists are content with. The criticisms depict tourists' tendencies to remain within the hotel area, not venturing beyond the water parks and specific sites pointed to by the tourism agencies' representatives during the bus trip from the airport. Additionally, residents often ultimately also blame the mass tourism trends for ruining the Algarve they fell in love with and appropriate, as is apparent in the following quote:

> [the Algarve is] Now, ruined. When I came here it was lovely. (…) I'm a bit upset with all the development that has taken place. (…) I loved it when it was the old rustic days! And occasionally, when the, it happened just recently, but you know, when you get a bit of rain, the power goes off, oh dear, light a candle. And you know, all these high-rise buildings that are

> going on everywhere, all the countryside, that has been raped by concrete. Now, I don't like that. Bring me back the old Algarve. (Interview excerpt, Terence, live-show DJ)

Besides hinting at one of the paradoxes of tourism (i.e. the intensification of tourism transforms local realities to the point the place loses the appeal that attracted visitors in the first place) Terence emphasizes the rustic qualities of a past Algarve, in which electricity shortages were common in various areas (and not just inland, as is still the case). This implicit sense of an "original" and authentic way of living, which entailed coping with some material difficulties, is related to the type of experience that is projected as desirable and that organizes the geographical dispersion of people across the region. As such, those living inland tend to be people who, like Thomas, seek an experience away from the congregations of "expats" and tourists by the seaside and prefer venturing into towns with Portuguese neighbors. Also, among these pockets of houses, some were bought as ruins and were then refurbished. These people would fall in the archetype of migrants seeking a rural idyll which Benson and O'Reilly (2009a, 2009b) have identified, and which can be found in areas of Central Portugal (see, for instance, (Sardinha, 2011).[315]

Yet, this is hardly the single valued option. Some people prefer the amenities of living closer to the doctor's clinics, their daily walks by the beach, their hydrogymnastics class, the clubs they attend regularly, the supermarkets, and other services – thereby fitting in the archetype of migrants coastal retreat that the same authors also describe. It is also important to keep in mind that though public transportation exists, the network only covers urban areas and not overly frequently. Most people (need to) drive – which becomes a problem if someone lives alone, inland and falls ill. In some cases, people who present themselves as pioneers and who arrived in the Algarve in the 70s, have shifted categories. Although remembering fondly their adventure and the estate agent who left them wondering whether they were lost when he drove them through winding roads up deserted hills, they articulated those experiences as tics they checked on their lists. Having "been there and done that", they much prefer having downsized to apartments with central

[315] I did meet people who took this experience one step further and who would resemble other permaculturalists, and conterculture drop outs seeking to escape western and capitalista society's norms in Central Portugal. Living in tipis (mongolian tents) and/or runnign eco-resorts, they were however not British.

heating, varied options on cable TV, and the proximity to social life in later age instead of muddy and often cold water, draughts seeping through traditional wooden doors and windows, and satellite antennas vulnerable to harsher weather conditions in the top of a mountain. These interlocutors differentiated themselves from other "expats" who, at the time, tended to settle around the airport area, safely close to a way out and close the few infrastructures that were available at the time. Meanwhile, they sold their refurbished houses with pools for five or six times the price at which they bought it and now blend in with other migrants settling closer to the seaside.

Finally, although still resorting to the generalized discourse differentiating "expats" from tourists, some lived in areas that are further removed from the Algarvean "traditional" life than the cases described above. Whether in *aldeamentos* scattered throughout the Algarve or in luxury resorts, some British reside part or all of the year in conditions created to enhance the experience of living in the Algarve. These complexes usually include a set of infrastructures such as restaurants, bars, pools, golf and tennis courses and possibly other services (e.g. spas). These resorts are often criticized for encouraging clustering with like-minded peers and experiencing a hardly "authentic" way of life. They are also associated with the "As and Bs", to use the socioeconomic scale terms some interlocutors tended to resort to.[316] To be sure, unlike the "uncultured tourists" or the uncultured residents that Thomas mentioned above, these full or part-time residents are quite affluent. Yet, like the first, they may also not display any interest or need to engage in intercultural contact. Their migratory projects are oriented to enjoy amenities and to seek social distinction (Bourdieu 1984) – something that developers tapped onto by creating the concept of "the Golden Triangle" and imprinting the most expensive resorts with an image of

[316] Media practitioners in particular tended to resort to the National Readership Survey scale, which is a standard tool in Market research in the UK that divides people into socioeconomic groups according to their occupation. The As are therefore upper-class and upper midle-class individuals usually occupying higher managerial, administrative and professional jobs; Bs are middle-class individuals occupaying intermediate managerial, administrative or professional jobs; C1s fit into the lower middle class by occupying supervisory or Clerical, junior managerial, administrative, jobs; C2s are skilled working class individuals, usually doing skilled manual work; Ds comprise the lower working class and are semi or unskilled manuel workers; and Es are people who are not working and therefore receive the lowest level of income, such as pensioners, widows, students, people living on benefits or casual workers.

exclusivity and glamour (for a discussion of this branding see Torkington, 2009, 2011a).[317]

5.1.5.2 Mode of incorporation

> Nick: (…) people are generally for an easy life - you've got to think of why people come here. And people come here because they can afford to. And they want to play golf, and relax and do their gardening - of all ages! I know people here who retire at 40. They want an easy life. They don't want to get involved. They give all their tax stuff to their accountant, the legal stuff to their lawyers and they carry on in their own little Britain, within the hills of the Algarve.
>
> Inês: But isnt' that too simple an image?
>
> Nick: It is, but that's what people aspire to.

As Nick suggests, there is a stereotype that conveys "expats" as "golfers", who, depending on whether their educational background reflected their wealth or not, could be involved in wine or archeological societies or other activities. They supposedly have or had well paying jobs as managing directors and their wives will probably not work, but rather spend their time shopping in *Apolónia* (a gourmet supermarket), in painting classes, ladies' lunches and organizing "charity" activities. Although this image is not untrue, I will highlight other aspects, which Nick keenly also addressed throughout the interview, and that concern a larger group of people in the Algarve. Indeed, there are far more real estate agents, apartment managers, financial advisers, chefs, housekeepers, pool maintenance technicians, shop owners, media practitioners, and retired lawyers, architects, than well-off managing directors. These comprise the audience of Bright FM.

The impact of the crisis on the Algarve was definitely felt unequally. Some may have been hardly affected by it as their businesses cater to a high market segment or because their pensions enable rather comfortable lives. However, most who were professionally active invested in networking, believing "only the tough will stay" throughout the crisis. There were situations of people feeling a big strain and making sacrifices. I met mothers who at one point, in spite of their children's embarrassment at the international school, started working as housekeepers and cleaning ladies because they needed extra income. Not as many people paid membership to the

[317] See also (Russel King et al., 2000; A. M. Williams et al., 1997) for descriptions of spatial distribution of "expats" in the Algarve which index social selectivity and varied orientations in what concerns intra and inter-cultural contact.

Association of Foreign Property Owners in Portugal, which they ultimately found too expensive for the occasional advice on property (buying, renting, mortgaging, among other) laws in Portugal. Some engaged in the "nomad" life Gaston and Clarisse described to me: moving house every few months because prices immediately triple in higher seasons (Christmas, summer, Easter, etc.). Restaurant owners followed the general trend of closing during the low season. Some of the people I stayed with for a few weeks before I rented a place had gained savings' habits, which they classed as Portuguese, such as turning off all lights not being used or filling the kettle or pot only with the strict amount of water to be used. In extreme cases, some elderly living alone, who struggled to cope with the rising cost of living, turned to the British Legion, as also happens in Spain (Betty and Hall, 2015) and had happened in the Algarve long before the crisis (Williams et al, 1997: 130).[318] However, for the most part, people still seemed to enjoy reasonably comfortable lives despite some idiosyncrasies (e.g. spending most of their time in the living room of large houses so as to contain heating bills in the winter time). There were also a number of possible arrangements to ease the financial weight of some activities (e.g. the daughter of a lady working as a housekeeper practiced horseback-riding for free in exchange for assisting tourists visiting the stable when on holiday).

In practice, despite enjoying Portuguese restaurants and doing regular shopping in the main supermarkets, a large mode of relating to place is to use the services and products offered in English by fellow "expats". As the radio adverts publicizing these "expats" businesses index (discussed in chapter 6.1), this spans all areas of life, from more structural arenas to everyday smaller things that bring comfort. My interlocutors often had children in international schools, used a certified English doctor, and resorted to fiscal representation agents to manage bureaucratic issues (which could include few or many of the following: car matriculation, mortgage deeds, fiscal number, [housing, personal, and/or company] taxes' filing, own company accountancy, [electricity, water, and other] bills, etc.). Additionally, their hairdresser, marketing assistant, yoga teacher, mechanic, pool maintenance man,

[318] The idea to start a "charity" in order to build a hospice derived precisely of the recognition that "expat" elders needed medical assistance in later life, or when afflicted by life-limitting ilnesses, and could not afford services.

(and the list goes on) were English or English-speaking. Accordingly, leisure, around which everyone's lives seemed to revolve around (whether working to provide it or focusing on enjoying it) was also in English. The numerous clubs and groups created opportunities to engage in a number of activities in English: hiking, amateur dramatics, (senior) biking, bowls, bridge, Scottish dance, golf, sailing, tennis, among many others.

This scenario suggests a functional and partial mode of structural and social incorporation, which is generally removed from Portuguese local realities. To be sure, there seemed to be no clear animosity with the locals in spite of some disgruntlement amongst the Portuguese (rendered clear in moments such as the collective "rant" described in 4.1) and reported in quarrels played out in the school play-yard, where name provocations would be exchanged as the Portuguese called the British "*bifes*" [beefs] and were called back "Pork'n'cheese"). For the most part, however, "expats" praised the friendliness of the people and highlighted that they had Portuguese friends. Nevertheless, these friendships were often restricted to transactional and limitted interactions with Portuguese working in, for instance, restaurants visited frequently. Granted, these fleeting and superficial moments could be experienced as meaningful.

> Liam's wife described how she cannot speak Portuguese but has a great relationship with the Portuguese neighbors. It does not seem that she knows them well or that they visit each other's houses. A visit only happened when she realized that a neighbor's elderly mother who was suffering from Alzheimer was roaming in the street. Miriam engaged in a senseless conversation with her but spent about two hours with the lady in her own home until the neighbor arrived from work. Also, when Liam fell ill and had to go to the hospital, she was at a loss about how to proceed. As a second-home owner who spends only some months in Portugal, she had never really tried to understand any of the local systems in depth. Another neighbor called her son, who was comfortable with English and who helped her through the registration process at the hospital. He also left a note at the hospital's bed letting nurses know that the patient and his wife could not speak Portuguese and asking them to call his number whenever necessary for translation. (Field notes, October 2011)

Although harldy resembling the textured contact that "expats" in other contexts seek and engage in (see Benson 2012, 2011), these connections with locals were important for Miriam's experiences in, and perceptions of, Portugal. As Amit as noted (2007), the importance of weak ties is not to be overlooked especially when the context is marked by the transience of tourism, for superficial interactions may be key to

persons' perception of their appropriation of place and social engagement.[319] Still, however, ultimately, apart from individual cases of people who were committed to bridge cultural and linguistic gaps (mostly of long-standing residents, second-generation members, and spouses in mixed marriages), and who did so on a routine basis, in small everyday engagements, the efforts to construct conviviality were not many (or at least not visible). When promoted, they also seemed to not succeed in fostering deep and meaningful relationships.

Two good examples of this kind of such attempts at intercultural sociality are the "*Obrigado Portugal*" festival and the participation of British in a Carnaval parade in Alte. The "Obrigado Portugal" was a one-day festival that some foreigners felt they wanted to organize so as to thank the country for welcoming them. It took place outdoors, in a park where a number of stages and stalls were set up so as to have singers and artists performing throughout the day, workshops and activities running in parallel, and the sale of food, drinks and locally handmade products.[320] It resonated in principle with the mobilization for social causes in dynamics of "charity" (which are described in 6.3.1) insofar as it is based on the idea of "giving back" which seems to underscore a process of justifying their presence in the region. Like in "charity" dynamics, it was one of the few instances in which the notion of "community" was mobilized so as to include both Portuguese and foreigners. This despite the fact that it created mixed feelings among people who found "we should say thank you every day!" and who found it was a "hippie initiative". It ultimately attracted mostly foreigners, among whom many non-British migrants (e.g. Germans and Dutch).

In contrast, the Carnaval parade was less of an attempt to gather people to the extent the "expat" residents of Alte simply proposed the municipal committee organizing the parade that they would join tin with a float. Granted, they organized paid rides on a handmade London bus so as to fundraise for the local elderly home.

[319] Although I did not witness this, research has also noted how the residential tourists/seasonal retired migrants/snowbirds develop strong attachments to each other whenever they meet (Buller and Hoggart 1994 e Myklebost 1989 em King 149).

[320] The festival was founded in 2011 and has become a yearly event. According to one of the founders and organizers, the overall goal was to create synergies and optimize the creative potential of cultural diversity in order to address local issues and importive life in the Algarve for everyone. In other words, teh festival was a celebration and a kick-starter meant to trigger other dynamics. I have not heard of spin-offs beyond the yearly festival.

Yet, while they had fun in "taking the mickey out of ourselves" - as one of the people dressing up as tourists, mods, football fans and retirees told me - there was not much interaction with the Portuguese during the celebrations. According to the local doctor, who knew the organizers of the initiative but is not close to any, the process of making the float may have been fun for people who enjoy the self-deprecating humor (e.g. writing "Bifes em Alte" on the float's decorations), but it did not involve locals even if it made the locals laugh. Therefore, there seems to a sense of amenable distance. This resonates with what King et al (2000: 137) note:

> It might be asked whether integration is a relevant concept at all for British residents and seasonal migrants along the Mediterranean coasts of southern Europe. Their own objectives are, perhaps, less integration with local Spaniards or Portuguese than access to local services and forging friendships within the local 'British' community (…) Given the realities of language and cultural barriers and the predominance of climate and lifestyle as the key motives for retirement abroad, 'integration' with local people, to the extent that is has occurred, may be regarded as a bonus rather than a necessity.

Like O'Reilly (2000: 152) notes for the case of the British in Spain, it seems the relationships built among fellow British are more important and nuanced than the boundaries established so as to distinguish "expats" from the locals: "Britons are not mobilized against a common 'Other' so much as into a common 'we'." As such, strategies of positioning become complex and central to people's everyday lives more than the connections with the Portuguese - which is something that the radio seems to play into (see 6.3). Yet, I would hesitate to describe it as a community. Granted, the inter-relations with fellow "expats" may mirror a small-scale context in which people seem to be disconnected only by one degree of separation ("you would know of people if you do not know them directly"). Feeling at times like a village, rumors spread fast in a region that takes only two-three hours to drive across on the high-way.[321]

> And it is a village! Basically it is a village here. What I always say, if you are in a certain circle down here, when you dress up in the morning, by the time you reach Albufeira everybody knows the color of your underwear. Seriously! It's like a forest fire. (Interview excerpt, Nick, Director of a local newspaper, Full-time resident)

[321] At the sation, I was told that when the Canadian sales representative's girlfriend once missed work so as to stay at home with her partner's father, who had suffered a heart attack. Within a few hours the Canadian sales representative's best-friend at the station was receiving phone-calls asking whether he had died.

Yet, despite the apparent proximity, people alluded to a fragmentation similar to Nick's mention of social "circles".[322] Moreover, I did not find a strong narrative or evidence of social practices constitutive of clear community feelings that would resonate with what O'Reilly (2000) found was structuring of social life in Spain or Benson (2011) found was a central appeal for the British in rural France. To be specific, while my interlocutors strongly emphasized the importance of networking, they seemed concerned mostly with business. Also, in the middle of describing and reasserting how they loved life in the Algarve, some reported on missing meaningful relationships in a context oriented to superficial types of interaction - again a similarity with British in the south of Spain (O'Reilly, 2000: 132).

Similarly, I would also hesitate to associate the British population in the Algarve with a diaspora. Although the British common denominators seemed ever-present in the kind of tacit understandings organizing outlooks on life and relationships, and despite the plural transnational practices and ties that many people maintained, there seemed to be no larger consciousness of belonging to a transnational group. This counters the opinions of authors who emphasize the size and dispersion of the British population across the world. They highlight that, in between 1966-2005, at least 67.500 people left the UK per year, which amounted to roughly 5.5 million people living permanently outside of the UK in 2006 (Sriskandarajah & Drew, 2006: 2), and 5.6 million in 2010 (Finch, 2010) – with another half a million residing abroad for part of the year (Sriskandarajah & Drew, 2006; Finch 2010). These numbers resemble those of the Indian or Chinese diasporas (for there is an estimated 58 million people claiming British ancestry across the world)(Sriskandarajah & Drew, 2006: viii). Additionally, Finch (2010: 9) finds that the distinctively self-presentation as British and the relation to the UK while being dispersed across dozens of countries makes the British emigrant population a diaspora. Nevertheless, like O'Reilly (2000: 158-160) I find it key that a shared consciousness seems to be lacking in spites of the usually unshaken identification of people as British citizens and in spite of practical (economic, political, etc.) ties with

[322] These circles are formed along various lines. Sriskandarajah & Drew (2006: x) also note that national divisions tend to become bolder abroad, as people claim their Northern Irish, Welsh, Scottish belongings over a British one, as well as do divisions along class lines, duration of stay and subjectively measured degree of integration in the country.

the UK. The only instance I found of a unifying discourse based on national affiliation that was able to yield collective action was a petition to the British government claiming "expats" continued right to vote from abroad.[323]

5.1.6 "Expat"-ness

The overall functional and partial mode of incorporation sketched above suggests dynamics of seclusion, which, although present, should not be seen in simplistic terms. To be sure, there is a negative stereotype associating "expats" with a self-alienated posture, which is present in the Algarve, not least among self-designated "expats" themselves. Asking about life in the Algarve for 'expatriates'' invariably triggered prompt criticisms from British themselves about their countrymen. "Those Brits" were accused of clustering together, not only spatially, in terms of residence, but also in intra-group social activities. This image would sometimes be associated with criticisms to "uncultured people" but could also be associated to upper-class individuals. Making a point concerning the media's role in integrating people in Portugal (which is developed in chapter 6.2) Thomas describes one of such people:

> …we've got some friends who are they're A-Bs. They just play golf and do nothing else, you know. (…) The man is a very intelligent lawyer. Cannot speak a word of Portuguese. Refuses to do so. Doesn't want to integrate with the Portuguese. Doesn't know one Portuguese person at all. Is only interested in golf. How can you - we're talking about intelligent people here! - how can any newspaper try to integrate him into Portugal? (Interview excerpt, Thomas, Free-lance media practitioner, Second-home owner)

As in the description of Thomas' friend, the stereotype gains layers related to a lack of intention or desire to become involved with local people and local realities, which subsequently entails a preference to speak in English, no attempts to learn the local language and little or no effort to accompany local or national current affairs.

This secluded stereotype is present elsewhere (see, for instance, Benson & O'Reilly, 2009a; Fechter, 2007; Hayes, 2015; Lawson, 2015; O'Reilly, 2000) but, in

[323] The petition was announced in local newspapers in the Algarve, although it the local expat population did not seem to participate widely in it according to a report available on the website of one of the key promoters of the initiative. To be sure, the mobilization started among British expatriates in Spain and Italy, having (according to the cited report) resonated with residentes in France as well. It claimed the right to vote in UK elections, which "expats" lose if residing outside of the UK for over 15 years.

the Algarve, it does not exhaust the meanings contained in the term "expat". If in places like rural France the British can make a point of positioning themselves as rooted in local realities by refusing the label of expatriate (as the title of Benson's (2010) article indicates: "We're not expats. We're not migrants. We're Sauliçoise"), in the Algarve the vast majority of English-speakers subscribed to the label and infused it with other modalities of relating to place beyond a straightforward self-alienation. Yet, when enquiring about life in the Algarve for "expats", narratives reifying the image of the self-secluded resident seemed to emerge as an unavoidable point of reference to describe the dynamics among English-speaking residents and to position oneself in them. Granted, speaking to a Portuguese researcher probably yielded heightened negative articulations of the stereotype so as to emphasize one's own investments in engaging with Portugal and the Portuguese. Still, it was remarkable that the instances breaking the naturalized and taken-for-granted issue of "expatriacy"[324] seemed to result in recurrent self-assessments evidencing the various ways and gradients distancing people from the stereotype. Unpacking the emic construction of what being an "expat" means suggested a sense of ambivalence associated with relative privilege, as explored below.

5.1.6.1 On the meaning of being an "expat"

Amit (2007: 1) calls for research that situates relative advantage in particular social and political contexts instead of restating that "power is relative", a "tired truism" concerning elites (Amit 2007:1). To do so, I root my discussion in the emic construction of what it means to be an "expat" for my interlocutors. Lacking an objective analytical ground, it is a category of practice, used colloquially to loosely refer to phenomenon of international migration. It is often presumed to refer to work-related mobilities, whether of corporate professionals or agents of international development, as apparent in a number of studies which do not always problematize the category (e.g. Amit, 1998; Beaverstock, 2005; Clark-barol, McHugh, & Norum, 2015; Fechter, 2007; Garon, 2010). Yet, although discussing largely the experiences of professionals who spend part of their lives abroad for work purposes, Cohen (1977:

[324] To be sure, for the vast majority of the time, the term was naturalized. It was only when I ellicited descriptions of the local English-speaking population and its dynamics or when I asked more directly what "expat" meant that people engaged in a self-reflexive exercise.

7) notes the "fuzzyness" of the term pertains to the indefinite type and period of permanence abroad, which blurs the boundaries between tourism and migration – which is precisely "where" the mobilities bringing "expats" to the Algarve are located.

> 'Expatriates' is, admittedly, a loose or 'fuzzy' term, capturing that category of international migrants who fill the gap between the tourist, on the one hand, and the semi-permanent or permanent immigrant, on the other.

According to Cohen (1977), the fuzziness of the term is also related to the power, wealth and privilege which it has been noted to index (e.g. Clark-barol et al., 2015; O'Reilly, 2000: 142), and that pertains to the "expats" structural position in the contexts of residence. These transpire in my interlocutors discourses about what being an "expat" (specifically in the Algarve) means.

Upfront, my interlocutors naturalize "expatriacy" as "living away from your own home" but distinguish it from migration. In two unique moments of fieldwork, people articulated the tension between "expatriacy" and migration, which was hardly common, and did so in very disparate ways, which was telling of the term's ideologically charged nature. On the one hand, Steve and Carrie, the aforementioned second-home owner couple recognized that the term "expatriate" is a subjective construction:

> Steve: I would be called a migrant by the Portuguese authorities. I'm only called expat by me. (laughs)
> Inês: And anyone else?
> Steve: Other expats. But the Portuguese authorities wouldn't call me expat.
> Carrie: No. It's not a proper term, is it? It doesn't mean anything... A term that they made up themselves, really, to cover a number of people who come from a different country. (…) [for] life choice and change.
> Steve: Left your own country but lives in another country. I think they justify themselves as an expat because they don't live in the country that they're born [in].

Conversely, Gastón and Clarisse drew on conceptions of migration as the type of mobility resulting from conjunctural pushes to leave one's own country as well as on conceptions of migration as a social problem:

> Clarisse: Expatriate is from your own will. (…) You go to experiment something. It is not because of a need, it is because you go to experiment something else. It is because of a need of something else. You fell in love with the place so you want to live there. It's not like immigration, [where] there is a war in your country, and you need to escape to save your life. [or] To improve your level of living. That is how I feel. I don't feel an immigrate [sic] person. I go through the same stuff: I have to learn the language, I have to learn the culture, but it's self-will to go somewhere. Or you go for work. Immigration is more related to history, to events.
>
> Gastón: Expatriation for me, is, (…) you chose to go somewhere, to expatriate yourself, but in a vision to integrate in another community, to discover something. You go there because of the

> climate, because you are well there. You expatriate yourself to bring something into the country as well. Your knowledge, your culture, that you maybe want to share, but never impose. Immigration is for me, another culture that comes from the outside in my country, or into a foreign country, but that comes to kind of use and abuse the system and impose its culture. That is why for me immigration sounds negative, and expatriation sounds positive.

Gastón and Clarisse's opinions, though specifically situating expatriacy in certain frames of reference, resonated with recurrent themes in the way that most people described what being an "expat" meant. Transversally, choice, and the ability to move because one wants to move but has no need to do so, was the central element.[325] The idea of "experimenting something else" and of chosing a place one "fell in love with" were also common responses. While the sense of adventure and cultural sharing was more of a specific attitude of Gastón's, another key aspect that these quotes reveal is that "expatriate" is a subjective self-designation underscoring positive perceptions of international modes of mobility.

5.1.6.2 Textured seclusion habits

In what concerns modes of incorporation, one aspect that was clear was maintaining one's cultural belonging. In some cases, people made a point of emphasize the shift in their outlook on cultural belonging by realigning themselves as European rather than British. More than creating distance with the UK, that discursive shift seemed to underscore a greater affinity with place and openness to a different way of living that, however, maintained a certain distance – remaining an "expatriate". For the most part, however, people reaffirmed their cultural belonging. In the words of Clarisse: "as an expat, we don't want to become Portuguese. We want to stay French. Or we want to stay English. We don't want to become assimilated 100%, or to get a new nationality." The idea that one "does not need to be Portuguese to be living here" was recurrent, whether people articulated it or not, and whether people mostly remained within British social networks or were in mixed marriages. In other words, the sense of an undisturbed cultural belonging to, for instance, the UK, could be complemented with other affinities, but would not change or replace the latter. Peter's case is an example:

[325] Interestingly, in that sense, the term "expatriate" is a misnomer, for is not used to designate "a person who was driven away or banished from his native country or one who withdrew or renounced his allegiance to it", as it did originally, as (Cohen, 1977: 6) observes,

Peter: You're expatriated [when] You're removed from your home country.
Inês: But what kind of connection remains to the home country?
Peter: Depends on the person. I believe I am fully integrated into this community. Most of my friends are Portuguese, I speak the language fluently, but I still go home and watch BBC. (…) Because I like the entertainment and drama and things as I like them. It's part of my culture, it doesn't make me removed from Portugal. But if I'm gonna watch a drama, or a documentary, I'd like to see it in English. And it's there. Hanging off the satellite. I get sky news, get anything that I want. Sometimes I go and buy some English food that I like. Not a lot because I'm not an adept of english food (risos) but you know, some sauces, (…) and it's very nice. But come saturday I am going to be in *Pão de Açúcar* or *Jumbo*. Because they have a very nice range of stuff.

This stance indicates that "different people do different things" maintaining a number of culturally specific habits. Peter spoke about his private life although, in practice, he is very active within the "expat" social life, which his newspaper accompanies. Although he maintains a balance with his Portuguese social networks, in most cases, people list a number of "portuguese habits" (e.g. going to Portuguese restaurants, in the case of Steve and Carrie) but ultimately seem to reproduce the type of enclosed social circles that runs parallel to local realities and which they criticize when invoking the aforementioned stereotype.

In other words, part of living out being "an expatriate" seems to engage in a number of contradictions concerning the posture in relation to the context of residence. Language practices are the most straightforward example of this complexity. To be sure, apart from a few long-standing residents, second-generations, people in mixed marriages and some people who make a clear (and successful) effort to learn the language, the vast majority of "expats" does not speak Portuguese beyond a simple transactional level, as alluded to in the portraits of radio listeners in chapter 5.2 and throughout chapter 7 (e.g. Leon, Lynn, Norma, Margaret, Sarah, Lilly's cases). To this extent, they differ from the British in Oporto and, to a large extent, in Lisbon. As Torkington (2015) so keenly explores, most people criticize the generalized lack of proficiency in Portuguese while maintaining an array of excuses for their own minimal knowledge of Portuguese.

Steve: my circle of friends … Here is predominantly British, in terms of acquaintances, and friends. But in terms of what we want to do when we're in Portugal, we want to do Portuguese things.
C: We want to live the Portuguese life.
S: But it's easier to communicate, to converse, to cohabite with people that you can understand, you know? Maybe if we spoke, if we made the effort to learn Portuguese, which is a very difficult language - I find it almost as difficult as Chinese.
C: If we really wanted to integrate to the Portuguese way of life, we'd have to live away from here, somewhere where no one spoke English. That's the only way. Because down here, I mean, we go to a restaurant, I always order my meal in Portuguese, I use as much Portuguese as I've got in my head, but (laughs) they speak to me back in English! You know, because they know we're English. So it's very difficult to learn. We'd have to cut ourselves off from English

> speaking people, wouldn't we? To truly learn the Portuguese language and live the Portuguese life. I think that at our age it's too difficult... (laughter) But it's lazyness to a certain extent. (…) We can order. Food and drink - we'd never starve. We can order food and drink in a few languages, no? (laughs) But when you get to our age it is very hard and unnecessary because everybody speaks English.

As Steve and Carrie note, age, laziness, the perceived inherently difficult language and to a large extent, the fact that everyone speaks English and that it is not necessary to speak Portuguese to get by results in their own, and many others', lack of knowledge of English.

In tandem, people do maintain a number of consumption, social and other practices that fuel a parallel, though interconnected, reality to the Algarvean one. The argument holds that clubs, activities, consumption practices and so on create a comfort zone encapsulated in a structural "bubble" of people in the same circumstances (similar to Oliver 2007). I found myself in conversations which went in circles, both emphasizing that it was important to respect the local culture and not impose, but that people had a right to seek the products, social activities and services they were used to as British, especially if these were price-oriented choices, and if people were retirees who had worked all life – but then again they should learn the language and try to avoid recreating little England. On the one hand, there is a sense that "there is no harm in looking for comfort" and maintaining "creature habits". On the other, there was an ever-present criticism of practices resembling what British people censure among minorities in England (i.e. not learning the language and culture) which would invariably trigger the comment "what are they doing here? They should go home".

To explore this one could question, as O'Reilly (2000: 144) does, to what extent reproducing socialization practices and patterns that do rest largely on time spent among like-minded peers and on a shared repertoire of cultural references, is a recreation of England in the sun. The author finds people bring their cultural legacies to bear on what is a way of living that is specific to being British in a tourist and coastal destination at this point in time. In this sense, they are not reproducing the same patterns of being British in the UK or even in rural France, in spite of the various points of contact justifying a common conceptualization of such experiences of British abroad. King et al. (2000: 163) make a similar point by noting the resemblance between the tourist's and migrant's need to create a comfort zone so as to reterritorialize themselves.

> Ultimately what both the migrant and the tourist want is to feel at home. Hence the effort made by many retirees to create a home from home, the attempt to fashion their own cultural environment within their new home – the fully carpeted Essex bungalow on the Costa del sol, or the Staffordshire manor house in Tuscany. But popular accounts of the British in Spain in which describe maverick individuals remaking 'a little England in the sun' are gross distortions. What one can say is that the tourist resort, or even the cosmopolitan countryside of Tuscany, with its confusion of cultures and manners, allows everyone the illusion of being 'at home' and the freedom to 'be themselves'.

5.1.6.3 On privilege and ambivalence

Yet, my interlocutors emphasized (through both reflexive and naturalized discourses and practices) two other main points. Although they are not reinforced on air by Bright, they are important to understand the general stance of connection to situate of most of the foreign people involved its production and consumption. These two points articulate an ambivalence which seems to lie at the core of the "expat" way of being in the Algarve, and has been identified for lifestyle migrants elsewhere (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009a, 2009b). Clara's criticism of seclusion introduces them:

> The Brits tend to go to the UK supermarkets in Portugal, such as the very successful Apolonia that has ridden off the back of just that, meet for coffee with other expats, play golf together or socialize in other sports and activities, always together, and do not make that many Portuguese contacts or friends. Many drive over rather than fly, just so they can come over stocked up with all their British food and drink, etc. If I am being brutally honest, most expats I know, and I know many at all different stages in their lives, tend to try to bring the UK with them (…). There is most definitely a certain ignorance amongst foreigners, and almost always the British are the worst culprits, in thinking that our heritage calls for a certain authority, and that we have a right to build our own bubbles/castles of UK life, taking only the advantages of the new country, such as the weather, beach, peace and quiet, and then filling the rest with everything from their own countries. The stereotypical British does most definitely exist, I am ashamed to say (…) we are very closed off as a nation, I believe, and despite our extensive travel, we are very stuck in our British routine in the UK, and definitely find it hard to adapt, or even wish to. It's partly defiance 'We're British' and partly a general fear of going out of the comfort zone (Clara, email excerpt)

The two inter-related ideas concern the ways of dealing with the "difficulties at integrating". On the one hand, there is a posture which Clara (and others) describe as being very British which consists of an unwillingness to seek or concede to adapt by holding on to what is British and, implicitly, better, while enjoying the place's amenities. On the other hand, there is a clear fear of engaging with systems (both cultural and structural), which one does not understand.

To be sure, there are a number of difficulties that "expats" face. Among the difficulties of integration, which are aggravated by language barriers, are a number of aspects. Although "expats" make a point of highlighting the natural amenities and the

aspects that brought them there (e.g. weather, relaxed pace of life, food, friendliness of people) as well as other aspects denoting the improvements of a country which developed "by leaps and bounds" since the 1980s (e.g. the unique systems enabling people to pay virtually anything via ATM[326] or to avoid stopping at tolls[327]), they also complain about a number of aspects which they find difficult to make sense of and to deal with. Like elsewhere, there is disillusionment with local realities when they do not match expectations created prior to the move (Spalding 2013: 71): people ignore and overlook certain challenges and outcomes of migration, such as the aforementioned transformation of the destination context and its amenities with the intensification of tourism (but see Williams and McIntyre, 2012: 220-222). In the Algarve, the dreaded "red tape" leads a long list of complaints that disgruntled "expats" (e.g. the lack of effectiveness by the police to stop the increasing number of burglaries afflicting "expats" living inland, somewhat isolated; the astounding number of forest fires year after year which firesquads are ill-equipped to fight). While many of these observations are shared by the local Portuguese, the following complaints are, however, particularly indicative of the attitudes that Clara mentioned.

> Nick: (…) When you first come everything is nice and wonderful and you get some help getting your *residência*, and your house and habitation license and then along come the silly things you have to put up with, like "oh the borehole doesn't have a license" and we've got to fill in a form for water services, and (sighs) and then we start getting the random taxes...like... what is the one at Christmas time? Everyone has to pay 50% of their Christmas bonus to the government this year. And you think "hang on, this is stupid". (Interview excerpt, Nick, Director of a local newspaper, Full-time resident)

> Jack: You know, Portugal is coming the EC [European Community] and we have to abide by rules and regulations. But I hear the most … everyone comes and tells me everyday a crazy story about something that happens in Portugal. (…) It's gone from one extreme to another! I hear a pastry shop that has been taken to court and fined 25 thousand euros because they have been serving soup. I hear of a family [that owns a] Irish restaurant in Lagos (…). The ASAE go in there and they make the inspections. (…) the delivery man is delivering 4000 euros of fresh fish into the outside walking fridge. (…) they say the temperature is one degree above the limit. (…) to take all the fish out and put it on the floor and then they pour bleach over it. Then they tell them they've got a 4000 euros fine. (…) the government is closing down so many business

[326] In Portugal banks created an association (SIBS) and made partnerships with a number of organizations (national railroad company, subway companies, social security, electricity and water providing companies, telecommunications companies, among others) so as to enable people to pay their bills, buy transport tickets, and charge their phone directly on the ATM. As ATMs are connected to one single network there are no extra charges by withdrawing Money from an ATM ran by a bank different from the one the person uses.

[327] The "via-verde" system enables car-users with transpondas to drive by specific automatic toll gates which recognize the car and charge the person's credit account automatically.

here! (…) and with the finances, they got so draconian with… they are so ruthless now with the way they do things. I'm hearing a lot of Portuguese people complaining to me the same things I am complaining about.

Anne: … what exactly am I paying for? Roads are shit. My car has been knackered more times than I can count. When they did all the roads they left the (…) drainage, up like that. So a load of people had their cars bashed, or their tires burst.

Danny: Do you remember the programs that used be "Europe's most dangerous this and that"? [the national road EN] 125 was the second most dangerous road in Europe. They want to put more traffic on it. They will by bringing in the charges for the motor-way.

Anne: (…) there will be deaths on it! Regularly! (…) Everyday, there was an accident. Everyday I told to the children "don't look! Don't look!" because there would be some bloody smash up on the 125. And that all changed when they did the A22. It was like hurray!… (…)

Danny: And I am not sure, but I definitely heard that if it was built on EC money, the country that the grant went to wasn't allowed to profit from that grant. Which they will if they introduce tolls. (Interview excerpt, Anne and Manny, retiree and House painting business owner, Full-time residents)

All three quotes indicate not only a bureaucratic system which operates differently from what people are used to and that also does not seems to run effectively, by, for instance, leaving infrastructures uncared for. Significantly, along with difficulties to understand and deal with the national systems was also, a perception that they were broken and even backwards. The conversation between Anne and Manny, like Jack's examples, tap onto a discourse circulating during fieldwork concerning governmental measures taken to adjust to being part of the European Union and, more recently, to cope with the economic crisis. There was a clear perception that increasingly restrictive measures were partly motivated by a need to pay off national debt by unduly burdening tax payers. Although people emphasized that these problems afflict both "expats" and Portuguese, there were two inter-related attitudes. The first portrayed the "expats" as victims being targeted by a flawed system besides emphasizing their own privilege. To be sure, when complaining about the recurrent instance of being stopped and fined by the police on the road (i.e. for speeding, missing a light, having different makes of tires on the same axel, etc.), they highlight how the system is creating a "negative environment" that frightens away tourists and "expats", who are "the lifeline of the economy". During the same conversation at a walled complex's café, by the tennis court, Anne and Danny added these points:

Anne: I feel definitely that they are targeting foreign [people].

Danny: The silly part is they don't seem to understand, that by proxy, that drives some of the residents away.

Anne: Well, it is! That's exactly what's happening!

Danny: Let's be honest: if every British person ups and left the Algarve, it would just implode. It would just collapse!

Anne: They want all the money from everybody coming in. But they don't then say ok, ammm, you are a vital part of the economy of this country, so we are going to try to help you in doing what you do, to get more people to come. Because if you think about it, (…) All these people who bought their villas years ago, (…) think about the amount of people they are bringing in: their families, their friends, their… you know. Because they love it here. When you upset those people you are cutting off a lifeline, I think, to the economy. To the local economy. (…) They keep having these symposiums about what they are going to do about [the] Algarve tourism. It's so simple: you just keep the people who have been coming here for years and years and years and years, happy. You make them feel that they are important to the economy. And they don't do that.

Anne and Danny's comment signal their awareness about their own position of privilege in the Algarve. They highlight they are needed for the local economy to run and suggest they should therefore be generally catered to. The discussion went further down these lines to the extent Anne suggested there should be more channels to inform "expats" directly, in a language they can understand, about changes in laws so they do not break them without knowing.[328] Although many of my interlocutors would agree with these points, they would probably also quickly counter some of this posture by arguing against an attitude of superiority which does not even try to be properly informed about the country they are living in, even though they have been living over 28 years in the Algarve, as was the case with Anne. References to the British Empire and a colonial past did come into conversation when people criticized their peers in such a way. In that sense they resonate with authors who invoke the history of neocolonialism and international unequal power relations to describe the underpinnings of contemporary relationships, as noted in the next section, (e.g. Cohen 1977).

Contrasting with this posture, though not entirely opposed to it, was the second mode of dealing with difficulties of living in the Algarve. To be sure, Clara mentioned the fear of leaving a comfort zone. Other "expats" more precisely articulated the "natural fear of a system that people don't know well". Himself a second-generation member, Nick compellingly describes the distress.

You can live in a bubble here, and mildly complain about the *câmara*, the *finanças*, or you can get a bit more involved and say "why is that happening, and who is doing something about that"

[328] Although the media do announce the major changes which affect most "expats", usually after someone faced some sort of difficulty, they do not report on all laws (e.g. the changing of the age from which people must renew their driving license every two years, instead of every five years).

> and just being a bit more aggressive really (...) but there is always a sensitivity if you're living here of shouting too much and complaining too much, especially if you are British, because there is also great respect for the existing systems. However bad they might be, they still are nothing to do with us. (…) My parents always used to say [whispering as if educating children to not misbehave] 'we're guests in their country'. (A) You are saying their country and it is your country – you've chosen to live here. And (B) you're not guests – you are full- time tax-paying residents! ... [But] you can live in a bubble here, and mildly complain about the *câmara* [city hall], the *finanças* [fiscal governmental entity] (...) and I keep referring to the *câmara* because it is the portuguese part of people's lives that most foreigners come across, is the local council (…) And they are terrified of the black list. (…) you can't complain to the *câmara* - you can ask for a complaints book, you can legitimally complain, because you then will be put on some sort of a black list. And that is the one thing that holds back 99% of people of making a real fuss over things that are clearly wrong, illogical or stupid, is the black list. Whether it exists or not.... I'm sure it does in people's ... you know, if you are the head of the *câmara* planning department and someone screws you around, you are not gonna make it easier for them to open a supermarket. but that is the biggest fear and that is probably the worst thing - because that makes people feel very impotent in that you can't complain, because who are you complaining to? It's the same people who are the problem. There is no higher authority. (…) It is the foreigners' biggest fear, because they don't understand the system and the black list
>
> (Interview excerpt, Nick, Director of a local newspaper, full-time resident)

Although Nick's description started out by situating the attitude of withdrawing to the position of a "guest" in the 1980s, when his parents and other middle-class English people came to the Algarve with what he described to be a slightly patronizing attitude, he hints at the fact that issues are still pressing. Significantly, without calling it "the black list", other interlocutors reproduced exactly the feeling of fear, frustration and powerlessness that Nick alludes to. The awareness of problems in the system seems overridden with the sense that one can be targeted if complaining, given that the Algarve is a small-scale place and, above all, there are no ombudsmen to resort to. While some may try to find a way into "getting to know the right people", and others experiment with strategies resembling John Scott's "weapons of the weak" at town halls,[329] most admit that "no one really wants to rock the boat. At the end of the day nobody wants to step on any toes. They don't want to 'cause problems for themselves". Faced occasionally with "this is Portugal" or "it's just the way it is" types of comments by administrative' staff at town halls, some fell tired of trying and others simply prefer complaining at pubs and club events, perhaps hypothesize about

[329] For example, one interviewee described how she had been told to simply not leave until someone provided some sort of help while using all the Portuguese she could muster and repeating "Mas eu tento" (But I try) whenever unhelpful administrative personnel told her in Portuguese they do not speak English.

what is at the bottom of this way of functioning,[330] and ultimately conclude, as Manny did, with "I'd rather struggle in the sun".[331]

What this situation suggests is that ultimately there is an ambivalent attitude pertaining to a sense of being a resident and appropriating the Algarve as home, but remaining with a somewhat distanced position of a guest. To be sure, there are some instances in which "expats" are vocal and engaged in trying to intervene in local realities. Some were involved in demonstrations and campaigns (e.g. against the tolls, and the construction of yet another hotel and golf complex in a bird watching area), others are vocal through the media they produce (online news portals, mostly) and others still do actually contact European authorities about issues (e.g. animal welfare). However, only a few seem to vote in the local elections and most seem to become at best only indirectly involved with having an impact on local realities through "charity" work (as explored in chapter 6.3). The sense of ambivalence seems to be ultimately pervasive. This has been identified as central in the experience of lifestyle migration (see O'Reilly, 2000, 2008; Benson and O'Reilly, 2009) to the extent there seems to be a liminality in which people live: in between tourism and residency; the local people to whom they remain foreign and the peers they distance themselves from in the UK; being "hosts" and "guests", to use O'Reilly's comparison; constructing their experiences as largely signifying holiday-like modes of relating to place, but insisting they are not tourists; and I could add the efforts to integrate and the fear and/or frustration of truly doing so.

5.1.7 Synthesis of section British presence in the Algarve

The British presence in Portugal has a long history, which extends far back, beyond the Port wine commercial relations and the journeys of the British gentry in the "Grand Tour", into the oldest alliance in Europe. The flow bringing British migrants to the Algarve is however specifically related to the development of the

[330] Aware that many instances are not targeting them specifically, even if they feel at a disadvantage to deal with the situation because of being foreigners, the "theories" I heard trying to explain the situation draw on Portugal's history as a young democracy that endured a long dictorship, which seems to weigh on a passive attitude that accepts impositions with ease.

[331] Like many other aspects of this fieldwork, this observation resonates with O'Reilly's notes about the British in the Costa del Sol (2000: 161-165).

region as a tourist destination and the specificities of a segment of British emigrants who have led tendencies of international retirement migration and second-home ownership since the 1980s. The type of relocation is also closely entwined with tourism to the extent it varies in length and type of settlement, ranging from recurrent visits, to being a full time resident. What is more, the reasons motivating the move can be understood through the lens of a search for a tourism-like experience to the extent it is not driven by a material need as much as a pursuit of a subjectively defined "better quality of life". Still, despite a common motivation, the flow of British to the Algarve is heterogeneous and challenging to describe. In addition to retirees, who remain the majority, there are young adventurers, corporate professionals who commuter weekly, volunteers surfing the networks of permaculture and assistance, families taking advantage of a safer and healthier environment where there is a niche-market to try one's changes on – all of which can fluidly shift categories. Interestingly, in spite of these porosities with tourism, such as the fact that visits to their elected home were preceded and prepared throughout visits as tourists, one of the key features of their mode of incorporation is to distinguish themselves from tourists.

The choice for the Algarve includes its smaller size, more upmarket projected image, presence of relatives and friendliness of the people, in addition to enabling the type of search for an "authentic" lifestyle which tourists are perceived to never (be interested to) access. Significantly, although the choice usually results from a comparative analysis favoring the Algarve over Spain, these "expats" do not fully engage with local people, culture and realities. They are a symbolically and materially dominant presence even though statistics show that Eastern Europeans and Brazilians have outnumbered them in recent years. Still, they mediate their relationship with structures by literally buying a number of services, which enable them to live everyday life in English, they remain functionally and partially incorporated in the country. Remaining largely confined to British social circles and practices, the British accuse each other of "recreating England in the Sun". Yet, a more careful deconstruction of the term "expat", which is not exhausted in the stereotype of the self-alienated "expat", reveals a varied and more complex situation. | Related to motivations of adventure, experiencing a different culture and being abroad by choice rather than necessity, the description of "expatness" also reveals it is a subjectively

constructed self-designation. Although confirming a general lack of proficiency in Portuguese and the reassertion of a lack of interest to become Portuguese, being an "expat" can relate to two inter-related types of approaches to the challenges of moving abroad to follow a dream. One reveals the position of relative privilege of "expats" who are aware they are a key element in the sustenance of the local economy as well as hinting at a condescending attitude based on complaining and expecting to be catered to. The other reveals a general sense of not understanding and being powerless to deal with formal and social structures. Both underscore an ambivalence, which seems to be at the core of being an "expat" in the Algarve.

5.2 The lifestyle migration approach

The type of flow bringing the British to the Algarve – and, I would add, other English-speaking populations that Bright FM targets – fits uneasily with the common conceptions of migration: it is not driven by material needs (e.g. economic hardship or financial vulnerability) or other so called "push" factors (e.g. war, natural disasters, political persecution, generalized violence) which typically lead people to more developed countries in search of a better life (Castles 2010). As noted below, the way in which these "expats" conceive of and pursue a better life has specificities that intimate investigation. To conceptualize fluid and flexible forms of contemporary mobilities, a number of researchers have been elaborating on the notion of "lifestyle migration" as proposed by Benson and O'Reilly (2009a, 2009b).[332] This approach is productive to make sense of the movements bringing "expats" to the Algarve and to situate the local radio's role in them. Below I give an overview of how the approach emerged, how it has been conceptually backed and how I find it useful in spite of recognizing it is an approach that is still being developed and, accordingly, has some limitations and problems to it.

[332] See the Lifestyle Migration Hub for a directory of researchers from diferente fields investiganting these mobilities at http://www.uta.fi/yky/lifestylemigration/index.html (last accessed February 2, 2015).

5.2.1 Emerging perspectives

Lifestyle migration is a concept proposed by Benson and O'Reilly to capture the particular phenomenon of "relatively affluent individuals moving (…) to places which, for various reasons, signify for the migrants something loosely defined as quality of life" (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009: 621). The approach emerged from an attempt to conceptualize a number of mobilities that challenge the boundaries between tourism and migration in their variable permanence, orientation, motivations.[333] Such temporary forms of movement include temporary stays of corporate "expatriates" abroad; the continued journeys of backpackers; the retreats to the countryside enabled by flexible and online modes of work; the relocation for alternative lifestyles of counter-culture drop outs; the search for positive ageing in the oscillation between seaside living across borders and seasonal proximity with family; the entrepreneurial projects to make a living out of "the good life" in touristy contexts. These movements were studied across fragmented areas of study focusing on, for instance, counter urbanization trends (Andersson et al., 2010; Halliday & Coombest, 1995; Mitchell, 2004; Woods, 2010), amenity migration (Dattwyler & Edelsberg, 2011; Glorioso, 2009; Gosnell & Abrams, 2009; Mcintyre, 2009; Otero & González, 2011) and international retired migration (Casado-Díaz et al., 2004; King, Fielding, & Black, 1997; King et al., 2000; Rodriguez, Fernandez-Mayoralas, & Rojo, 2004; Williams et al., 1997). As these modes of travel and settlement have been expanding to increasingly diverse destinations and, arguably, in intensity[334] a more inclusive terminology was necessary so as to grasp the complexities of the phenomenon.[335]

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[333] Notably, independently of these conceptualization efforts, "Lifestyle" was pointed as a profiling category in reports of emigration in the UK such as Sriskandarajah & Drew's (2006) "Brits abroad".

[334] The volume of international retired migration, for instance, is documented namely for the case of the British, who started buying houses abroad rather than in the UK and normalized the possibility of retiring abroad throughout the 1970s-1990s. This despite the fact that any migratory phenomenon is conditioned by conjunctural forces and, indeed, the economic crisis did seem to affect the flow by deflating its intensity (Finch 2010).

[335] Amenity migration, which was mainly studied for north- flows within North America (to Florida or Mexico) overlaps with migration to the South of Europe and East Asia (e.g. Thailand); international retired migration is not mainly contained within European contexts (as Turkey emerges as a popular destination); the touristy contexts in the Iberian peninsula no longer receive solely the elderly; the "second-homes" become primary residency; and the very direction of flows is not solely north-south

In particular, the lifestyle migration lens explores the porosities between tourism and migration. As explored further below, lifestyle migration focuses on aspects specific to tourism-informed mobilities by unpacking the "tourism-migration nexus" (Williams & Hall, 2002). At this point what is important to note is that lifestyle migration explores how tourism and migration are interconnected in movements that render the conventional distinctions (established by the International Tourism Organization or by the European Union so as to delimit when one stops being a tourist and is considered a migrant)[336] irrelevant as people move, circulate, settle, visit, oscillate and change migration patterns and legal status apparently at will.[337] The lifestyle migration approach highlights they become blurred on account of the facilities provided by current transport and telecommunications systems which enable, for instance, circulation and the possibilities of inhabiting different spaces at the same time.

Yet, it refuses the term residential – a label which is common in Portuguese and Spanish academia to refer to the phenomenon of foreigners settling in areas such as the Algarve (Torkington 2010: 101; O'Reilly 2008).[338] Torkington (2010, 2011). O'Reilly (2007: 6) and others accurately emphasize that the term residential tourism fails to capture the appropriation of place and the orientation to settle that is apparent

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(as, for instance, the Dutch explore the Swedish countryside – see (Eimermann, Lundmark, & Müller, 2012; Eimermann, 2013), even if that trend seems to remain central and significant.

[336] According to the International Organization of Tourism, tourists are traveling abroad for periods under a year. According to the European Union, for its members, which is the case in this dissertation, people are considered residentes if residing in one of the member countries for more than 6 continuous months. As noted earlier, this is also further regulated by individual nation-states, which may stipulate (like Portugal does) that a person residing in the country for over 3 months must register as a resident.

[337] As (D. R. Williams & Mcintyre, 2012: 210) note, place affinities and mobilities have been discussed as distinct and opposing to the extent that individuals who circulate frequently are expected to not develop attachment to places and, conversely, people who are rooted are expected to not wish to relocate.

[338] Residential tourism incorporates entreprises as well residential and recreational infrastructures that invite foreigners to relocate on a more or less permanent basis. It is an umbrella term used by public and private sector organizations. This generic term seems to make no distinction among seasonal visitors, second-home owners and more permanent settlers, but it does appear to be restricted to northern Europeans. (O'Reilly, 2007).

in material efforts to create a home in the destination area of, especially, full-time residents (and, arguably, some second-home owners who spend most of the year in the Algarve). As Akerlund (2012: 253) shows, some of these "expats" purchase a second-home so as to engage in multi-local living arrangements. In this sense, they do not consider their house in Malta (the context Akerlund studied) a holiday place but an effective home.

Nevertheless, the phenomenon is still one of migration despite signaling a plurality of modes of settlement, challenging time-based definitions of migration and exploring porosities with other forms of travel. Although some scholars use the term lifestyle mobilities (e.g. Akerlund, 2012, 2013b; Mcintyre, 2011), I align myself with those who ground the type of mobility in migration. The case of "expats" in the Algarve in particular is centrally about the flow of people, even if involving, and mutually informing while being informed by, the circulation of things, ideas, and products (which mobilities' approach proponents argue is a value added of a more encompassing framework conceptualizing flows and fluidity (Urry cited in Mcintyre, 2011: 1; Williams & Mcintyre, 2012: 4). The migration approach enables us to situate flows and analyze the various dimensions of relocation (legal, symbolic, economic, social, civic material, and so on) in their complexities. One would easily lose sight of the latter if conceptualizing these flows through lenses of fluidity and flux.

A wealth of studies has emerged trying to sketch and continue to conceptually ground the phenomenon of lifestyle migration. Themes of research span a wide range of interests: the rural idyll, bohemian lifestyles, everyday practices, community making, integration, old age and liminality, self-actualization and personal development and renewal; gender and family dynamics, material culture and the home, production of locality, impacts in the context of destination. Sites of research now span the globe (e.g. Mexico, Panama, Florida, Turkey, Japan, Singapore, Thailand), though focus is still in Europe and, particularly, southern Europe (e.g. rural France, Italian Toscany, South of Spain and of Portugal). A key focus of lifestyle migration, as proposed by Benson and O'Reilly (2009a, 2009b), is, however, the narrative articulating motivations, aspirations and expectations related what the authors suggest is a self-realization project based on the escape towards living circumstances (e.g. in a warm and sunny climate, close to nature and surrounded by a sociable culture) and routines (e.g. healthy diet, relaxed pace of life, leisure and

recreation, and maybe adventure, oriented everyday life) that are perceived as better. As they note, this is admittedly a romanticized narrative that is based on the comparisons between achieved circumstances and the lives of others in the context of origin as well as the life one had and would have had if having stayed immobile. Ultimately, lifestyle migration proposes the coupling of two terms which are central to the conceptualization: a relocation in search of an idealized way of living (subjectively defined as "better quality of life") and an international move which is subject to the various dimensions of migration.

5.2.2 Conceptualizing lifestyle migration: conjunctural conditions informing flows

> …citizens of northern and western countries, or relatively affluent peoples, are more free to move than ever before, are more aware of the world as a single place, have more opportunity for travel and more free income to fund such a move than ever before. They are more likely to retire early or to manage extended holidays or to work flexibly, and therefore to have time to spend in holiday or second homes, to visit friends and family who have settled elsewhere, consolidating the international networks, and to be able to communicate rapidly and cheaply with home, family or work while doing so. (O'Reilly, 2007: 148)

Before discussing the theoretical grounds underpinning the lifestyle migration approach, it is important to situate the conjunctural conditions enabling new forms of moving and developing place attachments which, in turn, intimate new understandings of mobility in contemporary societies. In broad terms, this tourism-informed mobility is foregrounded by dynamics of movement and connectivity, which are entwined with large cultural shifts (e.g. globalization, mediatization). Resulting from rapid developments in information and communication technologies as well as in the expanding networks of faster and cheaper forms of transport, globalized physical and virtual movement became more accessible to more people. Moreover, they foster time-space compression and a sense of the world as a single place (Giddens, 1991), which plays into a mindset that is predisposed to move (what Urry & Larsen [2003] calls a "compulsion to mobility") and reassured by possibility of

moving back – even if this does not always materialize.[339] In tandem, these dynamics have accompanied, on the one hand, the development of mass tourism and travel that were fueled by both the commoditization of leisure and the rise of living standards in the Western world (i.e. increasing longevity, higher disposable income, and heightened commitment to holidays, (earlier) retirement and free time) (King et al 2000: 26). On the other hand, they have also accompanied the transformation in modes of working and in labor markets, which, despite creating opportunities to working with tailored schedules and from different sites, also entail risk, job insecurity, temporary work and redundancy. Yet, the latter also motivate some people to risk a move to places where they can tap into a niche-market (O'Reilly, 2007), as is the case of the Algarve – which they can now learn more about prior to the move because of the currently available media technologies.

More specifically, regional structural factors have paved the ground for the emergence and intensification of these flows. To be sure, the legal arrangements established by the Schengen Convention (1995), the Maastricth Treaty (1992) and subsequent European Union formal agreements opened intra-European borders and enabled the movement of people, assets and information and created favorable conditions to move. To be specific, it is relatively easy to not only circulate but also to transfer personal finances, acquire property, gain residency rights, work, start a business in situ or maintain a business across borders, and an array of other aspects which facilitate relocation. O'Reilly (2012) accurately notes that notions of free movement are demystified by numerous rules and regulations which can constrain relocation. Drawing on her fieldwork in Spain, she particularly notes how states can interpret and enforce European policy differently apparently so as to contain inflows of less desirable migrants (the unemployed or the lower classes). Nevertheless, the author also indicates the work of Ackers and Dwyer (2004), and I could add Akerlund, (2013a), which shows how lifestyle migrants can resourcefully navigate and use these regulations to their own advantage.[340]

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[339] This reassurance of the possibility of going back is chiefly enabled by mediated connectivity, which facilitates the maintenance of continuities with life prior to migration as noted in section 4.2.

[340] Ackers and Dwyer explore how middle-class retirees negotiate the best solutions for people in their position (in terms of welfare, for instance). Akerlund explores the role of agents paid to do the

To add to those transnational facilities there are a number of UK-specific factors framing the emergence and intensification of oriented emigration flows driven by relative affluence and idealized notions of agency and quality of life. The economic recovery in the 1980s and the property boom contributed to an increase of expendable wealth, which added to the wider aforementioned shifts prioritizing leisure. By selling housing at rather favorable prices, the generation of baby-boomers could also take advantage of a much lower cost of living in the south of the Iberian peninsula, where they increasingly toured and moved to (O'Reilly, 2012). This may have been eased by the normalization of purchasing properties by the seaside in the UK, which municipalities encouraged and the innovations in transport facilitated in the 1960s. However, if King et al. (2000: 14-16) suggest that international retirement migration was "a function of disposable income and accumulated wealth", O'Reilly (2012) suggests that having the means to move was not always a precondition to do so. In her fieldwork in Costa del Sol she found migrants who were driven despite the "less than adequate means" to support the move. The author further suggests that another sociocultural factor that may have played into the emergence and shape of lifestyle migration from the UK, namely in what concerns the aspiration to own property and the tendency to be self-employed in small businesses, was Tatcher's government's rhetoric promoting values and practices such as owning one's house and being entrepreneur.

At the other end of the migratory flow, there have also been factors creating favorable conditions for this inflow. The end of the 48 year-long dictatorship in 1974, the transition into a democratic regime, and the integration into the European Economic Community in 1986 created an amenable context lending a sense of security to the increasing number of tourists and lifestyle migrants (namely from the UK) (Russel King et al., 2000). Moreover, as mentioned above, the Algarve developed around and through the tourism industry. Accordingly, since the 1960s a number of infrastructures have been built which create easier living conditions as well as amenities that encourage potential lifestyle migrants to elect the Algarve to move to (e.g. a number of golf courses, spas, marinas, theme parks, and other recreational

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work for Swedish retirees who aspire to have "the best of both worlds" by exploring the benefits of being residents in both Sweden and Malta.

sites in addition to the expanded water, electricity and telecommunications networks, numerous supermarkets, shopping centers, parking lots, roads, a high-way and private hospitals). Overtime, there is a material, legal, sociocultural, context for lifestyle migrants to settle. Moreover, somewhat similarly to Spain,[341] the Portuguese government has created a program actively encouraging investment in property and health tourism, which is known to allure the more settled segment of incoming tourists and lifestyle migrants (the retirees). The recent "Reforma ao Sol" (Retirement in the Sun) program and the change in the fiscal regime for foreigners incentive scheme are two policy measures that were crafted so as to foster lifestyle migration to Portugal and, particularly the Algarve.

Targeting specifically the northern and western European relatively affluent populations, the first program entails a wider planning and marketing strategy for Algarvean tourism, namely orienting it further in the direction of residential tourism resembling Florida's model, as widely reported on the news (Fonseca, 2012; LUSA, 2013; Luzia, 2011; Ribeiro, 2011; Serafim, 2011; SIC Notícias, 2009) (i.e. offering infrastructures such as estates resembling villages which have health facilities and houses to accompany patients in later life[342]). The changes in the fiscal regime for foreigners, regulated in 2009 (Decree Law nr. 249/2009) but only effectively coming into place in 2013, creates an exceptional category for migrants ("non habitual residents") which includes European retirees and "professionals qualified for activities with high added value intellectual or industrial propriety or know-how" (Autoridade Tributária e Aduaneira 2014, 2). In practice, the first are exempted from taxation on (non-governmental) pensions from another state for 10 years, whereas the second benefit from a flat 20% rate tax on income earned in Portugal, besides exemption over earnings elsewhere (Autoridade Tributária e Aduaneira 2014). These foreigners are expected to bring added value to the national economy, whether

[341] Unlike Portugal, what sparked the Spanish government's active encouragement of investment was the decline in tourism in the 1990s – years before the Portuguese government took similar action so as to respond to a more general economic crisis.

[342] One such example is Monte da Palhagueira, which was a private enterprise but exemplified the "Florida" model which politicians refered to widely when the program was announced. See the feature on Monte da Palhagueira which was broadcasted on national evening news as well as news pieces (Telejornal RTP, 2011).

because of their purchasing power and (expected) lifestyle and/or because of their work to foster highly qualified sectors of the economy. These measures and other similar policies[343] were developed in direct competition with countries[344] so as to capture migrants conceived of as "desirable", thereby in direct opposition with policies designed to contain general immigration. They reflect a conception of the relationship between states and international mobility which is market driven, as apparent in the law's introduction:

> The growing projection of Portugal in the world stage intimates a deep reflection on the business orientation of international economic relations to the extent that it is imperative that a global fiscal strategy be drawn based on the paradigms of competitivity. This circumstance calls for international fiscal policy instruments to operate in Portugal as a force to attract production factors, market initiatives and productive capacity in the Portuguese space.[345]

This orientation towards economic growth and competitivity in governance strategies has been noted by geographers (e.g. Markusen 1996 and Harvey 1989 cited in David, Akerlund and Eimerman 2015: 152), is a theme in lifestyle migration research (e.g. Eimermann, 2013; Koch-schulte, 2008) and places states as macro-level actors in migration industries (see David, Akerlund and Eimermann 2015).

Finally, in what concerns conjunctural factors, it is worth noting the importance of the imaginaries and actual relationships established over the course of prior travelling practices and intercultural contact. As O'Reilly (2012) also notes the imperial history of the UK, the memories of the "Grand Tour", the stories of

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[343] Another highly mediatized policy was the residency permit for investment activities, which became popularly known as the "golden visa" scheme. In practice, it facilitates the entrance and settlement of wealthy and/or highly-qualified third-country nationals. Transposing the European Union blue card directive into national policies, it thus grants grants simplified access to citizenship rights (and, hence, to circulation, business, etc. in the European Union) to foreigners who invest in the countries' economy, whether through the acquisition of real estate, job creation or founding companies - thereby quite literally commodifying citizenship rights (see Ong 1998 on "citizenship trading").

[344] Malta, in particular, has developed similar tax incentive programs and (literally) "Citizenship by investment" schemes besides having created a category for equally desirable migrants, as the expression "high net Worth individuals" implies.

[345] A crescente projecção de Portugal no cenário mundial obriga a uma reflexão profunda sobre as orientações negociais nas relações económicas internacionais, sendo, nesta perspectiva, imperioso que seja delineada uma estratégia fiscal global assente nos actuais paradigmas da competitividade. Esta circunstância conduz a que os instrumentos de política fiscal internacional do nosso país devam funcionar como factor de atracção da localização dos factores de produção, da iniciativa empresarial e da capacidade produtiva no espaço português. (http://info.portaldasfinancas.gov.pt/NR/rdonlyres/60760145-8A1E-4332-9581-13B919BF9C16/0/DL_249_2009.pdf)

"expatriated" British around the world one knows and one's own experiences of tourism in various places, all inform the way in which lifestyle migrants conceive of international movement and relocation and, particularly, their own (potential or accomplished) move. The latter particularly generates expectations about what everyday life in the Algarve one has visited (perhaps recurrently), as is illustrated in chapter 6.2.3 and as is suggested elsewhere (O'Reilly 2003, 2012). In parallel, the perceptions of the local population also shape the intercultural contacts and the context that lifestyle migrants face. My impressions from fieldwork suggest that the Algarve's particular position as a long-standing tourism destination and, in the recent decade, as the most diverse region in the country creates a sharp awareness of transience, diversity and instrumental intercultural relations that are inter-connected to a transversal dependence on the tourism industry.

5.2.2.1 Theoretical underpinnings

The conceptualization of lifestyle migration concerns, first, an understanding of how a certain lifestyle is central to the migratory flow in question. The theoretical framework on which it rests concerns the considerations about the waning power of social institutions to organize processes of social reproduction. Key ideas theorize wide tendencies shaping, particularly, the western capitalist world, such as the flexibilization of work modes, the fading of communal arrangements and influences or the intensified transnational connectivity through physical and virtual travel. They propose a social world where uncertainty walks hand in hand with choice, thereby creating significant anxiety about paths one can build to navigate ever-changing realities. Baumann's (2000) notion of "late" or "liquid modernity", Beck's "risk society" and Sennet "corrosion of the character" are examples of theorizations about the exacerbation of tendencies of modernity in current society (e.g. capitalism, individualization) which have had impacts on the ways in which people organize their everyday lives, their relation with structures, each other and, significantly, themselves. The work of Anthony Giddens, is perhaps the most influential in that it proposes that as (work, gender, family, among other) social roles and positions are less and less fixed by institutions and tradition, people must craft their own paths and identity positions. With greater agency, freeer from socially-determined identity positions, individuals are therefore also fraught by the fact that "we have no choice but to choose" (Giddens 1991: 81).

The notion of lifestyle is central to this articulation of greater agency, which is at once liberating and burdensome. To be sure, lifestyle consists of a set of "a more or less integrated set of practices which an individual embraces, not only because such practices fulfill utilitarian needs, but because they give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity" (*ibid*). In other words, in a "reflexive project of the self", people give material form to the narrative through which they construct their selves. Constantly working towards sustaining a coherent sense of self while expressing that narrative in concrete practices comprises the management of one's social positions and one's public presentation while, at the same time, the fulfillment of personal and emotional needs. Additionally, it reveals the aspirations and expectations underscoring such constructions and management. As such, the notion of lifestyle is related to what are perceived to be the best choices to fashion oneself, one's place in society and one's projected future. Therefore, when spatial moves are primarily driven by a choice to change individuals' general way of life, these moves are ways of "making statements about who one is or wants to be (Sweetman cited in Torkington, 2009: 127). In that sense, lifestyle migration is thus telling of a "conscious choice not only about where to live but also about how to live" (Hoey, 2005).

The use of the notion of lifestyle to describe a type of migratory flows entails problematizing and situating lifestyle. Admitting that any migrant relocates so as to pursue what they believe to be a better life, as others have emphasized lifestyle migration must (e.g. Salazar, 2011), the proponents problematize the concept, first, by locating the migratory project in late modernity. To be specific, lifestyle migration results from the rhetoric of individualization and enhanced agency in that it is underscored both by choice and the reflexive project of the self – although, ironically, as Benson and O'Reilly (2009a: 6) note, it uses spatial mobility to escape these very predicaments. To be sure, the search for authenticity, traditional culture, and communal and sociable living, especially when coupled with the perceptions of the cold relationships, the stressful pace of life, increasingly dangerous surroundings, the excessive focus on work in the context of origin (which are common elements emerging in the discourses about the motivations to move) express urges to overcome the anxiety posed by ubiquitous choice and excessive individualization of contemporary society. Benson and O'Reilly (2009a) draw on the notion of escape to articulate how these contextual factors figure in individual motivations to move

inscribed in reflexive projects of the self. Highlighting the importance of biography in triggering migratory moves,[346] they note people steer away from the features of late modernity (risk, insecurity, monotony) and that this figures centrally in the narrative constructions to the extent people leave behind not only past lives but also potential and dreaded futures.

Significantly, understanding lifestyle migration as a "comparative projects" (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009b: 610) further entails qualifying choice and lifestyle. As the proponents note, opting to move spatially so as to embrace a "better lifestyle" is a statement that resonates within the individual's own biographical aspirations and expectations – thereby contrasting the chosen path with past and potential future lives– but that also resonates socially, with peers who experience similar constraints and converse with similar value-scales and imaginaries. In other words, these choices converse with sociocultural specific imaginaries and types of aspirations of individuals, which Benson and O'Reilly (2009: 10) situate in the developed world[347] and, in the case of the "expats" in the Algarve, are particular to the British. The escape to the "good life" is a then comparative project that expresses practices of social distinction because the choices made are socially conventioned to be desirable (Benson, 2012: 1690). On the one hand, lifestyle migration is a comparative *project* to the extent that the idealized life chosen is continuously pursued even after the initial move itself. On the other hand, it is *comparative*, to the extent that lifestyle choices are lived out through recurrent practices of consumption, which continuously reaffirm and display individual's adoption (and ability to live) of that "good life" (M. Benson & O'Reilly, 2009b; Oliver & O'Reilly, 2010).

Accordingly, to add to that, these choices are not only specific to those who are in the position to imagine them but also to those who, additionally, can act upon

[346] Various authors make the case for the importance of "watershed moments" in the process of decision-making and materializing the move (e.g. by highlighting the importance of overcoming the loss of work identity with other forms of recovering or building routines and prestige) see, particularly, the work of Brian Hoey for a compelling argument on the importance of biographical watershed moments triggering the reassessments of individuals' life projects (Hoey, 2005)

[347] Amit (2007: 7) also highlights that traveling has become increasingly trumpeted as a positive and prestigious marker of cultivated taste, social class and personal development in a globalized world when moving, or visiting, is part of more projects underscored by choice and privilege.

them.[348] To be sure, if lifestyle choices are expressed through consumption practices, lifestyle migration entails sufficient material resources to partake in the flow. As noted earlier, being professionally active, and often self-employed, is not detrimental to individuals' investment in the desired lifestyle. Maintaining a work-life balance enables people to enjoy the amenities of the place in addition to engage in relevant and distinctive consumption practices. As affirmations of distinction, such consumption practices can entail expensive habits and assets or be reduced to having made the very move to a place constructed as enabling living "the good life", which constitutes in itself a positional good, in spite of living a modest everyday life.

This is one caveat of this approach for it rests of relative indicators to distinguish lifestyle migrants. In practice, it obscures the difference between economic migrants and lifestyle migrants. Perdigão's (2015) comparative study of language practices amongst various migrants in the Algarve raises this question, for all individuals emphasize quality of life markers noted by the British lifestyle migrants above (e.g. climate, safety, proximity with nature, and so on) as aspects structuring their migration project. Even if I would differentiate between motivations to move and motivations to move to a specific location (in this case the Algarve), are self-reported motivations sufficient indicators distinguishing lifestyle migrants from other migrants? How are the lives of "productive lifestyle migrants" (to use Mcintyre's (2011) expression) who need to work to sustain their move and stay in the Algarve objectively different from those of other migrants who chose to move to an amenity-full destination? And how are the lives of, for instance, retired, and therefore primarily "consumptive lifestyle migrants", who are struggling with small pensions and the rise of taxes and cost of living because of the crisis, objectively different from, for instance, retirees from Brazil, Cape Verde or Ukraine who reunified with family members who moved to work in the Algarve? Educational qualifications would not be an indicator (for Eastern Europeans are known to work in professions well below what their educational background qualifies them for), but the

[348] Apart from lifestyle migration, this rings true for any lifestyle choices, as GIddens also notes that not all "choices are open to everyone, or that people take all decisions about options in full realization of the range of feasible alternatives." (Giddens 1991: 81).

specialization of work might.[349] In other words, there is a need for honing the definition of lifestyle migration so as to answer these questions and develop a definition which is not solely based on subjective indicators.

In the Algarve, I would argue there are two aspects that class the British (as well as other "expats") as lifestyle migrants, even regardless of economic means. One concerns the notion of relative privilege, which is included in the definition of lifestyle migration and seems central in this case. As O'Reilly (2012: 66) notes for the case of British in Spain, these "expats" are individuals for whom structures act more often as opportunities than as constraints. In practice, the aforementioned conjunctural conditions (such as the legal frameworks facilitating the move, or the exchange rates and the higher British pensions granting them enhanced purchasing power in Portugal) are central to facilitating the British' move to the Algarve. In some cases, they also enable a lifestyle that people would not afford in the UK.

To add to that, their relative privilege results from a symbolic dimension that positions them in the destination context.[350] In the Algarve, according to my interlocutors, the British are generally associated with a high social standing which these "expats" appropriate and which, at the same time, locals contribute to reconfirm.[351] The modes of appropriation and reconfirmation were varied for both parties, ranging from explicit affirmations of asymmetries to quiet acknowledgement of differences. The point to retain is that the Portuguese I met, like the sales representatives at the station, were keenly aware that many British did not enjoy the

[349] By specialization of work I mean the position one occupies in a given sector. To be specific, although there are other migrants working in the niche-market catering to tourists and lifestyle migrants, most migrants who do not use the English language as their language of communication in the Algarve (e.g. Eastern Europeans) tend to work as employees in British companies. If running a business for tourists and "expats" it is more probably a grocery shop selling a wider array of foodstuffs than those from Eastern Europe, but not a real estate agency, which the Dutch, Swedish, Irish and German, like the British, run.

[350] See Benson (2013) and Hayes (2015) for discussions of privilege in the cases of North Americans in, respectively, Panama and Ecuador. These discussions are entangled with the politics of race from the perspective of whiteness, which is not an issue among British in Portugal. They nevertheless usefully emphasize the importance of historical relations in constructing relations of power and by signaling how privilege can be internalized by migrants.

[351] As noted earlier, although some admitted to feeling a treatment they knew other migrants did not get, the British mostly spoke about a stereotypical group of peers in which they did not indidividually inscribed themselves in.

same status in their home context and, therefore, would not feel entitled to act in similar ways there (e.g. blatantly disregarding rules and regulations, expecting to be catered for, criticizing systems and suggesting changes). Further reinforcing this differentiating relative privilege, they straightforwardly noted that the Portuguese are often subservient, in part because of the transversal dependence of the local economy on tourists and these "expats".[352] Like tourists, "expats" are thus often perceived as clients, which informs the social distance described earlier. Granted, there may be a number of other relationships (neighborhood, work, friendship, or family) which texture the latter and that would need more careful research to grasp.

A second aspect pertains to the porosities with tourism, which may be more evident and prevailing than, for instance, in rural France or other destinations of lifestyle migration that are not mass tourism destinations. For the British "expats", the move seems to have been paved in most cases by prior tourist visits and by the marketing discourses fueling imaginaries about idealized living. Moreover, the tourism and "expat" oriented industry enables those working-age "expats" who need to work in order to sustain a life in the sun, to engage in a lifestyle migration project (namely by providing a niche-market in which they can participate with competitive advantage because of language and cultural skills). Subsequently, working in such businesses maintains them within the realm of leisure (ideologies, sociabilities, market logics, discourses and so on) and in close contact with co-nationals, with whom they tend to socialize regardless. Moreover, the aforementioned similarities between recreational habits and consumption practices of tourists and "expats" renders their lives similar to wealthier compatriots and quite different from other

[352] One could further elaborate on historical and sociocultural underpinnings to this relationship of power. In addition to decades of intercultural contact comprising visits of British travellers and tourists who afforded to invest in recreation and leisure abroad whilst Portugal endured poverty, historians would possibly go farther back and argue that wider Anglo-Portuguese relations largely relied on political and symbolic subordination of the Lusophone country (see, for instance, Dória, 1989). Indeed, analyses of the travelogues of the travellers passing through Portugal in the "Grand Tour" days suggest that the power relation became ingrained in benevolent condescendence towards the Portuguese (Martins, 1987: 96). On a more general note, O'Reilly (2000: 161-165) invokes Great Britain's imperial past to describe long-standing asymmetrical relations with foreign contexts even if, like Spain and Portugal, they were not colonies. Similarly underlining the tourism centered economy as a factor structuring a relationship of dependency Cohen (1977: 5) classifies "expatriacy" upfront as a neo-colonial phenomenon, which "symbolize and help to perpetuate a relationship of dependency between the developing and the major developed countries".

migrants'. Importantly, although work may be an important and even structuring element of migratory projects (e.g. of entrepreneur "expats" [Stone & Stubbs, 2007] or of housewives of corporate professionals in, for instance, Indonesia [Fechter, 2007]), it is not the central element in the ways people make sense of their experience but remains rather as a means to an end (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009b; Stone & Stubbs, 2007).[353]

Additionally, from a subjective point of view, people make sense of their experience by reference to tourism. It imprints the positive connotations of tourist travel to migratory moves, which are often conceived of as negative inescapabilities (namely when driven by need) as Williams & Mcintyre (2012) note. More specifically, lifestyle migration turns certain aspects of tourist experiences into a way of life to the extent that it involves a similar search for an idealized way of living that revolves mostly around leisure; a search for authenticity in engagements; and a somewhat liminal stance of connection with place based on affinities to place but not clear participation in local realities and in their logics.[354] Accordingly, although some working full-time migrants may speak at length about dimensions of life that hardly resemble the light-hearted flaneur-like posture of tourists, they tend to refer to the tourist perspective. Whether because they were once tourists or because they must understand and converse with them as service providers, they share it. Moreover, "expats" draw on the position and rhetoric of tourists, namely as "guests", so as to negotiate their stance of connection with place.

Among the lifestyle migration scholars defending that point, O'Reilly (2007, 2008) [355] compellingly discusses the way in which residential tourism could conceptually be useful to describe lifestyle migration. She asserts the expression residential tourism is apt to describe lifestyle migration insofar as it signals the

[353] Although lifestyle migration studies may include realities of corporate expatriacy such as the one mentioned, lifestyle migration is not focused on those work-related mobilities.

[354] See, for instance, (Maccannell, 1976; Rojek & Urry, 1997; Rojek, 2009, 2010; Urry & Larsen, 2003)for discussions of these aspects in the case of tourist experiences.

[355] O'Reilly points specifically to situations in which people become hosts: when they are visited by friends and family and tour them around. According to the author, the "way this is managed can be understood as a performance of the balance between hosts and guests, between living and touring, being in but not of the society they live in" (OReilly, 2008: 137).

tension between rootedness (residential) and transience (tourism) and the contradictions therein. As the author notes, and I have tried to illustrate previously, people display ambivalence when they declare a love for the place of residence and distinguish themselves from tourists who never see the "real" Spain (or, in my case, Algarve), but have often but a vague understanding of its culture and customs; when they remind each other they should be respectful of the local culture and not meddle as they are "guests" there, even though emphasize it is (also) their home; when they assert that they want to integrate, but invest little in doing so (as a whole).These are revealing of a liminal lived experience and underscore the ambivalence which lies at the heart of lifestyle migration itself to the extent it is informed by the desire of escape and being sited betwixt and between residency and tourism (Benson and O'Reilly 2009a, 2009b; Oliver 2007; O'Reilly 2000).[356]

5.2.3 Synthesis of section The lifestyle migration approach

In order to conceptualize a number of modalities of travel and settlement that have been challenging the distinctions between tourism and migration, a number of authors have been developing a theoretical approach they call lifestyle migration. It explores a set of flows that are not driven by economic hardship and the search for financial security as much as by a search for something loosely perceived to be a "better life", such as international retired migration as well as amenity and counter urbanization movements that cross borders. As the approach is being developed it becomes more theoretically grounded although there are still some limitations yielding criticisms (e.g. notes about an excessive emphasis on subjectively defined motivations to move and modes of relating to place as opposed to clearer indicators enabling researchers to clearly establish who qualifies as a lifestyle migrant and to quantify the trend). Nevertheless, it is able to engage qualitative work with general tendencies that transform contemporary realities (e.g. individualization, mediatization, globalization) while not losing sight of situated conjunctural conditions shaping

[356] This is an approach taken in various migration studies as well, namely relating to "expatriates". See, for example, Amit-Talai's exploration of how global economic restructuring manifests a feeling of perpetual limbo for "expatriate" workers in the Cayman Islands (1998).

mobilities. In particular, it converses theories conceptualizing contemporary trends, such as "late modernity", the "risk society", and, most directly, the "reflexive project of the self", to illuminate aspects of distinct forms of migration which would otherwise be difficult to identify.

Providing an avenue to understand relatively privileged forms of mobility that are common within Europe (although also bringing people across the world, mostly in the north-south direction), lifestyle migration presents a useful framework to conceptualize the relocation of British "expats" in the Algarve. In an escape from a way of life in the UK informed by large modernity tendencies, people capitalize on the fact that structures operate for them more often as opportunities than as constraints. Aware of differential costs of living and stimulated by imaginaries associating a "better life" with the Algarve, people capitalize on the intra-European facilities of movement, relocation, and employment. The Algarvean tourism context further provides an inroad to settlement to the extent people become familiar with the place prior to establishing more permanent attachments (buying a house or permanently relocating), can comfortably settle without knowing the local language, can easily find work, and can maintain a work-life balance which requires funding but is centered on "living the (idealized) life". Additionally, the tourist setting provides a symbolic context positioning "expats" in a relatively privileged position besides enabling them to lean on the posture of being a "guest" as part of turning tourism into a way of life. In addition to underscoring the consumption practices lying at the heart of this tourism-informed mobility and the strategies of positioning they entail, lifestyle migration signals the importance of the contradictions and ambivalence underscoring the lifestyle of people who stand between the permanence and transience of a tourism-informed mobility.

5.3 Conclusion

The British have been a long-standing presence in Portugal. Although the flows bringing people as visitors or migrants to the Algarve is distinct from the history of settlement of families in Oporto and of diplomats and businessmen in Lisbon, who all tend to speak Portuguese and be quite involved in national society, it dates back to the times of the "Grand Tour". More than flows to Cascais and Estoril, Madeira, or central Portugal, which were other elected holiday areas and destinations,

migration to the Algarve is deeply intertwined with tourism dynamics. If the region developed mostly because of that industry, it is significant that a main market fueling the Algarve's transformation into a notable tourism destination internationally has consistently been the UK. Since the 1960s, when the airport was built, remarkable amounts of tourists started visiting regularly and, in many cases, purchasing second homes and/or retiring permanently in the south of Portugal. Largely because of this presence the British have been the most numerous European immigrant population in Portugal, even if remaining far below the incomers from Brazil, Portuguese speaking African countries and, particularly since the 2000s, Eastern Europe. Even when outnumbered recently by Romanians, when that country accessioned into the EU, the British remain a materially and symbolic presence in the Algarve. Although many not register, it is possible to estimate them as amounting to 10% of the resident population and comprising mostly retirees but also younger working-age individuals and their families.

The diversity of the population makes it a challenge to describe. It includes people who mostly circulate through the Algarve (such as commuters, travelers, youngsters volunteering so as to sustain extended travel), others who visit (such holiday makers, visiting friends and relatives of residents, and people who recurrently visit and may spend a significant part of the year in the Algarve, whether they own a house there or not), and full-time residents (who may be retirees, self-employed family people, second-generations and/or people in mixed marriages). Some opted for the Algarve after having worked in multinational companies across the world, while others chose it from a selection of possible lifestyle migration destinations, and others still had family, friends and/or a history of visiting the region. The Algarve thus emerges as a destination in a map of transnational transits that is particularly differentiated from the nearby more popular and better-known south of Spain. Perceptions conceiving of the Algarve as upmarket as well as a friendlier destination, where language is not an issue, add to the general motivations that are transversal to lifestyle migrants across the world (e.g. temperate climate, relaxed pace of life, healthy diet, outdoors routines, beautiful scenery, cheaper cost of living, sociable culture) which, given the varied morphology of the region, also included searches for the rural idyll or for the amenities of seaside living besides. Also resonating with the literature, these projects seemed triggered by specific life events and, although not

many people elaborated on this point, projects for self-discovery and renewal along with self-fulfillment.

The modes of incorporation that the radio plays into, as explored in chapter 6, reveal a population that is largely settled in its ways and social space. Although vocally distinguishing themselves from tourists, full and part-time residents not only share a number of similar leisure-based routines in the same marinas, golf-courses, restaurants and bars, but also capitalize on the possibility of working in the niche-market that caters to them and their peers. Although keen on living the "real" Portuguese life, they therefore remain largely involved with tourism realities and "expatriate" social and business realities. Moreover, notwithstanding the varying investments in learning the language and engaging with local people and their worlds, "expats" tend to remain only functionally and partially incorporated. Referring to a stereotypical "expat" so as to position themselves as not secluded, they do not need to further negotiate with structures and often retreat to comfort zones among like-minded peers – even if it is not clear to what extent the British can be qualified as a community. Although this is largely enabled by a relative level of affluence, there are people in a range of situations, which include not affording to leave. In any case, they draw on the emic conception of "expat" to manage their more or loose involvements and affinities with place. Whether aware of constituting a "lifeline of the economy" and brushing on tourist and client-like postures expecting to be catered for, or reluctant to complain about systems that they do not feel comfortable with (for fear of small-scale dynamics backfiring on them), most draw on the posture of being a guest. This is alternated with the affirmation of feeling and objectively (sometimes only) having a home in the Algarve. Holding on to their British heritages, their belongings are therefore ambivalent in the Algarve.

This type of motivations, trajectories and experiences is aptly captured by the lifestyle migration approach (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009a, 2009b). Developed to make sense of fragmented areas of study that seemed to share a number of common features – namely the distinctive (ability to) relocate primarily in search for a subjectively defined "quality of life" – the perspective conceptualizes relatively privileged and tourism-informed types of migratory flows. Without losing sight of conjunctural conditions that facilitate moves (e.g. ease of movement, relocation, transfer of wealth and employment within the EU for its members), it highlights that

structures tend to act more often as opportunities than as restraints to individuals who seize them to engage in a "reflexive project of the self" (Giddens, 1991). Accordingly, although work may be even a structuring element for lifestyle migrants, it is a means to escape the dreaded features of the modern world (e.g. rising job insecurity and individualism) so as to construct lives around the "authentic", healthy, amenable and meaningful, whether it is sought in the mountains of the Algarve, in daily walks by the beach, in friendly interactions or in personal journeys of self-transformation.

Although the lifestyle migration framework is extended to conceptualize experiences across the world and in different settings, it is particularly able to theorize the tourism-informed flows bringing the British to Portugal – namely aspects that the radio plays into. It inscribes these flows in the compulsion to mobility and in the commoditization of leisure when describing the choice and processes of relocation to places like the Algarve as statements not only about where and how one wants to live but also, implicitly, who one wants to be (Sweetman cited in Torkington: 28). Appropriating a desirable lifestyle is telling of the relative privilege enabling the choice to do so. The socioculturally constructed desirable lifestyle entails, for those in the Algarve, holding dislocation as constitutive of the posture underlying cultural identity. Focused on comparing their current "good life" to peers and routines left at home, and continuously seeking an intangible quality of life, they remain largely somewhat removed from local realities while engaging mostly with leisure-based business and social circles, tourist imaginaries, "bubbles" and ambivalences. The radio both reflects and plays into these dynamics.

6 BRIGHT FM AS A MINORITY STATION – WITH SPECIFICITIES

This chapter conceptualizes the roles that Bright FM plays for its foreign target-audience. It builds on the suggestions from the field noted in chapter 5 (namely, on the naturalized way in which DJs projected a sense of commonality that seemed to focus on an English-speaking audience composed of "expats" and tourists, albeit with British contours; the station's participation in a media sphericule that converses with images of a "better life in Portugal", to use the name of the aforementioned exhibition; and the possible uses of the station to intensify sociabilities). It argues that Bright both reflects and participates in dynamics constructing a presence and social place for lifestyle migrants in the Algarve. In that sense, it converses with the ambivalences expressed by these migrants in what concerns the way they are incorporated and position themselves in Portugal. Furthermore, this chapter argues that the radio medium's affordances make it apt to naturalize the lifestyle migrants' presence in the local context, thereby reinforcing it.

Section 6.1 starts by establishing Bright FM as a minority radio station, albeit with specificities. To do so, it draws on minority media studies discussed in chapter 3 to the extent it explores how Bright fulfills the key roles of minority media, although in particular ways. It uses a transnational lens to read dynamics in which Bright is intertwined, namely by drawing on Appadurai's (1996) conceptualization of locality. Sections 6.2 and 6.3 explore singularities that distinguish Bright from other minority stations and that pertain to its target-audiences and its context. The first focuses mostly on production aspects. It suggests that local radio's affordances make Bright unique in promoting tourism-informed mobilities in what can be considered to be a lifestyle migration industry (as proposed in David, Akerlund and Eimerman 2015). In turn, section 6.3 explores how Bright can be used by audience members in their efforts of mobilization for social causes. Analyzing how Bright mediates "charity" efforts, it argues Bright both reflects and participates in a lifestyle migrants' strategy to participate in local realities. These three sections were partially explored in

published articles: respectively, in David (2014), David, Akerlund, & Eimermann (2015) and David & Rosales (2014).

6.1 Establishing a connection to place: naturalizing an unusual stance of connection

Proposing Bright FM as a minority station may not seem straightforward. In addition to the issues pertaining to the type of minority at stake, Bright's commercial nature could be seen as a main differentiator from other minority stations. Profit was after all the goal since the beginning and concretely underpinned the strategic Britification of broadcasts. Yet, while Bright never portended to be or to promote a cultural project, its commercial nature did not detract from Bright's original focus on the accompaniment of "expats", and particularly the British "expats", in their process of reterritorialization. Accordingly, all Jack, Carla and Mr. Pereira, who owned and/or coordinated the station at various points, described the English-language broadcasts as particularistic, operating in the sense of constructing the type of proximity with listeners that minority local stations do.

> It is partly community. The broadcasting, we're broadcasting our shows in English everyday. And we make a lot of community announcements on there. (Interview excerpt, Jack, Station' Founder and Director)

> Bright emerged with the intention, and because Bright's founder is English, the intention was also to serve the English community. This because the Algarve has a high number of English residents. So it emerges as a news service but also, overtime, we started having more proximity features. Cultural features, events…and entertainment. It's what happens with Clive's and Terence's shows. (…) But essentially it was that. To give the English community what they don't have in Portuguese radios. (…) And we don't have Portuguese speaking in English. We have Portuguese speaking in Portuguese and English speaking in English. We don't think it's correct for a Portuguese to do the news in English – regardless of how good the English [language skills] may be. But s/he is not talking for his/her community. A little, the maintaining the English community, it's [broadcasts are] made by English for English. Even the sensitivity of who is doing a show in English is completely different if it is a Portuguese or an English person [doing it]. And Terence and Clive have a legion of fans and it's almost… it's part of it [Bright]. (Interview excerpt, Carla, Station's coordinator][357]

[357] A Bright surge, portanto, com a intenção, e porque o fundador da Bright é inglês, a intenção era também servir a comunidade inglesa. Isto porque o Algarve tem um número elevado de ingleses residentes. Então surge assim, com um serviço informativo de notícias, mas também, ao longo do tempo, fomos tendo rubricas mais próximas. Rubricas culturais, de eventos... E de entretenimento, que é o que acontece com o programa do Clive e do Terence. (…) Mas essencialmente era isso. Dar à comunidade inglesa o que não têm nas rádios portuguesas. (...) E nós não temos portugueses a falar inglês. Nós temos portugueses a falar português e ingleses a falar inglês. Não achamos correto um português fazer notícias em inglês - por muito bom que seja o inglês. Mas não está a falar para a sua comunidade. Um pouco, o manter a comunidade inglesa, é a comunidade inglesa, é feita por ingleses

> But Bright FM will always be, like Record FM, they are distinct products. They are products that serve populations… I am not going to say minorities. Maybe they are minorities. They are products that serve minorities (…) Bright is [a] success because it is unique. There is no other Bright, no other that has bilingual [broadcasts], no other that is concerned with in that region, with that minority. (Interview excerpt, Mr. Pereira, station's director under the ownership of the Media Group)[358]

Accordingly, the announcements Jack and Carla mention are central to the radio sociabilities that the station promotes. They channel the type of stories from the community that authors such as Georgiou (Georgiou, 2007: 24) note to be not only the factors of sustainability but also what prevents the extension of the audience much beyond specific populations.[359] The fact Bright can make concessions in announcements of events which may have a commercial nature (e.g. the Churchill play) is telling of how important for the station it has been to assist the "expat", and particularly British, population with its social dynamics, even if it is against its commercial logic.[360]

Another point raising the question of whether this station can be classed as minority radio concerns its relative invisibility in the mediascape. Indeed, although

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para ingleses. Mesmo a sensibilidade de quem está a fazer um programa em inglês é completamente diferente de um português a falar inglês. E o próprio Terence e o Clive já têm uma legião de fãs e é quase... (sorriu) faz parte. Já faz parte. (Excerto de entrevista, Carla, Coordenadora da estação)

[358] Mas a Bright FM será sempre um, assim como a Record FM, são produtos distintos. São produtos que servem populações... não vou dizer minorias. Se calhar são minorias. São produtos que servem minorias (...)A Bright é sucesso, porque é única. Não há outra Bright FM, não há outra que tenha bilingue, não há outra que se preocupe com a população que está inserida naquela região, aquela minoria.... (Excerto de entrevista, Sr. Pereira, Diretor da rádio em representação do grupo de media)

[359] One clear example is the story of a man who fell seriously ill and whose family reached out to the English-speaking populations in the Algarve so as to be able to afford medical expenses. Although unfortunately the man died, he became a well-known name and cause given the amount of events organized to fundraise on his behalf. Bright was a key channel to publicize these efforts, as his wife told me in an interview. Other examples concern the stories of people who regularly text in to the live shows. Although they may not form a cohesive community necessarily, their stories are central material for Bright's English-language broadcasts. The proximity they instill is instrumental for the advertisers, who want to reach potential clients in such a mode of communication embedded in (and able to imprint) familiarity. As outlined earlier, these advertisers, and their belief that Bright manages to reach populations in this way, seemed to be central to prevent the station from folding.

[360] To be rigorous, most announcements "plugged" on air for free concern events intending to fundraise for social causes. Yet, as the coordinator explained to me, "each case is a case" and needs to be analyzed individually. It may make sense to support commercial events because of the station's specificity as the only bilingual radio catering to the English-speaking populations in the Algarve – even though it is not its commercial policy to do so and there is a concern with coherence in terms of what events are supported and how they are supported. In Churchill's case, there was a tradeoff with tickets to offer to listeners, for example.

Bright FM enjoys a well-established popularity among people who know, live and/or visit regularly the Algarve, it does not create a distinctive cultural sound identity and presence on air like other minority initiatives, as noted earlier. First, it blends in with the approximately 20 stations that can be listened to in the region, to the point of being hardly distinguishable given its playlist. According to the station's director and programming coordinator, it aims to create an upbeat and positive tone so as to associate the touristic region of the Algarve with good feelings and memories. In part, accomplishing this includes playing the most recent anglophone rock-pop music hits, which, however, now color most of the radioscape in Portugal anyway.[361] Even the "golden oldies" that Clive and Terence's popular live programs showcase can be heard on national networks that specialize on the music genres of the last three decades. Notably, such hegemonic references are sometimes actively avoided by minority stations such as Radio MultiKulti in Germany, which played world music in between shows by different migrant groups (Vertovec, 2000: 16-17). Only the advertisements and presenters using English denounce the station's identity when moving along the dial.

However, what this signals is that Bright's invisibility results from the singular juxtaposition of a symbolically powerful minority and a touristic context, where English is the lingua franca. In other words, one of Bright's particularities consists of broadcasting from a semi-periphery (Santos, 1985) to a population whose references are dominant because they moved from a nearby global center. Without meaning to support trickle-down ideas apparent in globalization theories, which have been well argued against,[362] I argue that this case sheds light on a singular aspect of the most commonly discussed configuration interrelating centers and peripheries: the presence of dominant references not because of appropriation by locals (who access them through mediascapes), but because of the cultural reproduction practices among

[361] Berland (1990), for example, discusses the Anglo-slanted circulation of music and the compartmentalization of audiences into genres dictated by market research.

[362] The flows of media may move away from centers, but also transversally across various regions, rendering it clear that there are multiple peripheries and geographies mutually informing each other (Cunningham & Sinclair, 2000; Karim, 1998; Larkin, 1997). A number of authors have highlighted alternative circuits, hegemonic references and situated points of view, as the titles of their works often suggest (e.g. "Travelling Sounds: Whose center, Whose periphery?" [Chambers, 1993] or "Indian Films and Nigerian Lovers: Media and the Creation of Parallel Modernities" [Larkin, 1997]).

dislocated people coming from a center. As explored below, Bright operates to draw peripherality from a somewhat peripheral place.

To explore these spatial dynamics in the case of a station whose promotion of emplacement is central, as suggested in 5.2, I draw on Appadurai's conceptualization of locality.

6.1.1 Conceptualizing place-making through the notion of locality

The relation between space and place in a globalized world has been subject to reconceptualization in order to address and resolve the disjuncture between culture, territory and social forms. In times marked by mobility and connectivity dynamics, conceptualizations of the articulation between people and their lifeworlds, and of how they coexist on a daily basis, have been central themes intended to underscore the constructed nature of place. The theoretical metaphors of global fluidity and global complexity are certainly useful to describe the changes in our contemporary world but they do not provide solutions to, and sometimes even ignore, the tensions between movement and 'salience of place' (O'Reilly, 2007: 278). To ground such ideas, discussions have re-established the local as the site embedding everyday life, however infused by the global and resulting from the intersections of various transits. Productively, authors such as Gupta & Ferguson (1992: 8) note how place-making is a process that imprints identity dynamics to place, forcing us to understand places in a hiearchized, but dynamic, socially inter-connected global space of relations:

> (…) by always foregrounding the spatial distribution of hierarchical power relations, we can better understand the process whereby a space achieves a distinctive identity as a place. Keeping in mind that notions of locality or community refer both to a demarcated physical space and to clusters of interaction, we can see that the identity of a place 'emerges by the intersection of its specific involvement in a system of hierarchically structured spaces with its cultural constructions as a community or locality'.

Concurrently, Massey (2005) posits places are constantly emerging, for they are always "under construction", as a result of a number of inter-relations of various orders, thereby comprising multiplicity, or a "contemporanous plurality", of, for instance types of people, modalities of formation of relationships, interactions of goods and ideas. Accordingly, different notions of space and place (e.g. Appadurai, 1996; Schiller et al., 2006) build on the refusal of fixity and the centrality of contingency.

Acknowledging this in less explicit terms, Appadurai's proposal of the notions of locality, neighborhoods and translocalities manages to further usefully articulate the process of place-making in ways that help reading Algarvean realities. He takes on board the importance of the imagination, perception and appropriation of place while not losing sight of historically grounded and power-infused contextual dynamics that render places very concrete sites for everyday life. To underscore how situated are the dynamics of the movement of people, goods and ideas and their connections to various realms, Appadurai, like Casey (1996) Massey (2005) and Ingold (2008), insist on the phenomenonlogical nature of place. For Massey it is "the coming together of the previously unrelated, a constellation of processes rather than a thing" that "occurs". Similarly, Ingold (2008) discusses a "meshwork of paths" that create place in their entanglement. As such, to speak about specific localities is to speak about the ties that locate places in the wider global space of relations, whether they assume the form of historical alliances, economic liaisons and dependencies, political frameworks or other.

To be more specific, Appadurai proposes locality as a concept whose different dimensions interact for the very (re-)production of locality to be possible. In its most concrete dimension, locality is materialized in social formations, that he calls neighborhoods, which are reproduced according to the interconnected relationships the authors above allude to. To be sure, neighborhoods are "situated communities characterized by their actuality, whether spatial or virtual, and their potential for social reproduction (Appadurai 1996: 178*)* and "neighborhoods are inherently what they are because they are opposed to something else and derive from other, already produced neighborhoods" (Appadurai 1996: 183). Notably, when Appadurai notes that there is an overall logic governing these relations, he suggests locality is a "fragile relational achievement" to the extent it also depends on the agents, practices and relationships reproducing its own internal logic:

> " [a] theory of context. A theory, in other words, of what a neigbourhood is produced from, against, in spite of, and in relation to (...) Insofar as neighbourhoods are imagined, produced, and maintained against some sort of ground (social, material, environmental) they also require and produce contexts against which their own intelligibility takes shape. (...)Neighbourhoods "are contexts in the sense that they provide the frame or setting within which various kinds of human action (productive, reproductive, interpretive, performative) can be initiated and conducted meaningfully. It's a context "which meaningful social action can be both generated and interpreted" (Appadurai 1996: 184).

In other words, in addition to the relations between neighborhoods inscribing it in wider contexts through formal, material and symbolic interconnections, locality is also a "property of social life", or a "structure of feeling" to the extent it provides a context for lived experience. Such articulation falls at the intersection of various flows along what Appadurai calls 'scapes' (technoscapes, ethnoscapes, finanscapes, mediascapes and ideoscapes). Notably, the author proposes also the notion translocality so as to underscore instances in which strong orientations towards transnational connections to sustain localities with their recognizable shape and nature, substantially divorced from their national contexts. Tourist sites, he notes (id: 44) are examples of translocalities that are closer to neighborhoods across borders. In that sense, translocalities extend along ethno and mediascapes from one geographical context to another, thereby breaking national boundaries and making evident growing disjuncture between territory, subjectivity and movement.

These ideas are useful to read the Algarvean context, and to situate Bright's role in reflecting and contributing to, in particular, the Algarve that the "expats" relate to so strongly. As noted by others (King, Warnes, & Williams, 2000: 144; O'Reilly, 2000: 107; Torkington, 2012) 2010, the Algarve can be considered as a "translocality" to the extent that it is connected to different points of the globe through cross-border practices that are frequent and significant enough to qualify as transnational transactions (Portes 1999, 2004). In practice, for these foreigners, the south of Portugal seems to entertain more functional links with places abroad than to Lisbon. The Algarve that "expats" presented to me is certainly closer to (the neighborhoods of) Manchester or London (which are contexts of origin); Gatwick (which is a main hub in transits to and from the Algarve); Malta, Turkey, the south of Spain and Thailand (which are similar destinations to the Algarve); Morocco, Seville and Gibraltar (which are common sites for shopping trips); Brazil and Dubai (which are among contexts where "expats" lived and worked in before moving to Portugal), and Australia, Canada and Austria (which are among the various places where second-home owners maintain their alternative residency). In contrast, Lisbon was mentioned as a distant source of regulations, which "expats" found to be inadequate to the tourist and "expat"-based economy of the Algarve (i.e. by implementing tolls on the high-way which are believed to discourage tourists from returning and, ultimately, will hinder the local economy). Significantly, although there are

intersections with the realities shared with Portuguese (such as the governmental structures everyone has to deal with or the material landscape embedding everyday life), the Algarve "expats" perceive and inhabit can be (and felt as) strikingly separate from the one the Portuguese relate to. Although the Portuguese locals also emphasize the distance from Lisbon, hinting mostly at a neglect from the government and the need to survive on tourism, "expats" articulated distance by emphasizing the place's distinct diversity and mode of functioning, as if "it is like another country altogether".

I use the term "Allgarve"[363] to underscore this distinctiveness and distance, as a shorthand way to designate of the translocality that my interlocutors inhabit. The term therefore pertains to the conjugation of sites, social worlds, leisure oriented practices of experiencing place, transnational connections and meanings which articulate, duly in English, the place as "expats" seemed to live it. In other words, the Allgarve is comprised, among other things, by the social life (materialized in bicycle rides, bowls tournaments, fundraising at second-hand shops, archeological society meetings and various other clubs' and "charities" activities); the venues, shops, animal sanctuaries, restaurants and other establishments where English was the default language of communication among those present; the ideologies associating a "good life" to the Mediterranean diet, outdoors routines and relaxed pace of life; the variably committed and successful efforts to learn the language and live more similarly to the locals, as if their routines were more "authentic"; the constant international exchanges, whether in the form of flights or financial virtual transactions placing pensions in local bank accounts (and converting them in transactions at the local private doctor, next door café and car-boot sale). As noted earlier, I do not mean to suggest "expats" are locked in a "bubble", but rather that they engage with place *also* through it. Variably moving in and out of two linguistic and social disparate universes, the foreigners I interacted with always knew well, and generally dwelled in, the Allgarve, even if also at (variably frequent) times they stepped out of it and constantly talked about doing so.

[363] I borrow the term from a tourism-board's campaign. Notably, many "expats" disliked the term precisely because it suggested a life in English, oriented to tourism and therefore, distant from the "authenticity" of the region, which they seeked themselves.

When fulfilling the same roles as other minority media, Bright was singular in that it both reflected and contributed to the reproduction of the Allgarve.

6.1.2 Reflecting and reproducing the "Allgarve"

Resembling other minority stations, Bright operates towards assisting in processes of incorporation, while fostering cultural reproduction and maintaining cross-border relationships with contexts of origin and places of reference. Yet, it does so in ways that accompany the specificities of the type of mobility bringing "expats" to the Algarve. I argue that Bright both reflects and participates in these singularities. To be specific, besides mirroring social dynamics in various types of content broadcasted, it contributes to reproducing them and, given radio's affordances as a local medium with a familiar and repetitive mode of address, to normalize and naturalize them.

6.1.2.1 Transnational connections

In what concerns the maintenance of ties with places of reference, Bright indexes the connections to a number of neighborhoods besides reinforcing them. Broadcasts reflect the links to English-language, and largely UK oriented mediascapes and ethnoscapes, while at the same time contributing to strengthening them. Most evidently, content cartographs and serves to establish those connections. Even before Tim created features about popular soap operas, he already spontaneously commented on sports championships' results and television competitions on British channels. Additionally, the long-standing news bulletins in English, which were retransmitted from the UK, presented a British point of view on UK and international news. Yet, in a more textured way, transnational connections are cartographed on air as people and cultural products circulate in this virtual space of encounter across geographical distances. As such, more than symbolic (musical, linguistic, information, or other) references in the playlist that updates listeners on the British news and entertainment universe, it is through the social organization of production and consumption practices that Bright connects the Allgarve with contexts abroad.

The social organization of production materializes transnational connections that not always become visible on air. One such example is the extension of production activities to the UK. Building on the recombinatory, distributional and archival possibilities of radio, production geographies have transcended borders since Bright's early days. Clive's first show, "The London connection", was sent by post in cassettes, which literally materialized that connection. More recently, although the possibilities of connectivity brought about by the Internet dethroned Bright FM as a privileged gateway of distribution of music in the Algarve, they opened the possibility for more affordable ways to make radio. As such, more DJs send their pre-recorded shows over the Internet, which, for some, can pave the way to be invited to do shows in local nightclubs, as noted earlier. Additionally, technological possibilities facilitated the partnership with professional production services which Jack had access to through his personal and professional network. Jingles, adverts and promotional spots were designed and produced in the UK before reaching the airwaves in the Algarve, leaving the traces of that connection in the accents and professional quality built into the sound bites. Such transnational links also extended to other neighborhoods in the vicinity of the UK, such as Spain. Although sporadically, radio presenters in Spain called in on a Sunday morning, and one show meant to cater to British tourists abroad was broadcasted at the same time in the Algarve and the Costa del Sol.[364]

In a more textured way, Bright further played into the connections between the Algarve and the UK by constituting a central factor motivating the move of producers to the Algarve. Besides Jack, who only dreamt of Bright when he first thought of moving to Portugal and experimenting doing radio here, two DJs felt encouraged to move because of their relationship to Bright. Clive started visiting Jack when he made the London Connection. His experiences as a tourist, which included the pleasant

[364] There are a number of stations which seem to resemble Bright across the southern coast of Spain (for a listing of stations in Andalucia see http://www.andalucia.com/media/radio/home.htm [accessed 20.12.2014]. The sporadic instances of cooperation, which were discarded as unimportant when I asked about them, were resumed to occasional call ins from relatively well famous people living in Spain to specific shows (e.g. a singer who had made the UK and US top charts with one single who knew one of the DJs), and to the retransmission of a show targeting tourists (Holiday FM). According to the team, the idea was a flop because, despite the government's sponsorship with annoncements about desirable behavior abroad, the point of the show was to enable interactivity by calling home, which apparently holidaymakers were not interested in.

surprise of realizing he was somewhat known in the area, were the first step towards his decision to move to Portugal before fully retiring.

> Well, the reason I got involved in radio in Portugal was purely through Jack. Jack and I, we've been friends for 35 years. We were naughty boys in London, worked in pirate radio, so we knew each other, (…). Jack came over to Portugal. Everyone was starting up radio stations without a license, whatever, because it was totally disorganized in those days. (…) Jack said, "oh, make me some jingles", and "would you like to make a program and send it over each week?" I said, sounds like fun. And I started visiting Portugal and I ended up coming here about 8 times a year. (…) I can always remember, I had been doing the thing (…) for about 3 months, "Clive, you've got to come to Portugal, you're voice is everywhere." I thought Yeah, Jack, tell me another story. And I, when he started, the original jingles were in my voice, and I had done half of the adverts for him, And I thought he is just telling me that to keep me happy And I came out here, (….) And it was sssso strange! Everywhere I walked, I kept hearing this voice "Broadcasting live, from Albufeira " and it was me! You know? And everywhere I went, it was blasting out of the restaurants, bars, ... (…) But it was amazing! ... Don't you think? That little show that I sat, and recorded in London is listened to by all these... you know, and I used to go in with Jack, and Jack would say, Oh, Hi Senhor José, this is Clive from London, you know, the London Connection "Ah! Senhor Clive! Come and have a drink!" I used to come home drunk every night! It was fantastic. You really felt appreciated! (Interview excerpt, Clive, Live-show DJ)

Similarly, the host of 'Late Night Algarve', which was discontinued shortly after I started fieldwork, had become a second-home owner. The DJ, who had been involved with Radio Caroline, was on the radio software business but was drawn to participate in Bright and to visit Portugal more regularly after negotiations with Jack about his company's product. Having met him through a local hiking and running club whose activities I used to participate in, it was clear he had an established social life waiting for him upon every return. Like him, a younger DJ making his career in a regional BBC station, used to produce the shows from the UK. Yet, unlike the two presenters just mentioned, this younger DJ only come to the Algarve for holiday, enjoying part of his payment in courtesies arranged by Jack.

Finally, in what concerns the social organization of production, it is worth noting the relationships underlying the advertisements broadcasted. As paid products, these commercial spots materialize the investment of firms whose business is centered in connecting geographical places such as Gibraltar, the South of Spain, the UK and the Algarve. Some are multinational companies with representation in the Algarve, usually in the business of dealing with "all things financial", as an advert summarizes (fiscal representation, investment plans, pension management, mortgages, and so on). They capitalize on potential clients' greater trust in a British company that is present overseas more than in local consultants and agents. Others are local family-run companies, which, for instance, assist migrants in their move, bring them orders from the UK on a regular basis or cooperating with multi-national companies by providing

logistical assistance locally[365]. Others still may be in the tourism business itself and capitalize on the structural relationships between different contexts. An interesting example is of an advertisement of Gibraltar's tourism department suggesting Algarve-based listeners, in a British accent, to consider not only visiting, and shopping but even getting married in Gibraltar. Notably, the area is a British dependency where UK brands abound and where matrimonial processes would certainly be bureaucratically more hassle-free than in Portugal for UK citizens.

> (female soft but enthusiastic voice over soft music) **If you want to enjoy the perfect holiday break at only 3.5 hours from the Algarve, visit Gibraltar! Why not travel to the top of the rock? See the famous monkeys! Watch dolphins in their natural environment! Unwind in the numerous bars and restaurants. Go shopping for quality top UK brands! Get pampered in one of Gibraltar's fantastic hotels… or even get married in this unique destination! Gibraltar. Take a closer look!... For more information visit Gibraltar.gi**

By repeatedly inscribing the references to services connecting the Algarve to these neighborhoods in broadcasts, Bright symbolically draws them closer to the South of Portugal on air.[366] Off air, however, these connections comprise concrete monetary transactions meant to fuel those connections through marketing to potential clients using them.

However, from a consumption perspective, the transnational connections are maintained mostly through radio sociabilities. An interesting example is the possibility of following the UK lotto in addition to the Portuguese *totoloto* on a

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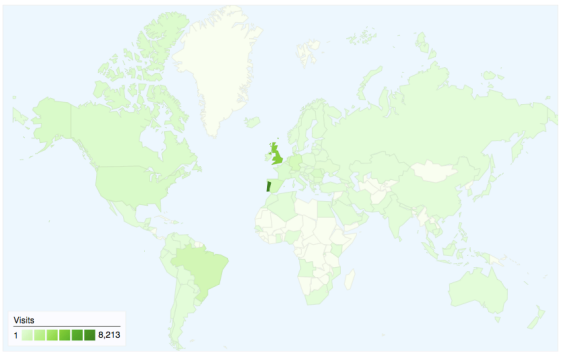
[365] To be more specific, one such company provides accountancy, fiscal representation and virtual offices to companies, thereby relieving them from having to set up, or maintain, offices in Portugal. In practice, they provide a virtual environment through which business can be made with clients besides organizing the formal issues related to establishing and maintaining a business (e.g. fiscal numbers, legal paper work, etc.). This can work for business-owners who are returning to the UK but want to maintain a business in Portugal and multinationals not depending on direct contact with clients. The repetition of an advertisement proposing these international connections to listeners constitutes yet another link, even if only a potential one.

[366] In addition, announcements of local events fundraising for British "charities" which benefit UK-based organizations (namely, the British Legion and Help for Heroes, which assist officers in duty, war veterans, and their families) also operate in a similar fashion: they construct proximity on air while indexing material connections (i.e. channeling of funds raised in the Algarve). In turn, a local "expat"-run foundation, which was building a holiday center for people with special needs, indexed such connections in a concrete way. Center Algarve is not only registered in the UK as a "charity but was booked for the first two years by UK-based schools and institutions for people with special needs well before it was finished building. To be sure, the center is open to anyone who approaches them, regardless of nationality. These connections derived from interpersonal relations in the UK and the uniqueness of the center, which is first holiday center for people with special needs in Europe. The dynamics concerning these "charities" are discussed in section 6.3.

Sunday morning. According to the weather reader at Bright, who used to play herself, what people do is ask (and pay) someone in the UK to play for them while checking the weekly results at Bright (or BBC's 555 channel).[367]More commonly, radio sociabilities realize transnational links through more common modes of participation. People tune in through the Internet from all over the world (Figure 11) and send messages, as discussed in chapter 4.2. Interacting with the station, or with each other through the station, regular and occasional listeners establish cross-border links with each instance of participation. This is particularly the case when people explicitly mention the trips to and from the Algarve. As aforementioned, some nostalgically remember good moments of holidays or years spent in the region while others announce dates of return from a few months in a second-home elsewhere. The latter render connections more banal when noting they will be back just in time to organize a yearly popular quiz night, for example. Similarly, visitors may express a sense of proximity by using the radio forum before they come so as to announce their participation in a local marathon as an effort to fundraise for a cause, and gather support (Figure 12). These messages further embed the station and the Allgarve in a constellation of neighborhoods by constantly virtually redrawing such connections and rendering them (and the circulation they index) part of local realities. However weak these ties may seem, it is their lubrication that strips their banal nature of a trivial quality, as Grannovetter (1973) suggests.

[367] The lotto may be submitted online from a country other than the UK but it is charged, in Portugal, where the Internet Provider's address is from, a 40% tax on dividends.



20,380 visits came from 116 countries/territories

Figure 11 - Map showing countries where people tuned into the station by using the web-player[368]

Figure 12 - Facebook post of a listener announcing his visit to the Algarve so as to participate in a marathon to fundraise for "charity"

6.1.2.2 Dynamics of Incorporation

Other discursive and material practices concern the connections that Bright assists in establishing the context of residence. Broadcasts both reflect and play into "expats" mode of incorporation into the Algarve. The specificities in the way Bright does so concern, first, the type of content which indexes and plays into such mode of settlement. More than information imparted by hosts, like in most other stations in the mapping, announcements, on air discussions, and, in particular, advertisements are telling of the ways in which "expats" negotiate with Portuguese structures their mode of settlement as well as how they are positioned in the Algarvean economy and social worlds. Second, the specificities concern the needs and interests signaled and tackled by broadcasts, which suggest a mode of settlement that can be qualified as functional and partial. Ultimately, Bright accompanies the involvement of listeners in the English-speaking realities in the region, in the Allgarve, which is somewhat removed from the rest of the Algarve.

First, practical information assisting migrants to establish themselves in a new context was imparted not by local news bulletins in English, which had been suspended due to financial restraints, but by live show hosts, who took it upon themselves to pass on information that would affect "expats" and tourists lives. They

[368] Map graciously provided by Bright FM's staff.

found this was necessary to the extent that "expats" were otherwise not alerted to and, subsequently, not aware, of such information:

> A lot of people have said to me, we don't care what is going on in England. We're not there anymore. But, we heard there is a law changing in Portugal, and it affects us. But we don't understand it. Or we don't know what the law is. You know, if there is a new law that is important, we're one of the media, maybe like the newspapers and that, that can give out the information to people. Yes there is a new law, like the inspections. You know, that all suddenly changed, but it doesn't always get announced to the English. You suddenly find out that you no longer get our car inspected till the end of the month. You got to have it done by the day you first registered it. It's a simple bit of information and quite easy to put over on radio. But people just don't know about it, and they end up getting themselves into trouble, because they don't know their laws. You know, I mean, you can still argue it's their fault, for not learning the language. But you'll always struggle with things like that. So, if we can help people, you know, and I'd rather give out information like that, that it's relevant to people, (…) If something's happening up the road here, or if the local bank got robbed, or something, you know, it's a news item to tell people about. (Interview excerpt, Clive, Live-show DJ)

Notably, more than issues pertaining to legalization of one's presence in Portugal, the possibility of family reunification or problems with work exploitation because of irregular papers, which some other shows in the mapping discussed, topics concerned less life-shaping issues: changes in laws concerning the registration of boreholes, which many people had in their properties and sometimes used as pool; the heightened tolls on the regional highway and the list of "to do's" for individual drivers published in one of the local newspapers; the volcanic ash cloud stalling flights to and from the UK (and thus keeping holidaymakers in the Algarve longer than they had expected). On a Sunday morning, the financial advisor's (Rob's) "rant" could further frame topics such as the (un)likelihood of an economic collapse (that supposedly encouraged an evacuation plan on the part of the British government) or changes in the tax regimes in Portugal and the UK (affecting investment plans in the stock market). These not only show how the radio can provide contextualization and interpretations for complex financial current affairs in the country but also signal the position of people who may be involved with the economy as business owners and thereby affected its fluctuations and Portugal's relations with international banks and funding entities, but who can also, as residents, remain partly unengaged and unaffected with the country's economy.

> Terence: So what's the backlash of all this [the imminence of a bailout in Portugal], what's going on, what's changed?
>
> Rob: Well, last week the European central bank had to buy some more bonds, but that's not the first time. (…) When we last talked, the international community was saying "Great, we think Portugal is a good bet", and the bonds were driven down to well below 6, 6.7% something like that, but now after that, and considering this particular bailout, the markets are still feeling a bit unsettled. So buying bonds only delays maybe what could be the inevitable, and the problems

that are still facing Portugal. And even in the UK and everywhere else with austerity measures – it isn't an overnight affair

(…)

Terence: So how do you see this then, these latest measures, affecting everyday man in the street?

Rob: It affects all of us here in Portugal! For example, if you take Ireland as a case in point, I don't know how many times I discuss with my clients, with other people, the concern – not really for me, it was actually advice that was sought. "Do I keep my money on deposit with Anglo or Irish –or anything like that that offers a decent return. I don't want to alarm too many people, I can't say that's the right or the wrong thing to do, 'cause I myself I am no predictor of what is happening tomorrow. But just rather as a reference, keeping money on deposit, people are concerned, people drew their money out because that's what the Portuguese banks are worried about. If they take a bailout then they are putting huge amounts of pressure on José Sócrates to not take the bailout, because generally people start to take their money out of those

Terence: And that is the worst case scenario, is it?

Rob: Well, it is. And in fact the banks, the Portuguese banks, just like any banks, just want to make profit

Terence: But the banks don't have money – it's our money. They are using our money. If they'll take the profit… (…) So what's your advice?

Rob: For the man in the street. Take care, as always. Make sure that you don't have all your eggs in one basket. Look at your options. And of course this is going to affect all businesses here in Portugal. And last year I have been talking to estates agents and other people – it's been a tough 2010! But I can see things picking up here. It's not gonna be easy, not gonna be an easy ride. But we just have to be ready.

(Excerpt from the Financial advice feature, 13.02.2011)

Accordingly, other instances notifying people of important aspects of dealing with Portuguese systems and suggesting avenues to navigate them also index their position in the Algarve as either business owners or consumers. These consisted of commercially driven content. First, capitalizing on the audience's needs and interests when settling in the country (and, for instance, establishing their own business), commercial representatives invented products to be sold to sponsors, which, however, addressed pertinent issues. Patricia, described the "finance minute", an upcoming feature she was preparing. On air, it would be framed by a short indication of the company sponsoring the feature. Following Portuguese calendars, these short pieces constitute reminders of, for example, the dates on which tax reports should be filed (as individuals or companies) as well as means of signaling particularities concerning rights and duties in Portugal.[369] The main point was to capitalize on the fact that "90%

[369] A few examples of such particularities, which "we, Portuguese, know because we are here, or have been fined for failing to follow the rules", include: the duty to charge clients for value added tax if earning more than x amount per year, and subsequently be charged by the state for it; the right to not pay for social security during the first year as an self-employed worker; the various taxes a property owner is subject to, such as the IMI (*Imposto sobre imóvel*), wich is paid yearly to the

are not aware of these things and then get the bills at home!"[370]. Yet, more than providing full guidance to navigate these systems, the point was to raise ideas to ask the accountant, and make sure that everything was in order.

> Many English (…) won't want the accountant to do everything because it becomes really expensive. And with the exception of financial management companies, accountants are foreigners, are not registered here and are not officially familiar with the Portuguese system. They'd need a course. (…) So, each week we mention a topic. (…) If they listen on the radio, 'hey, that's something to ask the accountant about'. (Interview excerpt, Patricia, Sales Representative)[371]

Similarly, advertisements hinted at avenues to deal with settlement. However, these commercial spots present the wide array of private services assisting people to address the needs they have in what concerns formally establishing their residence, business or even car in Portugal. The following examples of advertisements are illustrative of the variety of institutions ultimately inviting people to negotiate their establishment in the country. [372]

AFPOP (Association for Foreign Residents and Property Owners in Portugal)
[Terence's voice] **Who do you turn to when you need information and support in Portugal? And who *can* you turn to for unbiased, alternative and cost-effective information on legislation and other issues that affect you. AFPOP, that's who! AFPOP members have access to up to date information associated with living or working in Portugal, from a dedicated team that speaks English, German, Dutch, and of course, Portuguese. You won't find a more reliable or cost effective service. For a peace of mind that comes from being part of the largest association of its kind in Portugal, contact 282458509 or visit www.afpop.com and remember to say you heard about us on Bright FM. AFPOP, you can't afford *not* to be a member.**
Rental-license.com (company assisting with licensing of properties for individuals and companies)
[Female voice] **Have you heard about the new rental laws here in Portugal? What if there was a fire or an accident, and you had no rental license?!**
[Male voice] **I didn't know the fine was so much!**

municipalities, or IMT (*Imposto Municipal sobre as Transmissões Onerosas de Imóveis*) which is paid upon acquisition of the property a municipal tax; the right to benefits for families with children even if they were not born in the country.

[370] "90% não sabe isso e depois recebe contas! You name it, eles não estão a par de nada."

[371] Muitos dos ingleses (…) não quererão que o contabilista faça tudo por sair muito mais caro. E à exceção de firmas de financial management, os contabilistas são estrangeiros, não estão registados cá e não estão familiarizados oficialmente com sistema português. Precisariam de um curso.(…) Portanto, todas as semanas abordamos um tema (…) Se eles ouvirem na rádio, 'olha, é uma coisa para perguntar ao contabilista'. (Excerto de entrevista, Patrícia, Representante de vendas).

[372] The advertisements were on air through most, or, in some cases, part, of the period of fieldwork.

[Terence's, narrating voice] **Attention property owners and management companies. If you are renting a property, you are legally required to obtain a rental license for each property you rent. The fine for not having a rental license range from 3,000 to 25,000 euros. Go to rentallicences.com to give you complete peace of mind. Rentallicenses.com is a dedicated business that initiates, completes and obtains the legal license you need. You are not legally protected to rent out your property until your application is submitted. Check out the website at rentallicense.com and avoid the drag net of fines.**

Ex-Portugal (financial management company)
[Background soft sound with people talking and children
Male voice] **Oh no!! Guess what?**
[Female voice, German accent] **Vat?**
[Male voice] I just got fined 5 thousand euros for not registering my borehole on time!
[Female voice, German accent] **Hah! That's *beuring*.**
[Male voice] D'you mean annoying?
[Female voice, German accent] Yeah! Did you know that the Ex-Portugal could have helped you with that?! They help us expats with all sorts of boring issues, such as car, imports, papers, residenzia and all the other bureaucratic stuff!!...
[Male voice] **The ex-who?**
[Female voice, German accent] **The ex-portugal.com. They are on giggle.**
[Male voice] **GOOGLE. The ex-Portugal are on google!**
[Female voice, German accent] **Yahhh?!... Hello - I know that!... They fix your boring issues.**
[Male voice 2, sober, narrating] **Go to the Ex-Portugal.com and let us cut through the red tape.**

Gibro Group (financial management company)

[classical background music, Male voice, sound effects to highlight the listing of different aspects] **Wealth management, off shore companies, tax planning or fiscal representation, questions about mortgages in the UK, Gibraltar, Spain or Portugal! One answer: Gibro Group. Questions about residencies, payments, insurances, trusts, and financial services. One answer: gibro group. www.gibro.com , local branch 289463261. Global in reach, local in touch**

Algarve Freight Center

[sound of people talking, suggesting a house party]
[Male voice 1]: **Great housewarming party Mike! You settled in quick!**
[Male voice 2]: **Cheers Alf! Thanks to the Algarve freight Centre. They moved us down from England. Their service was excellent!**
[Make voice 1]: **The Algarve Freight Centre in Almancil? I used them every week to move my palates of freight! They operate their own fleet of modern vehicles and all their shipments are satellite tracked! They also help me with secure storage in the UK and Almancil! So they offer a removal service as well!**
[Male voice 3]: **That's right. A friend recommended them after using them for a local move in Portugal. They were very professional!**
[Female voice]: **Did someone mention the Algarve freight center? I used their UK online shopping delivery service. Their depo to depo rates are really competitive. And they guarantee Monday arrival in the Algarve, every week!**
[music stops] **For all your transport requirements contact the Algarve freight center in Almancil. Or Visit www.algarvefreight.com**

Luuk Bressers – medico clínica pacific
[female soft voice] **With a nearly 20 years experience in the medical field, Doctor Luuk Bressers is also at the Family Health Center, Clinica Pacífico, Albufeira. He's warm, friendly and caring, and treats his clients in a personal manner. Because he is also specialized in preventative medicine, Doctor Luuk Bressers can help to improve your**

health in the long term. His professionalism and experience will meet all your medical requirements, making your health his priority. To book your appointment with Doctor Remko Holst, please call the Family Health center, Clínica Pacífico, on 289543545. Your health benefits.
[jazz piano music] – **For all your medical, dental and healthcare needs under one roof call the family health center Albufeira at Clinica Pacifico Albufeira. On 289543545 Located on the left side of Modelo Shopping in Albufeira. Call 289543545.**

Although these examples are illustrative of a number of aspects which are relevant, as highlighted throughout this chapter, at this point, the important idea to retain concern, however, how these advertisements, adding to other commercially driven content, are illustrative of the possibility to delegate the relationship with Portuguese structures to intermediaries which represent migrants interests. They are telling of how Bright contributes to what could be classed as a functional and partial mode of incorporation when giving the mediators visibility and inviting listeners to resort to their services. In practice, people can remain a step removed from dealing directly with the state departments (like the *Finanças* or *Segurança Social)*, legal offices of city halls, and what not by using services like those advertised on air. After formal residency and business matters arranged, people can further skirt health and education systems by using the English speaking ones that are also featured on broadcasts. Complementarily, off air and at the studio, the conversations about everyday life, ranging from discussions of the fees at the international school that the regular guests' children attended to the common complaints about feeling targeted by the *finanças* and the GNR, conveyed a distanced relationship with a system that "expats" seemed to feel outside of, unable to fully understand and powerless to deal with.

In turn, the advertisements are further telling of how clearly well established "expats" are in the local economy. According to the sales representatives, at least 50% of the companies publicized are owned and ran by "expats". These businesses often employ Portuguese workers as well as "expats", some of whom are fluent in Portuguese, and cross the language and bureaucratic barriers for their clients. As suggested, "expats" capitalize on the linguistic and cultural proximity with potential customers – who are ultimately peers – and stand at a competitive advantage in a niche market. Indeed, the Portuguese I found at stands at business fairs, and some whom I accidentally met through Portuguese friends holidaying in the Algarve, who could not manage to become part of those fairs, commented on the difficulty to tap into the market by presenting it as "closed". Conversely, whether spending more time

enjoying or providing these services and products provided, people experienced the Allgarve largely through this niche-market.

To be sure, the specificities of this niche-market, which the radio plays into, concern the variety and type of products and services it provides. From the handy man that does odd jobs to large moving, construction, real estate and design companies, through to family sized pet care shops, restaurants, or property management agencies, the services and products advertised span a seemingly endless array of areas and enable people to go by without needing to learn the language. They signal also habits and tastes of the English-speaking population in the Algarve and, particularly, the "expat" residents. Broadcasts clearly indicate the importance of housing as advertisements relate to all finding, selling and renting property as well as moving, renovating, refurbishing, maintaining, securing, heating and decorating a house. Additionally, leisure is another leitmotif in advertisements that publicize often spas, concerts, golf courses, day-trips to Gibraltar and Spain, and sand sculpture exhibitions, among other entertainment opportunities. Like those activities, advertisements featuring restaurants offering international, British and Portuguese cuisines are also meant for all visitors and residents. Yet, other themes one could categorize advertisements in are telling of how rooted "expats" lives are in the Algarve: they announce health clinics, children and family activities, business opportunities, and marketing agencies.

Finally, to add to structural and economic dimensions of incorporation, Bright's broadcasts also suggest that engagement with social worlds is distanced, or partial, in what concerns the Portuguese social circles.[373] Social life is indexed mostly by announcements, messages from listeners and conversations with guests on live-shows. As listeners mentioned in sections 4.2 and 6.2.3.1 noted, the radio is a way to find out "what's on", like other local media. However, local events highlighted on Bright signal an inclusion into like-minded "expatriate" networks more than to local realities. DJs alert mostly to functions organized by "expats" for their peers, although

[373] An exception could perhaps be the Portuguese word of the day feature introduced by the Breakfast show, which equips listeners with phrases to use in restaurants, beaches, supermarkets and general social interactions, and perhaps develop interactions further. On air they seem mostly to elicit jokes and comments about life in Portugal from the perspective of an "expat".

they complement the messages from events' organizers with their own suggestions of local events to attend. As some of the organizers of these events told me, announcing the event on Bright is meant to attract other foreigners and, particularly, British, as the events cater to their entertainment tastes: quiz nights, golf tournaments, pantomimes or dog shows. What is more, the Portuguese events announced by live-show hosts during fieldwork, comprised events, which could be classed as touristic attractions. Gastronomic events, like *Querença's Chouriças* Festival; Alte's famous Carnaval parade; medieval fairs in Silves' castle; new years' concerts; sand sculptures exhibitions at the beach are a way of engaging with local culture through its folklorization and commoditization.[374] If in the first type of events there are usually few or no Portuguese,[375] in the second what I witnessed was a joint presence in a public space with hardly any interaction between foreigners and Portuguese. Nevertheless, it is important to note that these suggestions on air do not necessarily exhaust the modes in which foreigners seek to explore and live "Portuguese life" and that they can still serve as mediating avenues to engage in intercultural relations, as chapter 6.3 explores.

Interestingly, when broadcasts accompany this social life in English, they naturalize it beyond trivializing the regularity with which such events take place. When announcing events, and the venues where they take place, they ultimately draw a map of part of the Allgarve. The Allgarve certainly had different geographies for different individuals, but quite probably included for most people places like FATACIL, where the popular dog shows and business fairs were held; the Garbe Hotel (currently Holiday Inn), where dinner plays and pub quizzes often take place; the São Brás Museum, where amateur-dramatics shows add to a number of other artistic activities promoted by an international group of "*Amigos do Museu*" (Friends of the museum); the Lagoa auditorium or the Lethes Theater in Faro, where small

[374] This type of appropriation of the local social life and culture is hardly restricted to the radio. See, for instance, Sousa's (1996) discussion on the generalized folklorization of the Algarvean traditions for the sake of touristic consumption.

[375] I was usually the only or among the few Portuguese attending the events. This is unsurprising given the language barrier, in some cases the entrance fee, the rules of conduct which are part of some of these events (e.g. what is meant to be responded during pantomime shows) or the simple interest for the various types of entertainment.

theatre plays are also put together; the cine-theater in Silves where various charity do's take place, among others. This in addition to the supermarkets specializing in foreign products (Iceland, Apolónia and the smaller shops Let the Magic In and M and J's), the bookshops specializing in English products (Griffin bookshop and Bookworms), the international schools, the private clinics and hospitals, and other various sites where life (almost exclusively) in English takes place.

Accordingly, this map exists in English. Bright, as a public broadcasting media, contributes to bringing into existence the locative markers in this language namely by repeating them in advertisements, promotional spots and live conversations. This validates and amplifies naming local places[376] with a British accent also in part because of Bright's informal policy to restrict broadcasts in English to native-speakers also contributes to naming places with an accent. Only rarely translated,[377] cities and municipalities gain variations on their names: Albufeira (*Alboo-faye-ra, or* ălb ō ōph/eɪ//rŭ*)*, becomes *Alboofehrah* (ălb ō ōphĕē/rŭ)[378]*,* or even *Albifiehrah* (ălb ō ōphĕwrŭ); Loulé (*Lowleh, or* Lōlĕ) turns into L ō ōlĕē (*Looleh*); Lagos (*Lahgoosh*, or Lăg ō ōsh) into Lĕēgŏs (*Laegsh*) or Lŭgŏsh (*Legosh*), Portimão (*Pohrtimao*, or P ō ō/rtēmŭōn) into *Porteehmayo* (Poorwrtēmĕēō). Such carving of alternative oral versions of names for places in the region through radio broadcasts is not always purposeful or even conscious. In fact, the production team has repeatedly sent recordings of the Portuguese pronunciation to the English voices who figure in the advertisements (usually recording in the UK) so as to avoid mispronunciation. What is more, the station's DJ's try to correctly indicate locations and do, as is

[376] In short, place-naming is a dimension of larger processes of place-making: "the creative power to call something into being, to render the invisible visible, to impart a certain character to things" (Yi-Fu Tuan cited in Torkington, 2010: 128). For an in-depth discussion of the dynamics place-naming see Torkington's work on the linguistic landscape in an area of the Algarve associated with luxury (Torkington, 2010, 2011, 2012).

[377] In addition to the examples above, in which the type of venue is designated in English, and thus directly translated (auditorium, museum, cine-theater, and theater), only a charity organization uses a translation of the place's name (Vale do Lobo) in its own designation: the Woolf Valley Charity.

[378] For the sake of accuracy but also of easier readability, I used add my own phonetic transcriptions to the the respelling system used for phonetic transcription of the Concise Oxford Dictionary's, which can be consulted in Wikipedia entry's tables at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pronunciation_respelling_for_English#endnote_cod [last accessed October 30th 2011].

common among ‘expatriates’, mock tourists and other residents for mispronouncing the names of places. As such, laughing at the idea of *Albifiehrah* (ălb ō ōph ū ŵrŭ) or *Ferooh* (Phŭwr ō ō) DJ’s will still use the established English pronunciation of Portuguese names. Therefore, in addition to naturalizing the frequency and type of social life among many “expats”, Bright contributes to creating the context for this social life by literally consolidating the Allgarve as a context in English.

6.1.2.3 Cultural reproduction

While both reflecting and cultivating a functional and partial mode of incorporation into the local realities, Bright has also signaled and contributed to processes of cultural reproduction. As posited in chapter 5.1, until 2012, these were oriented to the UK and naturalized rather than assumed and explicit. Prior to 2012, whilst cultural distance may have hampered access to some social dynamics within and around Bright FM, it also helped me notice the often-disregarded cultural markers and practices emphasizing the connection to the UK. This was challenging to the extent that, in a context of geographical proximity and highly mediated everyday lives, there were few clear objectifications of home and cultural identity. Possibly, to add to that, these “expats” did not construct their connection to “home” in the ways observed in studies of (economically motivated) migratory flows, and their associated minority media of (see, for instanceGrismon & Soldán, 2000; Moura, 2010; Silvano, Rosales, & Ferreira, 2012).

Granted, there were some fairly clear referents even before Tim’s show introduced the very British features noted earlier. For instance, in addition to signaling Portuguese key dates (e.g. national and bank holidays), Bright observed specific dates commemorating the UK’s history (e.g. Guy Fawkes Bonfires Night or Remembrance/Poppy Day), celebrating or mentioning the celebration of religious occasions that have become socially oriented festivities (e.g. Saint Patrick’s day, Stir-up Sunday Shrove Tuesday) as well as the British Mother’s and Father’s dates. Moreover, announcements of social events usually listed forms of entertainment which cater to rather British tastes, as noted above (such as yearly pantomimes, old time music hall shows, quiz nights, dog shows and competitions, and golf tournaments). The latter regularly fundraised for “charities”, among which were the

British Legion and Help for Heroes.[379] However, the British cultural markers comprised more ordinary, but recurrent and pervasive, references on air.

Bright reinforced symbolic and material connections to the UK by giving visibility to an array of products and practices and normalizing them. More than the typical English breakfasts, Sunday roasts, cornish pasties or fish'n'chips in adverts which seemed more directed to tourists than residents, conversations among co-hosts and with regular guests placed British foodstuffs and products in the everyday life that the station both reflected and contributed to. They mentioned in passing brands recently made available in the Algarve (namely through as well-known British chains, such as Iceland, Wait Rose or Primark), some of which Bright advertised. These I realized were staples in everyday life for many (e.g. PG tips tea), and normalized the circulation of mince pies and recipes using certain cuts of meat at Christmas time in the Algarve, where the season is celebrated traditionally with smoked meats as well as fig and almond based desserts. Additionally, to create a different type of comfort, references across such varied types of content associated organizations with the UK, apparently so as to heighten their credibility and elicit trust from listeners (e.g. "charities" registered in the UK, medical doctors certified in the UK, branches of companies based in the UK). Structurally, news bulletins in English reflected the UK's perspective on British and international news, Sunday morning weather bulletins only included forecasts for UK in addition to the Algarve, financial advice was directed to full or part-time residents in Portugal receiving pensions and having assets in the UK, Monarch airline's spots suggested people circulate frequently between the UK and Faro, and mentions of local current affairs were restricted to instances affecting "expats". Finally, all these instances were articulated with British accents and sometimes through the resort of a particular style of banter, possibly including a joke about a recent event broadcasted on British television.

These references all resonate with Bilig (1995) description of "banal nationalism": symbolic references and practices that are often discarded in conversation as trivial, but can bear significant weight in practice. This is particularly illustrated by the following turmoil around the broadcast on Poppy Day:

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[379] These two organizations channel funds so as to assist armed forces officers, veterans and their families, although the second focuses on those who are currently wounded.

> Tim, the youngest host, filled in for a DJ who was on vacation this Remembrance Sunday morning. Although he had received instructions about the line-up of features, guests, and the particular way to honor Armistice Day, he knew he had the consent of the station director to "do his thing" provided he was "sitting in for the DJ, not replacing him". He therefore avoided allowing a two-minute silence on air following the last post (a bugle or trumpet call sounded by the British military), which is part of the ceremonial remembrance of those who lost their lives under military duty. In his mind, such a long silence is unthinkable on radio. He played the sound of bells and the last post, followed by a rather brief moment of silence. When I asked him about how the ritual is usually performed in the UK, he noted the rotation of images of soldiers on television during the silence. He hurried to mention that national radio would play soft music and the last post. But we were not in England. He argued it was unfit to bore people in Portugal with such an English thing and "dead time" on air. The English program producers and show hosts that I talked to on following shows, on the very same studio, could not agree less. In between songs, with no prompting, they commented that a longer silence should have been observed and that the "right" order for the ritual would be the sound of muffled bells, a two-minute silence and then the last post. (Field notes, November 13th, 2011)

It became clear overtime that this incident to a large extent reflected tensions between personal styles and positions within the team. Insinuations of lack of patriotism did not meet the profile of the presenter who, ultimately, brings perhaps the most British references to the broadcasts. The struggle about "what is culturally right" denounced the otherwise "seen but unnoticed" (Scannell, 2000) unexamined character of cultural markers that are particularly powerful because of their naturalized character. According to Scannel (2000), radio's daily, long-standing and pervasive presence contributes to making them taken for granted. Moreover, the author notes the importance of modes of address developing historically to adjust to the characteristics of the audience.

Although these references may elicit identification with an imagined community for listeners, as shown in chapter 4.2, the audience is not restricted to the British and a shared denominators may not be associated to ethnic ascriptors (to use Frederik Barth's term). As such, in spite of and in addition to this cultural repertoire, I argue that Bright also operates to naturalize a narrative about "expats" in the Algarve in addition the Britishness described above. The narrative concerning "expats" is rather composed of references about a specific stance of connection to place and despite occasional mobilization of the term "community" it does not imply necessarily an actual tight network of people identifying itself as a community. Like the banal nationalism described above, so is this second narrative reproduced in a naturalized way. Appealing to other "expats" beyond the British, like Gastón and Clarisse, this narrative concerns the ideal of "the good life". Such a narrative converses with subjective interpretations that motivate people to relocate in the Algarve. Yet, it is essentialized and commoditized in sufficiently open a way to allow

different individuals to relate to it and appropriate it. It is the narrative that circulates in international media about "a better life elsewhere", which is associated with the particularities of the Algarve.

The images of the Algarve created in broadcasts complement the representations circulating amongst international media (e.g. shows about buying properties abroad like "A Place in the Sun" (Channel 4, UK).[380] Typically, these

> … depict healthy, affluent retirees or elegant, physically attractive, and young people indulging in the best food and accommodation, enjoying active pursuits in perfect weather and in aesthetic, romantic, and often natural surroundings involving interactions with wildlife or intimate contacts with stereotypical local people (Williams and McIntyre, 2012: 220)

The aspiration for 'ideal living' thus relates to a healthy and relaxed pace of life, gorgeous landscapes, proximity to nature in everyday life, fresh fruit and vegetables, and material comfort – amenities that are permitted by a relative level of affluence and results from a deliberate choice regarding where and how to live. The structural elements of this imagery have been noted already since the 1950s, when the first images of "Europe's best kept secret" started circulating in magazines such as National Geographic (Mangorrinha, 2012: 250). By then, the sun, warm climate, relaxed pace of life, proximity to nature were already coupled with references to "friendly and hospitable people", who create a safe environment because of a general orientation towards family life which instills a great respect for the elderly. More recently, this image is underlined with the idea that, in general, the Algarve is more "upmarket" and cozier because of its scale (namely when compared to Spain), as noted in chapter 5. This narrative seems to serve to place the Allgarve on the maps of luxury tourism (e.g. "world class" golf, hotels and resorts, etc.).[381]

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[380] The sun, warm climate, stunning landscapes were depicted in Life Magazine, which described the "land of bright days and quiet nights" by emphasizing "the sand is sun-flecked, the water is warm, the almond groves are adrift in white blossoms, and a room at an inn costs $4 a day, including luncheon (with wine as prescribed by Portuguese law)" (Grehan, 1964).Yet, then, the slow pace and authenticity of fishermen villages and rural settings were described with references to establishments known by the name of their owners (Café Bailote) and to women who wear black and carry big jars of water on the road followed by their goats or donkeys.

[381] Like other authors, Glick-Schiller et al (2006: 615) acknowledges the work of officials and private entrepreneurs in recasting specific places as centers (in this case, of tourism). Fueling representations and their ordering in a hierarchical mode, the Algarve tourism board promotes it "as a quality tourist destination associated with glamour and sophistication". Although indirectly, through the images created in advertising, it inscribes the Algarve as competitive player in the geographies of different industries. For example, advertising golf resorts and hotels complements and fuels a niche luxury

Bright emphasizes these aspects through content, which is framed by an upbeat soundtrack invoking a "happy and holiday mood". The imagery comprises references in advertisements to "stress free moves" (Algarve removals), "good mood food" (Bistro des Z'arts), "unique atmospheres" by the marina (Flute Bar), "dream homes" (Build 4U limitada), "a warm Algarvean welcome" (Adega do Cantor), "serenity, tranquility, well being" (Serenity Massage) – in sum, the "lifestyle of southern Europe" (Yeasca Bank) - and "everything you could possibly need (…)[including] all the goodies you miss from home" (M & J's Minimarket). Accordingly, conversations with regular guests not uncommonly include, in passing, commenting on the reasons to moving and/or "loving the Algarve", by noting, for instance:

> The weather brought me here. The Portuguese people brought me here. It's time to leave England for me. It's cold and wet and miserable. And here isn't. (…) Most of us who made that move, we did it to come for the quality of life. Yeah, yes you can't get a plumber to come at 4 in the afternoon when he says he would, but that's why we love this country, we don't like the fast pace, and that's why we like it here. (Osteopath on the "Doc Spot" regular feature on a Sunday morning)

Similarly, as figures 4 – 8 in section 4.2.3 suggest, listeners writing from abroad regularly stress their longing to return to the Algarve, which further adds to this discourse.

What does *not* find a place in Bright's broadcast are the negative images of life in the "pleasure periphery" (King et al 2000) that made southern Spain infamous among the British media. To the extent that the emphasis on sun and fun obscure the hassles and difficulties inherent to living in a touristic location, Bright FM resonates with similar locally produced English-language media in analogous contexts (e.g. O'Reilly 2000: 108-109). On air, like off air, hosts avoid mentioning hurdles in bars which do happen, even if not with the level of rowdiness of the nightlife full of excessive drinking in some Spanish' towns. Even when the locally produced newspapers reported the establishment of a telephone hotline to denounce benefit cheats residing in Portugal, akin to what already exists in Spain, Clive commented on it off air to me but after dwelling a bit decided not to mention such a news piece on

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market which links to the cartographies of expensive tourism – including specifically the fairs where destinations compete with each other (The Algarve resident 10.12.2010).

air.[382] At other instances, the idea that the newspapers publish too many articles about, for instance, insecurity in the Algarve, would "kill tourism".

In conclusion, beyond reinforcing Britishness on air, whether explicitly or in a naturalized fashion, Bright reflects and reproduces the Allgarve to the extent it replicates their, and their fellow "expats" mode of relating to their elected residence. In other words, responding to the numerical and symbolic prominence of the British among the English-speaking foreigners in the region, Bright not only normalizes the circulation of a British cultural repertoire in the public sphere in the south of Portugal, but also replicates the narrative of the "good life", thereby extending the narrative to other "expats" who may choose to identify with it. Along with other agents, it provides in this process, an interpretive lenses guiding meaning-making and framing social action in the Allgarve. In this sense, it converses with Appadurai's conceptualization of locality as a "structure of feeling", a "property of social life" and an "ideology of situated community" – notions meant to capture the way in which locality is a relational achievement that also provides a context for the playing out of subjectivities.

In this case, the lived experience of and in a globalized world concerns a type of mobility driven by the choice to experience a subjectively defined "better quality of life" and which, in the Algarve, is concretely realized by British, for the most part. If "Locality is always emergent from the practices of local subjects in specific neighborhood" Appadurai (1996: 198), the Allgarve results from lifestyle migrants' specific modes of relating to place. Bright plays into this process in two ways. First, it is one activity through which that mode of relating to place is lived out, given that producers and audience members incorporate radio sociabilities in their everyday life. Second, it fuels the latter dynamics with the narratives sustaining the ideologies which people draw on to make sense of their lived experiences. Fueling such dynamics entails naturalizing such a lifestyle migrant stance of connection to place, which Bright is particularly apt to do because of the radio's oral and local nature. To be

[382] A hotline was established for Portugal so as to urge residents to report fraudsters abusing the benefits awarded by the British government. The news piece mentioned can be found at: http://portugalresident.com/british-residents-urged-to-report-benefit-thieves?qt-why_pick_us=0 [last accessed December 2014].

more specific, the constant effort to experience and enjoy "the good life" is promoted through the mechanisms of repetition and ephemerality which add to the sense of familiarity imprinted by proximity dynamics of local stations). Ironically, this interpretative lens concurs with a mode of incorporation which remains in many ways only superficially related to the "Portuguese" and "authentic" life articulated in "the good life" narrative in the Algarve.

6.1.3 Synthesis of section Establishing a connection to place

Bright FM Algarve can be considered a minority station albeit presenting a number of specificities that pertain to the population it caters to: mostly British "expats", or lifestyle migrants. Like other stations it assists in the maintenance of ties to significant places of reference and to establish connections to the context of residence in addition to facilitating processes of cultural reproduction. Like other stations in the mapping, it is not a mouthpiece for "voice", although it can participate in mobilization with civic motivations (explored in 6.3). Its singularities, which concern lifestyle migrants' mode of relating to place, can be helpfully discussed by drawing on Appadurai's conceptualization of translocality. Underscoring the socially constructed nature of place, Appadurai's approach relates actual social formations with interpretative lenses, which inform the recurrent practices that ultimately constitute and sustain places' "shape", position in the global scene, and specific internal logics. His approach is useful to articulate Bright's role in lifestyle migrants' particular mode of connection to place: as one among other (more central) agents assisting in processes of reterritorialization, the radio reflects and contributes to the reproduction of a mode of relating to place which is partial to the extent it fosters some degree of seclusion and to the extent it does not exhaust processes of settlement that the "expats" engage in. Using the term "Allgarve" to refer to the "bubble" that my interlocutors so often mentioned and to the way "expats" can relate to place through it, I argue Bright assists in a functional, partial and distanced mode of incorporation. This stance of connection is characterized by a strong orientation to international spheres not only in the intensity of transits and variety of trajectories of people relocating to the Algarve but also in the construction of a way of life ideal which pertains to widely circulating images and ideas of what constitutes quality of life, even if it is sought and grounded in the local.

In what concerns the maintenance of transnational connections, Bright does not portray the context of origin through nostalgic and essentialized images to be socialized among emergent generations nor does it reduce contact to the virtual space of encounter created on air, like many other minority radios. News, adverts and messages from listeners update the connections to places of reference when indexing the circulation of information, people, money and things across the borders. Production practices further materialize such connections when extending content-making to the UK. In doing so Bright draws the Allgarve nearer closer to neighborhoods that are organized around tourism-informed transits rather than to other parts of Portugal. In fact, the language of broadcasts and the hegemonic musical references channeled on air, like the narrative of "the good life", reposition a semi-peripheral region in the global stage and, in particular, in the vicinity of the UK around which most of Bright's connections revolve. In that sense, the radio can be said to make a semi-peripheral area less marginal. In sum, Bright indexes, fuels and trivializes the intense symbolic and material connections linking the Allgarve to a constellation of places that are centered in the UK but expanded along the lifestyle migrant' trajectories.

Accordingly, processes of cultural reproduction fostered by Bright concern a British-centered narrative, which can, however, be extended to other lifestyle migrants. In addition to practices of banal nationalism, which were complemented with explicit mobilization of cultural references after 2012, the situated point of view cultivated through conversations with guests, messages of participant listeners and advertisements concern the mode of relating to the elected place of residence. Without engaging the negotiation of hybrid identities, especially as participation is framed to be minimal and directed to programs' structures, Bright provides a framework of meaning for making sense of lived experience in the south of Portugal as a British (or English-speaking Western and/or Northern European or American) lifestyle migrant. The narrative Bright reproduces is particularistic insofar as it specifies a functional and partial, yet affectively engaged attachment to place.

Practical information about settling denotes the reduced number of issues affecting European migrants (as opposed to so called "third country nationals") besides suggesting needs and interests centered in material comfort and leisure, which advertisements further index. Bright both reflects and participates most clearly in a

economic incorporation which mediates relationship with Portuguese structures, as often services are hired to manage them, and the relationship with place itself. Whether as producers, who advertise on air, or consumers, which listeners can always potentially be, lifestyle migrants appropriate place with resort to a myriad of services and products that are meant to guarantee comfort in a foreign land.

Moreover, broadcasts invite "expats" to attend events organized locally, thereby providing listeners with avenues to become acquainted with social realities. As local festivities and fairs generally do not involve much intermingling and most announcements publicize events organized by like-minded peers, it is in a lively social life in English that people tend to most participate in. Projecting a familiar map of venues on air, and legitimating the accented (and sometimes even translated) ways of designating places on air), Bright contributes to a way of appropriating place which can bypass engagements with local realities. This map is complemented by the messages of listeners who maintain a presence from abroad. Recurrently stating the positive memories of the place, which listeners miss and long for, these messages imprint transnational geographical contours to the Allgarve. In tandem, the repetition on air of such events, local places, and perceptions of listeners is conducive to the appropriation of place and trivializes the life of these places in English in "expats" collective experience. Additionally, underscoring radio's oral and ordinary mode of communication, alternative place naming is heard on air rather than felt in print and phatic messages expressing both maintenance of social ties and affective relation to place are integrated in live shows rather than letters to the editor.

Notably, Bright's suggestions hardly exhaust lifestyle migrants' mode of relating to place. Granted, the radio does foster relationships with structures and with social worlds that are mediated by private agents and like-minded peers so as to render place easier to appropriate. As such, it does not promote a deep immersion in the local society but rather complements a strategy of reterritorialization characterized by seclusion from local life to a large extent. A functional and partial mode of incorporation is however not the whole story. Not all can afford to relate to place through private agents, nor do they want to do so. Radio is also not the main source of practical information nor of current affairs. Additionally, while it may be relevant and not untrue that the social life signaled and fueled on air suggests little connection with

locals, it is also important to keep in mind the varied way in which people use those social opportunities. Section 6.3 discusses how the radio can be used to explore meaningful engagements with the Algarve, outside of the "bubble".

In any case, as a commercially oriented agent inscribed in the realities of tourism-informed industries and mobilities Bright specializes on functions which are focused on the lifestyle migrant' mode of relating to place. I now turn to two functions that Bright performs and that distinguish Bright from other minority media.

6.2 Local radio for lifestyle mobilities

The specificities of Bright extend beyond performing minority radio functions in a different way. A closer attention to the way it particularizes its broadcasts and creates proximity highlights the importance of the tourism-informed context of the region it is set in, and of the mobilities bringing its audience to the Algarve. Along with other locally produced media, Bright is inscribed in dynamics that are part of what can be designated as a lifestyle migration industry (as proposed in David, Akerlund and Eimmerman, 2015): it is involved in the promotion and facilitation of people's international transits through activities based on representation and on economic activity. In this chapter I argue that Bright, as a locally produced radio station, capitalizes on the affordances of radio to facilitate and promote lifestyle migrants' relocation to the Algarve. Building on suggestions from the empirical material and from literature about place attachment, migration industries (Castles & Miller, 2003; Castles, 2013; Gammeltoft-Hansen & Nyberg Sorensen, 2012; Hernández-Léon, 2008; Spener, 2009) and the role of imageries in tourism-informed mobilities (Benson, 2012), the argument holds that both production and consumption dynamics operate towards facilitating people's transition between the categories sitting along a continuum that connect tourism and migration. While the radio is used by advertisers to fuel a niche-market that tries to allure people to come and stay in the Algarve, consumers use the radio to appropriate place through their processes of becoming full-time residents. Additionally, combining empirical material and literature a second suggestion is that radio can be part of a mechanism of reconfirming the choice to have moved for those who have taken the plunge. Before exploring each of these potential functions I explore the notion of migration industries and media's role in them.

6.2.1 Media in a Lifestyle Migration Industry

Media, and local media like Bright, are involved in positioning localities among certain neighborhoods to the extent they fuel and complement the movement of people with the promotion and channeling of the circulation of cultural products and imaginaries across borders. They draw and add to ethnoscapes and mediascapes to the extent they construct culturally specific representations of places and of life in those places – which can be both positive and negative. Although these serve to clarify boundaries between neighborhoods, which define themselves in contrasts with each other despite proximity, they also operate to foster, or discourage, circulation amongst them.[383] In this sense, they are part of a larger infrastructure facilitating, fostering and constraining international movements.

Discussions of media's role in the organization of international movement has mostly revolved around tourism. As Urry & Larsen (2003: 51) put it, media are key background agents constructing the experiences of travel as associated to pleasure (whether adventurous, relaxed, or other):

> It is hard to envisage the nature of contemporary tourism without seeing how such activities are constructed in people's imagination through advertising and the media, and through competition between different social groups employing different kinds of capital (see Selwyn, 1996 on tourist images). If Campbell is right in arguing that contemporary consumerism involves imaginative pleasure-seeking, then tourism is surely the paradigm case. Tourism necessarily involves daydreaming and anticipation of new or different experiences from those normally encountered in everyday life. But such daydreams are not autonomous; they involve working over advertising and other media-generated sets of signs, many of which relate to complex processes of social emulation, as we show later" (Urry & Larsen 2003: 51)

Topics debated in the field of tourism emphasize the role of mediated representations both in the construction of destination images (e.g. Marques, 2009) and in the conception of the tourist experience itself (which can be seen as lessened by the possibility to travel virtually through the media or, alternatively, intensified by images

[383] Karen O'Reilly's aforementioned discussion of representations of the British in Spain in the UK's mainstream media is an interesting example of how places can be constructed in negative fashions. As the author notes, representations of the South of Spain, and particularly of the British who live there, are associated with crime, precarious living conditions and artificial lives. These images discourage moving to Spain as a lifestyle migrant. As I found in the field when discussing a popular sitcom building on these representations (Benidorm), my interlocutor noted that while the living conditions were not for him, he "would not mind a week of that". In other words, recognizing the negative aspects of a mass tourism-oriented destination, he would consider spending holidays in the sun but not the possibility of moving there.

that fuel motivation to move, hunger for first-hand experiences and the anticipation of travel[384]). Although these debates are largely specific to the transitory realities of tourism, some of the points they raise are pertinent for contexts that are migratory destinations while at the same time being tourism destinations, such as the Algarve. In fact, in what concerns the international relocation of "expats" who started visiting as tourists, the Algarve is a migratory destination in part *because* it was also a tourism destination (Williams & Hall, 2002). Additionally, other flows usually ensue such tourism-informed mobilities in these contexts, either seasonally or temporarily depending on whether they are working in, respectively, the provision of services or the construction of infrastructures (id.).

More than lifestyle migrants' habit, and even need, to relate to place through tourist imaginaries,[385] a significant point for this thesis is the idea of an industry that constructs images, sites, routes and experiences mediating tourists' relations to places they visit. This approach is interesting because it intersects with concepts used to discuss migratory flows (namely the idea of a migration industry discussed below) while underlining the role of media and the imagination in them. To be sure, although authors like Appadurai (1996) had already highlighted the importance of the latter in the individuals' conception of (and aspiration to) "possible lives" elsewhere, the intersection between imagined worlds and migration has only recently started to be conceptualized (e.g. Benson, 2012; Mcintyre, 2011; Norum, 2013; Salazar, 2011). I find the intersection between tourism and migration industries is useful to explore the tourism-informed mobilities, such as lifestyle migration in the Algarve, and, particularly, the role of local media in the latter.

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[384] See Jansson (2002a) for a discussion of the mediatization of the tourist experience along these lines.

[385] See Norum (2013) for an interesting discussion of how the search for authenticity in Nepal for "expatriates" is mediated through tourism representations and spaces. In short, the author argues that "expatriates" negotiate positioning and legitimacy as foreigners with reference to tourists and their postures, while aware of the fine lines distinguishing them in the eyes of locals. Among other interesting issues concerning lifestyle migrant' experiences in contexts of cultural and sports-related travel such as Nepal, the author notes curious points of contact between tourism and "expatriacy" mediation (e.g. the fact that images of "unseen and untamed exotic landscape" in brochures luring "expats" to go to Nepal are similar to the ones appearing on "expatriates'" Facebook pages and travelogues).

The idea of an industry is a useful shorthand way to allude to the conjugation of agents and practices acting to sustain and promote particular forms of mobility, as Spenner (2009: 10) noted. In that sense, they are useful to contextualize the role of a commercially oriented local radio station catering to lifestyle migrants. Although often apparently taken for granted,[386] and not entirely consensually conceptualized,[387] both tourism and migration industries comprise array of agents and practices promoting and assisting (mostly international) mobilities. Additionally, both also concern businesses that profit from organizing the flows of people and relocation of people. Yet, the tourism industry particularly pertains to those businesses revolving around leisure activities through which tourists consume place in markedly temporary (usually short) visits. These include:

> transportation, hospitality, travel, design and consultancy; the producing of 'images' of global tourist sites, global icons (the Eiffel Tower), iconic types (the global beach) and vernacular icons (Balinese dances); the mediatizing and circulating of images through print, TV, news, internet and so on; and the organizing through politics and protest campaigns for or against the construction or development of tourist infrastructures. And it involves the almost ubiquitous sex- tourism industries. (Urry, 2003: 28)

In turn, the migration industry is oriented to the more permanent process of relocation elsewhere, thereby comprising

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[386] The tourism industry has been widely discussed in its varied aspects, from organizational arrangements, such as the added value of migrants' skills (Aitken & Hall, 2010), to its economic weight on a world wide scale, as a main sector engaging global commodity chains (Clancy, 1998), through its symbolic roles (Urry & Larsen, 2003). Yet, the concept seems often taken for granted. Similarly the notion of a migration industry (apparently made popular by Castles and Miller [2003: 28], and later, Castles 2013), is often mobilized in a descriptive way, so as to depict specific agents and/or practices in particular contexts, but not further conceptualized (e.g. Torkington 2011).

[387] Resonating with parallel discussions in tourism studies (Clancy, 1998), authors like (Spener, 2009: 20) and (Hernández-Léon, 2008) scrutinize the term "migration industry" and ask, for example, whether agents are consciously supporting a larger industry (or, in the case of tourism, are offering part of a generic "tourism product" in a fragmented way). The latter authors further ask to what extent is profit central to the industry (when there are individuals and organizations, namely NGOs, offering services out of solidarity and, I would add, possibly also other forms of non-economic capital). More recently (Gammeltoft-Hansen & Nyberg Sorensen, 2012) further the queries by wondering, for instance, what are impacts of different components of the industries in migratory patterns and networks, and what determines emergence and disappearance of different actors. However, a discussion of the points of contention of migration industries is beyond this thesis, whose focus is on the role of a local medium as an agent participating alongside other entities in the promotion and facilitation of tourism-informed mobilities.

> the ensemble of entrepreneurs, firms and services which, chiefly motivated by financial gain, facilitate international mobility, settlement and adaptation, as well as communication and resource transfers of migrants and their families across borders. (Hernández Léon 2008:26)

As such, if the tourism industry exploits the drive to alternate everyday routines with periods of leisure, the migration industry exploits people's needs to navigate national and international regulations, to discover and select from multiple services, and to cope with understanding how local (health, education, work, fiscal, and other) systems work when they don't know the language.

The idea of a lifestyle mobilities industry (David, Akerlund and Eimerman 2015) tries to capture the realities which are specific to tourism-informed mobilities and therefore focus on the tourism-migration nexus (A. M. Williams & Hall, 2002; D. R. Williams & Mcintyre, 2012). It underscores that consumption oriented mobilities are in themselves produced. The consumption of ideas, places, and ways of living, which are subsumed in the vague term "lifestyle", entail that agents and institutions operating at different levels enable the conditions to consume and/or create the very products through which the latter are consumed. Although the production activities may include the informal economy, they concern the voluntary choice and search for a "good life" (which contrasts with the discussions focusing on the difficult and sometimes illicit migration processes in the migration industries' literature).[388] Moreover, although largely situated in what Faist (2000: 31) calls the "meso level" of migration, the lifestyle mobilities industry can be understood to engage also macro-level actors, such as states, multi-national companies and supra-national institutions,[389] and micro-level actors, such as individual brokers working on a free-

[388] Although authors like Andrea & Gray (2013: 92-94) highlight the importance that facilitating migration, mainly the legal aspects of relocation, for the corporate movement of highly-qualified migrants, the concept of the migration industries seems to have more commonly been applied to the cases of economic and labor migration related to dangerous and illicit paths. Accordingly, authors (e.g. Hernández-Léon, 2008; Spener, 2009) emphasize the prominence of agents engaged in human trafficking, smuggling of documents and other activities constraining the movement of many migrants with little possibilities.

[389] Following the rationale of a migration systems approach (i.e. an approach that considers the inter-relations between dynamics operating at various scales and levels without losing sight of a holistic overview of the latter): at the macro level, inter-state relationships add to the political economy of the world market and contribute to organizing the possibilities and obstacles to international mobility. They can foster both the exit or entrance into the country. The aforementioned Retirement in the Sun program, as well as the non-Habitual residents exceptional category, are examples of the macro-level forces encouraging certain types of mobility.

lance basis to mediate migrants' relationship to the local and national structures at the context of destination.[390] Nevertheless, they consist mostly of small and medium enterprises, largely operating at the local level, although sometimes with transnational reach, but standing "one step above individual networks" and therefore institutionalized (i.e. doing work which could not be accomplished by individuals alone or informal networks with little organization or circulation of money [Hernandez Leon 2008: 193]). Finally, perhaps more than in tourist and migration industries, many agents in the lifestyle mobilities industry are (or were) migrants themselves.[391]

The role of media in the industry is related to the tourism-migration nexus that this industry emphasizes itself (Williams & Hall, 2002). Besides the previous experiences as tourists informing lifestyle migrants' decision to relocate and their participation in the industry as entrepreneurs and the aspirations, this nexus lies in the aspirations for life experiences that underlie both tourism and lifestyle driven mobilities. Some studies have noted media's role in organizing and shaping such aspirations, albeit usually in passing in studies of lifestyle migration. For instance, media are signaled as generally **"**encourage[ing] the search for an ideal place of residence", namely to the extent that budget airlines establish routes and may draw attention to "maturing property markets" (Geoffroy, 2007: 282). Media images are also noted as resources of governmental agents (e.g. rural municipalities) in strategies to attract foreign investment and counter depopulation trends (see Eimermann [2013] for an interesting case of North-North, Netherlands-Sweden migration resulting from such a strategy).

In turn, the studies that infer more transversal ideas about the role of media

[390] Akerlund (2012) makes an in depth discussion of such agents and their roles in the case of acquisition of recreational properties by retired Swedes in Malta. Also emphasizing the importance of individual's biographies in these individuals' choice to become brokers and in the skills, experiences and credibility they bring to bear on their work, Salazar (2011: 589) underlines that some of these middlemen may be returnees and not migrants themselves so as to underscore the interaction between dynamics of mobility and immobility.

[391] Williams and McIntyre (2012: 217) further note that tourism contexts present relatively low entry requirements in the labor market besides blurring the distinction between production and consumption, thereby being particularly prone to integrate lifestyle migrants as entrepreneurs.

make a few key points. Benson (2012), Salazar (2011), McIntyre (2011) and Williams and McIntyre (2012) all concur with a few main ideas which are less explored but also noted occasionally by others (e.g. Clarke, 2005: 320-1, Benson and O'Reilly 2009: 621). As established, the increasingly mediated social realities of today's world set in motion the circulation of images suggesting that "possible [better] lives" can be found elsewhere, thereby expanding the possibilities in which people can "pursue and construct a coherent and compelling sense of well-being" (Williams and McIntyre, 2012: 225). Imagined worlds are therefore instrumental in stimulating people's visits to places, purchase of second residences and/or complete relocation (Williams and McIntyre, 2012: 220; Benson and O'Reilly 2009, among others). Mainstream media add to individual lifestyle migrants' blogs and books, and increase the "search spaces" (Williams and Hall 2002; Müller 1999) for potential movers as they project and plan their own migration. However, more importantly, these representations of imagined worlds may engage a number of key quality of life markers (to use McIntyre0s expression to capture the motivations usually listed by "expats", such as climate, nature, facilities, lower cost of living, healthy diet, security, family and/or community ties, and tradition) (Mcintyre, 2011: 17) – as suggested in advertisements in 6.1 and below – but not only circulate in an unequal space of flows, but also are culturally specific in their appeal (Benson 2012, McIntyre 2011). What is more, while they may stimulate aspirations to seize opportunities of living "the good life" and organize them (e.g. suggesting where and how), they are variably appropriated depending on individuals' conditions to follow such aspirations and their motility.[392] Although the authors mentioned above articulate the role of imagination in international mobilities by inter-relating structural conditions, culturally specific social imaginaries of travelling and of destinations, and personal histories, in the words of Salazar (2011: 583):

> Migration is as much about these imaginaries as it is about the actual physical movement from one locality to another and back. The images and ideas of other (read: better) possible places to live—often misrepresented through popular media— circulate in a very unequal global space and are ultimately filtered through migrants' personal aspirations. Migration thus always presupposes some knowledge or, at least, rumors of "the other side." Although global capitalism may accelerate flexible mobility, imaginaries of such movements play out in uneven and even

[392] Although all authors imply the concept of motility, only McIntyre (2011: 10) mobilizes it. They all note that, in addition to the conditions shaping different individuals' ability to move (and how to move), other factors drive some to go while others opt to remain immobile.

contradictory ways in the desires of people. Capital, gender, and age largely determine the access potential migrants have to geographical mobility.

Authors therefore theorize the articulation of imagined worlds in processes of mobility and relocation as ways to respond to the challenge of constructing a coherent identity narrative (Giddens 1991) and start to delve into more specific workings of different media. For example, Benson (2012) examines how culturally-specific imaginings are appropriated and integrated in personal narratives of middle-class British lifestyle migrants in France. McIntyre (2011) suggests that the mediatization of places (in terms of how they are marketed) create geographical hierarchies, leaving, for instance, rural areas which are peripheral to key rural places less developed than the latter (McIntyre 2011). Among these directions, nothing has been established regarding the role of media that are locally produced in migratory contexts, by and for "expats". I now turn to two suggestions from the field which converse with literature on tourism-informed mobilities.

6.2.2 Localizing the "good life" narrative to allure people to come (and stay)

Algarve removals (advertisement for a removals company)

[Female voice]: ***Darling, we love Portugal! Let's move here!*** [emphasis added]

[Male voice]: **I would but, think of the stress!**

[soft, relaxed background music starts; Male voice 2, apparently addressing the listener more than the character]: **What stress? Let Algarve removals make the move for you! They make weekly removals to and from and within the Algarve. Algarve removals will move anything from a box to a full house! They'll even transport your car, boat or motorbike! Make your move to Portugal with Algarve removals, call 289513 851. Or visit Algarve removals.com.**

[Female voice 2]: **Choose Algarve removals for a stress free move!**

The advert above, and particularly its first line, is one of the pieces of empirical material suggesting that one specificity that locally produced lifestyle migrants' radio can have is to operate towards attracting people to return and/or come to stay in the Algarve. As part of a larger set of agents working towards alluring people to come to the Algarve, local radio is used to not only encourage tourists to return, but also appeal to those visitors who are predisposed to move to choose the Algarve over other destinations. As suggested earlier, broadcasts tap onto internationally circulating images of the "good life". However, they are specific in

that they associate that narrative to the region of the Algarve. When providing a forum for visibility of products and services that ultimately sell a "lifestyle", and when publicizing conversations (e.g. among DJs and live show guests) which confirm the idea of living a good life in the Algarve, they localize general narratives by suggesting the possibility of "better living in Portugal", to use the phrase of the businesses exhibition mentioned earlier (which parallels the radio in this effort). In other words, when tapping into demand already created through other agents, including larger media, it contributes to furthering and shaping that demand. Like other actors operating at the more micro-level, "they frame notions of "the good life" through the local context, thereby constructing the latter as an ideal destination for living out desired lifestyles" (David, Akerlund and Eimermann, 2015: 162). [393]

6.2.2.1 Radio production dynamics

Production dynamics suggest this idea. Beyond content aimed at creating a positive association with the Algarve through upbeat music or problem-free information about local realities, the way that advertisers capitalized on radio's affordances is telling. Advertisers use Bright's local nature to give a local flavor to globally circulating images of "the good life". To market their businesses, they explore the radio's ability to foster comfort and familiarity, which it accomplishes by reaching audiences in a language that they can understand and which renders the Algarve intelligible and easier to appropriate (through news, exchange rates, weather forecasts, signaling events taking place and where certain services can be found). They use radio's ability to outdo English-language newspapers and magazines, which also embed marketing in the familiarity invoked by local media. To be specific, business owners imprint a personal touch to their services and products not only in adverts (such as the "friendly and caring" doctor showcased in section 6.1 or the real estate agent who came into the studio to imprint his family-run company's advertisements with his voice, mentioned in chapter 4.1) but particularly in live

[393] As noted in a joint discussion (David, Akerlund, Eimermann 2015) and further explored in Akerlund's individual pieces (Akerlund, 2012), (estate, fiscal, and other) agents mediate the migrants' relationships to place in a similar fashion, capitalizing on their predisposition to move and directing desires to specific types of services and products materializing idealized experiences

features. The following two examples are illustrative of how the radio is used to reach listeners, (who may also be potential customers).

> I was sitting in Tim's Soul music show. There was not much interaction from listeners, at least in comparison with the older DJ's shows. While we were discussing what could be classed as Soul music these days, an SMS came through asking to dedicate a song to a gentleman who had been visiting and was just about to leave the Algarve. Tim smiled, read out the dedication and, while the song was on, told me off air that the message was from a real estate agent. It was not the first time that she requested songs to be dedicated to the people she showed properties to while driving them to the airport. (Field notes, October 2011)

> After the celebrity chef's usual conversation on air on a Sunday morning, I followed Billy to revisit the conversation he had with the host about the possibility of organizing an event together so as to give more visibility to the show and his business. He was changing marketing strategies and I asked him how radio featured in those strategies. Although insisting that a plural approach that engaged various media was key, he was also quick to confirm his satisfaction with the show. It was a unique opportunity to deliver a service (in this case a restaurant) in a personalized manner to the extent the recipe of the week was always framed by chit-chat. The way he talked about things, he felt, transmitted to people a sense of his personality and became more inviting. Indeed, when I saw him at *Apolónia* doing pancakes on Shrove Tuesday months before, I noticed people did approach him with a sense of familiarity even though he said then he did not know them. This probably then ads to the things listeners learn from general conversation (e.g. that his son attends one of the international schools, that his wife is Portuguese and that he has an over 90 grandmother in Ireland whom he surprised on her birthday with a song dedication) (Field notes, December 2011)

Both strategies show how advertisers instrumentalize radio's affordances so as to optimize their chances of striking a deal. More than radio's unique position to reach tourists and residents in their car-rides across the Algarve, the real estate agent and the "celebrity chef", use the Bright's forum to create a sense of familiarity with themselves and the Algarve itself. For the real estate agent, it was important that the client felt a sense of connection to the Algarve so as to predispose him to go forth with the decision of buying a house. In turn, Billy's strategy was to construct a sense of familiarity through the personalization of his marketing strategy, which the radio facilitated and built on when presenting him as a (local) "celebrity" and giving visibility to the collaborations he made with "charities". That was central in a small-scale context where most business-owners highlight the importance of interpersonal contact, word of mouth and networking.

Although particularly Billy's case, as a restaurant-owner, seems peripheral to the idea of attracting people to move to the Algarve, it complements the real estate agent and other examples which highlight how the work in the tourism and lifestyle migration industry seems to operate as a puzzle, for every piece counts. In other words, the sense of familiarity and welcome that each business creates for potential clients (and prospective movers) is important for the main, and apparently collective,

goal: future visits as clients, whether as tourists or lifestyle migrants. In this sense, the very station was part of it, as Jack's explanation of his motivation to found the station suggest:

> Jack: The radio makes a big contribution, I believe, to the economy.
>
> Inês: How so?
>
> Jack: I feel that the radio, being the only station broadcasting in English is a comfort for people visiting and is a comfort for people living here. And it perhaps makes them feel more at home, it makes them feel more comfortable about buying property here and investing in Portugal. You know? And it promotes, so much, the Algarve. Because the Algarve is all about tourism! (…) When I came there was no English radio station. And ... you know, that was the interest: people wanted to advertise to reach the foreign people that spent the money! You know? And that invested in the area. And the people going through the airport - we could communicate with those people! Because before the ipod came out and online and all these things, people used to listen to the radio more in cars and cafes, and bars and things like that. So it was a very important way of reaching, you know, the people that came to spend money here. And that's what it's all about. Getting people to come and spend money here. And be comfortable here. And welcoming them here! Because they like to listen to the radio because (…) they can hear someone speaking to them in English and telling them, you know, about the Algarve, what to see and do. And that's an important thing that the radio does. (Interview excerpt, Jack, Station's Founder and Director)

As Jack suggests, the radio is part and parcel of the larger tourism dynamics (which, he leaves implicit, are associated to lifestyle migration dynamics). What is interesting to note is that this collective effort is not necessarily coordinated. For instance, the radio, which most people report having found while driving, is usually pre-tuned in some hotel rooms and in rental cars because of the companies' employees' attentiveness with customers and not because of arrangements with Bright. They also want to make clients comfortable, and pre-setting the car-radio on an English-speaking station is part of it. In turn, the radio can operate towards making people feel part of local realities when inscribing their names on air along with music dedications and messages, such as the one the estate agent sent or the ones arriving from abroad, mentioned earlier. There is therefore an underlying hope that the radio (and advertising through it) generates an emotional connection to place that, ultimately, is beneficial for businesses. This was also the case with advertisers who barely listened to the station and even though they thought it was not a good station.

Before exploring the reactions of listeners who related the radio with having developed such a connection with the Algarve, it is important to note a second way in which production dynamics illustrate the station's effort to attract people to come to, and stay in, the region. These further situate the radio in the local context and (some) "expats" communicative ecologies. What should be added to Jack's comment about the interest that advertisers had in the establishment of the station is that many have

much to gain with it. To be specific, among the "expats" publicizing their businesses on air were people whose move and ability to remain in the Algarve was planned around the possibility of working in the lifestyle mobilities industry. As mentioned in chapter 6, many lifestyle migrants are not affluent retirees, but younger people who are professionally active and/or who may have retired early but still need to work to make do. Regularly lacking proficiency in Portuguese, these entrepreneurs tend to cater to tourists and fellow "expats" whose tastes they know well. In that sense, they are professionally confined to the Allgarve and need to work closely with local media like Bright FM, on whom they count on for visibility that complements their other marketing strategies (e.g. trip advisor and other online platforms, interpersonal strategies, or other).

6.2.2.2 Radio consumption dynamics

For listeners and potential clients the existence of local media has been noted to be a factor weighing on the choice of a destination (King et al 2000) and to instill greater trust in terms of information imparted than directories and forums found online.[394] During fieldwork I cannot say that I found direct and causal relations between listening to the radio and moving and/or buying. Nevertheless, people did mention the radio was part of their relationship to the Algarve, whether as tourists, second-home owners or residents. When asking for specifications, interviewees noted how they tended to trust and experiment services that they heard announced on air, to follow certain shows because of features (such as Billy's) and to like the possibility to tune into a station whose language they were familiar with. What seemed to be the case (and would be an interesting hypothesis to test in further studies), was that the radio was not only important in the initial process of settlement, like it is in the case of other minority stations, but also played a role before that. Sarah and Lilly, who run a business providing food and accessories for pets, illustrate how Bright was important for them throughout the process of moving to Portugal, first as visitors, then as second-home owners and finally as residents.

[394] To be specific, Eimermann (2013: 14) discusses books and blogs written by lifestyle migrants in addition to intepersonal contacts made at business exhibitions. King et al (2000) refer to "more traditional" broadcast and print media.

Sarah: When you first move to a foreign country you are blind, deaf and dumb because you don't understand what you see, hear and can't say anything. (…) None of the signs mean anything. Nothing means anything. And with an English radio station you suddenly feel that you've got… contact. You've got something you can relate to. And I was listening to the radio, to Bright, long before I moved down here. (…) because it was…a connection. It was something you can understand. So by listening to Bright, you would pick up things. And it, in a way, integrates you into the country. Or what your area [is] (…) As I say, before I even moved here, I was doing this. I would come down for 4 weeks at a time, or 6 weeks, or 2 weeks, and would put the radio in the house. (…) It would instantly go on when I arrived here. And I would pick up on things that would happen in the area. Which you wouldn't know without the radio necessarily. (…) events, and things like that. It's just, makes you… feel more relaxed.

Lilly: At home.

(Interview excerpt, Sarah and Lilly, Pet-shop owners, Full-time residents)

The way Sarah and Lilly talked about Bright was indicative of the importance the station could have in newcomers' process of becoming familiar with the region first over regular visits and then as a recent resident. More than the sociabilities, which others have noted to be important in the process of transitioning from being a tourist to becoming a migrant (e.g. M. C. Benson, 2010; O'Reilly, 2003), they emphasized the station's ability of making place intelligible and easier to appropriate by virtue of the language used and given the roadmap to social events it provided. For people feeling initially unable to understand and navigate the place, the radio and the local nature of its broadcasts, possibly coupled with a mode of address encouraging people to engage in intercultural contact, constituted an avenue to relate to the Algarve's social worlds and become familiar with them. Resonating with what Gastón and Clarisse described and what others mentioned, recognizing places mentioned on air contributed to develop a sense of belonging the place.

In turn, for some listeners following the station from abroad Bright also mediated the relationship with the Algarve. Gastón and one of Clarisse's daughters, who lives in France but visits her mother regularly, are examples of engaged listeners for whom this is the case.

Clarisse: Even for my daughter, Bright FM is giving the soul, the sensation of Algarve. And she can listen on Bright FM, by [sic] the computer, in France. But it doesn't have the same taste. And she is missing very much [the] Algarve when she is listening Bright FM in France. (…) she just loves Bright FM. Because for her it just represents the Algarve way of living. (…) It gives you the ambiance, and it is also in English and Portuguese, so she was starting to improve her English through the radio. But (…) she can't stay on Bright FM because it is related to [the] Algarve, so she was, the feeling of missing Algarve was growing, and it doesn't have the same taste because it is raining outside while it [sic] is sunshine in [the] Algarve.

Gastón: And you hear "it's another beautiful day today! With 30 degrees" and she is looking out of the window and it is pissing down, and it is ooohhhh!... So, but even I was listening to Bright FM over the internet, and it just doesn't have the same taste when you are not here. It is actually

> depressing when you are not here. Because you miss the place, and it just shows you how much you miss it. And you are not there. You were away from it, and you would like to be there… I don't like to listen over the Internet.

As the quote suggests, for visitors and residents alike, Bright can carry the "feel" for the Algarve and virtually transport listeners back to the region while listening. Clarisse's daughter and Gastón suggest that may not be a pleasant experience because it renders clearer the distance separating the listener from the Algarve as well as the feeling of missing it. Ultimately, they show the flipside of the positive messages that many listeners send from abroad with comments about their good memories and from the Algarve and about their longing to return (discussed in sections 4.2 and 6.1.2).

Both cases suggest the radio participates (and reflects, in the case of the messages) the development of a connection to place over time that the producers count on and work for. This idea resonates with theories developed in tourism studies relating to place attachment.[395] In a review of these theories (Williams & Mcintyre, 2012: 212) discuss that such attachments generally involve experiential investments that develop over time (i.e. over repeated visits). Discussing the work of Yuksel et al, the authors note that more than a causal relationship in which satisfaction with the destination leads to attachment, connections to place are established in more complex ways.[396] Taking a step forward, and incorporating the phenomenon of tourism informed mobilities, such as lifestyle migration, they note place affinities are not necessarily opposed to mobilities, as it had been perceived.[397] Arguing that place and mobility mutually inform each other and are greatly impacted by the expansion of circulation and consumption of imagined worlds (id: 225). Although their discussion

[395] Place attachment is a measure to understand how people relate to place (how they perceive it, what influences their perception and return. Williams and McIntyre (2012) recognize that similar discussions engage other concepts such as a "sense of place" or "place meanings" which are similar but entail different research methods.

[396] The authors engage in a discussion that considers a feeling of dependence on place (because of, for instance, its natural characteristics and their particular fit to activities people want to pursue, such as surf, family activities, or other) weighs in the development of affect for the place and association with a place identity. This, they argue, is at the same time reinforced by satisfactory experiences, and serves to discard bad experiences as "exceptions".

[397] They note how mobile individuals have generically been expected to be less likely to develop or maintain strong attachments to places, whereas, in contrast people with strong sense of connection to place are less eager to relocate. (Williams and McIntyre, 2012: 210)

drifts to the impacts of place attachment on the perception of tourism,[398] the concept seems useful to work through the data. With the limited data from the field, I can only raise the hypothesis that local media contribute to the development of place attachment in the process of transitioning from the category of a tourist to the category of resident.

6.2.3 Amplifying and validating the narrative of "the good life" - participating in strategies of positioning

The second specificity of Bright FM's role concerns only residents. Although the material supporting the following ideas is more contextual than rather than radio-specific, I find it is pertinent to highlight the suggestion from the empirical material. In a nutshell, the potential role that broadcasts may have for lifestyle migrants result from the constant repetition of the "good life" narrative through various types of content. Whether explicit commercial targeting, or general chat among people on air that listeners can identify with, the repetition and naturalization of the discourse reaffirming how "life in the Algarve is great", can operate to confirm to residents that they made the right choice to move. This idea derives, on the one hand, from empirical material on the production of local media in general and on everyday conversations that were often largely unrelated to the station. On the other hand, it derives from reading about a similar case - the British in rural France (Benson 2011, 2012) – that suggests one central practice among lifestyle migrants is the constant reconfirmation to each other, and to themselves, that the move was worth it. Before the points of contact with the literature, I will outline the data suggesting the importance of the circulation of the narrative about the "good life".

6.2.3.1 Notes from the field: a recurrent picture-perfect story

Bright resembles other media in the local English-language mediascape to the extent that it is not only focused on the region of the Algarve but also constructs a

[398] The authors note that residents appear to evaluate the economic and social impacts of tourism positively while evaluating the environmental impacts negatively. In part, this rejection of tourism agents that exploit nature for the sake of profit pertains to the destruction of the setting that brought these residents there in the first place. .

particular image of it through its texts. As suggested before, underscoring the central and seemingly all encompassing presence of tourism and lifestyle migration in the region, local media were focused on promoting the latter's respective industries. Thomas, who used to work on a free-lance basis with different publishers, characterized most of the local media as fitting within a "lifestyle media" genre. Discussing the emphasis on the "good life" that could be found across the various "regional lifestyle media" he explained they strive to frame everyday life in a happy, fun and light-hearted tone – something which, he noted, posed challenges for its producers:

> … can't say the Good Life, even when it was a good magazine, was a brilliant magazine like the Spectator [a well reputed magazine focusing on political and literary commentary], because it doesn't fit in the same group, but it's different. Like Variety Good Life is a regional lifestyle magazine. When people pick a magazine like the Good Life, they don't want to read about the Holocaust! They want to read about something that makes them feel good. (…) if I start tearing everything to pieces the reader is going to think 'Ah, this guy had a bad day' So I would have to say 'some of the dining rooms have a very good view of the pool. And of your neighbor's pool.' I would put that comment in but I would lessen it by saying 'at least you can share a gin and tonic over the fence'. But the point I was making was there was no privacy. (...) What you mustn't do is be gushy. The thing was I had to find something bad to say otherwise they wouldn't believe it. Sometimes it's really difficult, to the point I have to make it up almost. But if you don't put a negative in people will think "he's had a good meal, he's been paid..." So you can't be good the whole time nor bad the whole time. (Interview excerpt, Thomas, free-lance media practitioner, Second-home owner)

The "lifestyle media" genre that Thomas mentions is, however, a particular segment of the more general "lifestyle media" genre developed in the last decades.[399] To be specific, it is oriented to lifestyle migrants (and, in part, also to tourists). Situated at the local level and in the migratory context, it resonates with those media depicting, and arguably encouraging, lifestyle migration in the contexts of origin, such as the aforementioned British television show about the acquisition of properties abroad ("Place in the Sun", Channel 4) or the "expat" columns in leading newspapers (such as The Telegraph or The Guardian).

In practice, this emphasis on the "good life" narratives was seen as detrimental to the quality of information imparted by, in particular, news oriented media.[400]

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[399] See Lewis (2008) for a discussion of this international genre and, for instance, Taylor (2002) for a discussion of a sub-segment of lifestyle media (pertaining to gardening activities) for a discussion of "lifestyle media" in the UK.

[400] This resonates with O'Reilly's (2000: 110, 2001) findings for the case of the South of Spain. The author found that English-speaking media there also addressed both tourists and residents and

Freelance writers, media practitioners of newspapers competing with the most established ones, and retired media producers all found the local main news media failed to truly connect the audience with the Portuguese realities around them because of a transversal tendency to promote an exaggeratedly and artificially positive image of the Algarve:

> …the picture that is painted in every brochure: the cliffs with an arch way, the nice touristy green fields and orange blossoms, the sun kissed beaches with endless sand view of the Algarve … in the reality, you've got drug abuse, prostitutes on the side of the road, stupid amount of car crashes (…) then there is the red tape, there is the random taxes [sic] (…) (Interview excerpt, Nick, Director of a local newspaper, Full-time resident)

> "a lot of the British media, solely British media, show the situation as they'd like to see it. "lovely day!; Let's have a nice drink; what's going on in Albufeira; what golf competition is going on; what t-shirt competition is going on." But it's not really what's really, really going on. Do you know what I mean? It's a bit of a fluff. Bubble stuff. yeah, it's just feeding the bubble. (…) And if they [English-speaking residents] read, let's say 2 or 3 English newspapers, they don't know what is going on. It all looks fine they are not really *dentro do assunto* [on top of it], you know what I mean? They're [the British media] not really in it, so they can't really do it! They do the best they can. I don't honestly think they know enough. I don't even think they speak good enough Portuguese. My responsibility here is to show the situation as it is and not as And we're completely outside of the bubble here [at this newspaper]. And a lot of people say that when they get our paper they get the real picture of what is going on the Algarve.(…) English people read our newspaper because we don't dress it up, or sugarcoat it, we actually tell them what is actually going on (Interview excerpt, Leah, Journalist at a local newspaper, Full-time resident)

> The last time I was writing (…) I was working from home, doing my stuff and they put it in. I loved the magazine they were putting out, because it was so beautifully put together, and lovely photos and everything. But it made the Algarve look great! That is why it was called "Good Life". (Interview excerpt, Thomas, freelance media practitioner, Second-home owner)

By positioning themselves as aware of, and engaged with, the social and economic issues in the Algarve, these media practitioners signal a "bubble" that they find other local news media reproduce. They took pride in work that gives visibility to complicated issues with social and environmental import in the Algarve (such as prostitution on one of the main roads and the aforementioned civic mobilization against a new development in a reservation area which would replace a unique bird watching site with one more hotel and golf complex). At the same time, they distanced their own work from what they described to be a general and "mainstream"

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generally promoted having fun more than it provided information about Spanish or UK current affairs. The focus on suggestions on what to do, what to see, what to eat and where to go relegated more serious and political issues to the section of letters to the editor. Local media are, to that extent, self-centered and organized in such a way that follows the logic of a holiday place.

narrative portraying the Algarve according to the fun, leisure and light-hearted leitmotifs of tourism.

Although the point to be made in this section concerns the circulating narrative of the "good life" that Bright also reproduces, it is important to note that the criticisms to news media for sustaining a "bubble" were complemented to an acknowledgement that readers were themselves often not interested in more information. Whether criticizing newspapers for not doing more or finding they did their role, many of my interlocutors conceded that neither they nor their peers really sought information about politics and economics, largely because they did not feel involved with them. From informal conversations at quiz tables and car rides to formal interview contexts, I heard complaints about the difficulties to find information for practical matters concerning settlement.[401] Yet, in what concerns being engaged with current affairs and civic issues, most people displayed disengagement, recoiling to a position of "guests", as noted in chapter 6. They resorted to issues directly affecting them, which newspapers reported on, such as the alleged evacuation plan, the issue of borehole licensing or the much debated introduction of tolls on the main high-way traversing the whole of the Algarve (A22), which everyone used.[402] As one director of one the main newspapers noted, "it's got to be a two-way conversation" between newspapers and readers. Thomas reiterates that idea by noting newspapers can only go so far into

[401] People complained about a lack of information at various levels - from only learning about the rise in IVA [value added tax] through a supermarket's brochure using as a marketing campaign the slogan "o IVA não entra aqui" [IVA does not enter here], to hoping to find more contextual information about Portugal's economic relations with countries like Brazil or Angola, which could be interesting for their businesses. Generally, however, people asked for information that would allow them to better make sense of, and deal with, the particular position of being an "expat" in Portugal. This could mean asking for debate programs in which Portuguese would participate (so as to produce grounded information with different perspectives on local affairs) or for comparative analysis in what concerns the country's political options and economic future during a global recession. Conversely, this could mean requesting some sort of service that would provide information about changes that would not be necessarily announced in English (e.g. changing the age limit from which one needs to regularly be checked for the driver's license renewal).

[402] For the sake of context it is pertinent to add that accompanying the papers throughout fieldwork made it clear they generally reported on current affairs in Portugal (e.g. the forest fires devastating the country's forests year after year) and issues concerning the British "expats" in particular (e.g. the alleged evacuation plan meant to assist UK citizens stranded in Portugal in case of a potential economic collapse in the country). Mostly, they focused on local life. News were therefore coupled with "What's on" sections comprising pages with local events' agenda, club, business networks' and charity announcements and short Portuguese language exercises, for example.

promoting people's awareness and involvement in the realities around them when forces structuring are elsewhere.

> I think they inform them. I think they are filling the gaps that need to be filled, largely. But I'd be very critical about the ones that are not being filled - like news about Portugal. If you ask the average expat sitting who might be sitting around here the president is, they probably wouldn't know. Ask them what the government it is, what color of politics there are - they wouldn't know! They know that the tolls are coming in on the A22, pretty soon. (…) But that's where the local media tell you how to pay your tolls. They will do that. Right? But they don't tell you the more important macro-economic situations, such as just how bust Portugal is and is Portugal gonna go the way of Greece? You get the odd article in, but nobody is doing an analysis. (…) But then, does the average expat give a damn anyway? Their income is coming from the UK. (…) They always say that, you know, people are integrating and so but they don't go about it in any way that, that does that. And I don't see how they can! (Interview excerpt, Thomas, free-lance media practitioner, Second-home owner)

In other words, local media's transversal focus on tourism and lifestyle migration flows translates into the recurrent affirmation of positive and appealing amenities that serve to construct the Allgarve as a picture-perfect setting. The flipside of such a transversal focus is a lesser depth of information on current affairs and local realities. However, as media producers and consumers both also note, the extent to which the locally produced English-language media can thus contribute to the aforementioned English-language public sphericule is largely related to media consumers own effort to seek and engage with information about the region and the country they live in.

Bright both reflects and contributes to these dynamics. Without intending to, its concern with promoting tourism and lifestyle migration industries facilitates apparent disconnection of media consumers from local realities. More than in the absence of a local news bulletin in English, this is apparent when, for instance, DJs decry off air the newspapers' coverage of assaults and robberies in the area because of the potential of giving a bad impression of the Algarve to potential visitors and, ultimately "kill tourism" – and then proceed to announce that the newspapers published the AFPOP's explanation about the introduction of the tolls and "to do's" for individual drivers. As such, a remarkable consequence of contributing to sustain an English-language public sphericule concerned with promoting tourism is the reproduction of the positive "picture-perfect" discourse that is part of the "good life" narrative.

To be sure, like other agents, the station took dividends of this strategic narrative. The concern to provide a positive image of life in the Algarve seems to be

related not only to a general collective effort to foster the tourism and lifestyle migration-driven local economy, but also, and rather directly, to the station's current and future clients. Specifically, during the whole of fieldwork, which took place during a period of economic crisis that was strongly felt in the Algarve, as noted previously, the discourse on air was that of *countering* the "doom and gloom". In practice, phone calls to business fairs taking place during the weekend would depict a bustling atmosphere, with many people filling the corridors between the stalls – exactly the opposite of what hosts and guests commented off air when referring to the difficult times that businesses were enduring. Similarly, Billy's regular feature invariably started with references to how much work he had because his restaurant was being busy. This could have a positive impact for the station as follows:

> Billy: yeah, it's been madness!... Tonight's a bit quiet. Tomorrow is fully booked. Friday, Saturday were fully booked. Thursday was fully booked. The only night that was quiet this week, is this evening so far and Wednesday night. It's just been ridiculous – it's been full every night. Absolutely incredible. Dream come true!
>
> (Sunday morning show's excerpt, September 9th 2010)

This conversation indicates the exchange in social capital between the host and the regular guest, whereby it is suggested that the success of the restaurant, is partly due to the effectiveness of the station as a forum to give visibility to businesses (and, I would add, portraying them as a highly successful ventures). Ultimately, the positive image of the Algarve, and of the experiences of people living (and working) in it were beneficial to all those involved in the tourism and lifestyle migration industries.

Nevertheless, I suggest that yet another offshoot of the preoccupation with the tourism and lifestyle migration industries is that advertisements, conversations on air, and other content not only reflect, but more importantly reinforce, amplify and validate the discourses people repeated about "the good life" they could experience in the Algarve, which often included the punch line "this is why we love it here". While conversations with me – a Portuguese researcher - may have been biased to respond to my general enquiries about life in the Algarve and Bright's role in it, there were several instances in which people exchanged these ideas amongst them spontaneously. As such, people would remind each other that delays result from the relaxed pace of life they sought when relocating to begin with. Or that "everything takes a longer time to reach Portugal" (e.g. films, music, political tendencies, economic crisis, etc.), but that is part of being away from busy circuits. This idea of

reconfirmation of the "good life" converses with the literature on lifestyle migration, as follows.

6.2.3.2 Links with the literature: the importance of the narrative

The idea of reconfirmation of the "good life" among residents has been discussed by other authors who relate it with strategies of positioning (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009a, 2009b). Relocation is articulated as an improvement when compared to a number of contexts and people, which entails the reaffirmation that one is living the "good life". That articulation may translate into a differentiation between the negative factors associated with the context of origin and the desirable aspects associated with the context of residence. As Benson (2010, 2012) and O'Reilly (2000) have noted for the cases of the British in France and Spain respectively, people commonly contrast the shortcomings of dynamics in the UK that they opted to leave behind (e.g. the accelerated and stressful pace of life, the rainy weather, the monotonous life, the increasing diversity and subsequent lack of familiarity, the rising levels of crime) with the appealing factors of the ideal lifestyle they moved after (e.g. the slow pace of life, the relatively lower cost of living, the warm climate and rich diet with subsequent health benefits, community life, among other quality of life markers). Relatedly, the authors note how this contrasting exercise also serves to distance oneself from old routines as well as from the life people would have had if they had not moved (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009b: 610).[403] The conception of migration as a comparative project is thus a reflection upon one's position in different societies which expresses perceptions that romanticize ideas about the destination and overstate the problems with the context of origin.

Furthermore, this escapist move can be seen as a process of social distinction. Benson (2010, 2012) particularly notes that the reaffirmation of aspects of the desired lifestyle (whether the whole idealized set of quality of life markers or, specifically, the authenticity underlying the *real* way of experiencing the idealized lifestyle) is a mechanism to assess and manage one's position among peers, whether those who

[403] In that sense, the "better life" is articulated in relation to movement itself, to the extent migration is presented through biographical narratives rationalized in "existential terms" to the extent a life change responded to the feelings of "not going anywhere" or of being "stuck" in life – an approach also discussed by others (see King's review of theories of migration, 2012: 27).

stayed back home or fellow migrants. In other words, the affirmation of the good life can only be validated by those who share the same frames of reference (establishing, in the case Benson analyzes, rural France as an idyllic setting associated to simple, community driven and nature-based lifestyle). In that sense, the search for an idealized way of living, and for the ability to "really" live it, continues after migration, throughout everyday routines of the migratory experience. Although her larger discussion concerns individual's negotiation with wider structures,[404] the author stresses the point of validation when noting that people

> engage in a process of social distinction, whereby they rationalize, justify and legitimate their migration; in other words, imaginings of destinations and future lives act as ballasts in their migration narratives precisely because they are recognizable to the selected audience – friends and family back home and compatriots living within the destination. In this respect, the authentication of their lives following migration relies on their continued position within a social structure that recognizes these" (Benson 2012: 1690)

Both authors emphasize the circulation of the "good life" narrative by noting its practical implications in people's everyday lives. Whether in measuring themselves up or down when comparing to their neighbors, or being constantly countered when commenting that holidays in the UK were hardly dreadful, for most people publicly support that they "can't wait to go back to Spain",[405] the authors established the presence of the narrative. This despite the fact that there are numerous difficulties and problems with dwelling abroad. Several authors (e.g. O'Reilly, 2000; Spalding, 2013; D. R. Williams & Mcintyre, 2012) note the mismatch between the idealized lives and the realities found after settling: competition over housing and services, bureaucracy, and the loss of amenities because of the intensification of

[404] Benson, particularly in an article exploring how culturally specific imaginings are appropriated, embodied and performed by lifestyle migrants (2012) (but see also 2009), discusses that lifestyle migration is less a way to escape structure, as proposed by post-modern theorists, than a strategy to reposition oneself in structure so as to experience it differently. In other words, Benson tries to situate the tension between agency and structure without overvaluing choice and by noting how people can take advantage of wider structural conditions (their economic and cultural capitals) as these converse with biographical events (e.g. redundancy) to shift positions in the structure (e.g. acquiring greater status by owning a property abroad). Yet, she maintains that structure is important also in the dynamics of class-based processes of distinction.

[405] O'Reilly's (2000: 98-99) description of one of her family trips to London illustrates the prevalence and strength of the narrative quite clearly: both her and her daughters feared the negative aspects that were recurrently mentioned by their fellow Britons in Spain (the coldness, grayness and dullness dominating the scenery and social relations). The feelings of surprise and joy with a wonderful experience of visiting the UK and of oppression when trying to express those feelings, were revealing of socially dominating and acceptable stances which they clashed with.

tourism in the area (with the rising traffic, developments, and cost of living) are aspects related to public life. They add to the difficulties contained in the private sphere that, like me, others have registered (e.g. O'Reilly, 2000: 134-135): having to learn how to live without work identities (in the case of retirees), changing to an area of work previously experienced as a hobby (e.g. opening a restaurant), missing the cultural life cultivated in big cities (e.g. cinemas, theaters, concerts, exhibitions, workshops, seminars, and so on) and finding it difficult to develop deep meaningful relationships in a context marked by transience. What is more, conflicts may also arise with locals (and/or between commercially and amenity-driven "expats" versus culturally oriented and authenticity seeking "expats"), for the perceptions of place and projects the shared region may clash.[406]

Ultimately, the radio channeled these same discourses, not only amplifying their circulation but further contributing to validating them as the publicly and socially appropriate narratives. In that sense, through the dynamics of repetition and reconfirmation, it reflected and participated the construction of the migratory move as a "comparative project" (M. Benson & O'Reilly, 2009a, 2009b). What specific impacts this repetition could have warrants further investigation. One could ask whether they have an impact on the reconfirmation (for others and oneself) that moving was the right and a worthy choice? When juxtaposing the complaints about difficulties of settling in Spain with public and socially accepted discourses about the markedly better quality of life there, O'Reilly (2000: 152) suggests that the act of sharing the narrative serves the purpose of drawing of boundaries (including "expats" with strong commitments to Spain which, however, exclude themselves from Spanish society). Yet, one could ask if these "webs of significance" (id: 155) can operate also to counter self-doubts for people whose stance of connection in the place of residence seems to be ambivalent.

[406] In the Algarve the struggle to prevent a tourism resort from being built in the natural reservation of *Salgados*, where several rare bird species can be found, constitutes an example that is mentioned in literature (Williams and McIntyre, 2012: 220-222).

6.2.4 Synthesis of section Local radio for lifestyle mobilities

A second way in which the station both reflects and intervenes in modalities of reterritorialization concerns functions that seem to be specific to lifestyle migration flows. Uniquely positioned to reach newcomers (tourists and English-speaking migrants) the radio is an agent operating within what can be called a tourism-informed (or lifestyle) mobilities' industry. On one hand, it localizes the narrative of the "good life" in the Algarve, thereby suggesting that a better quality of life can be found and experienced in the region. As tourism visits are important for the development of aspirations to become a second-home owner and, effectively, a lifestyle migrant, this is significant. Locally produced radio taps onto the desires created by other, internationally circulating media, and is used by advertisers to captivate people who are predisposed to relocate, to do so in the Algarve, and to invite tourists to return. As advertisers are aware of, and capitalize on, local radio's ability to create familiarity by personalizing characters featured on air (guests and hosts) and engaging listeners with place, whether by rendering a foreign place easy to navigate, recognize and appropriate, or by literally inscribing them in local realities when addressing them specifically on air, however fleetingly. In the process, as a forum advertising for business within the "expat" niche-market, Bright contributes to sustaining the niche-market enabling "expats" who need to work in order to be able to move and sustain a "better quality of life" in the sun.

On the other hand, in what seems to be a collective, though uncoordinated, effort to sustain the lifestyle mobilities' industry, the radio complements other local English-language media that also depict the Algarve, or rather, the Allgarve, as an ideal place for "better living". In part, like other "lifestyle [mobilities] media", it consolidates an English-language public sphericule that distances media consumers from local realities when sidelining issues and problems which are part of everyday life in the region, and focusing on communicating a clean and appealing image of the place. Yet, it can also index other processes which depend on how consumers relate to the media in general and Bright in particular. If turning the radio off from abroad can signal a way to avoid being reminded how attached listeners have become to the place, listening to the everyday discourses about the "good life" in the Algarve can perhaps influence a sense of what is socially appropriate to express about it publicly. Theories of place attachment and conceptualizations concerning lifestyle migrants'

strategies of positioning resonate with ideas from the field concerning the radio's participation in construction of a relationship with place as a lifestyle migrant and concerning the radio's amplification of discourses establishing a shared cosmology in the Allgarve.

6.3 Tuning into place: mediating charity

This section explores the mediation of "charity", a singularity which does not seem necessarily a commonality of local radio that caters to lifestyle mobilities as much as a feature of a station serving a population mostly comprised of British people. Indeed, upon arrival to the field, when I asked about the station's social life, I was introduced to Bright by Portuguese staff who praised of the British' dynamic organization of activities of fundraising for social cause. The radiophonic mediation of "charity" emerged as a worthwhile direction to investigate as it kept becoming visible both on air and off air, within and beyond the station. In addition to constituting a recurrent theme in the messages sent in for dj's to read on air in live-shows, "charity" was present in one way or another in every context I entered. Everyone I met seemed to have some sort of relationship with "charity" organizations, activities and/or events. I thus decided to take the clue suggested by King et al (2000: 211), who posited the involvement in special-interest associations would be more telling about the reterritorialization of people who often seep through regulatory systems than attending to their participation in the formal structures of government.

Although dynamics of "charity" reinforce ties to Britain by reproducing symbolically charged practices, what exploring "charity" dynamics and their (radiophonic) mediation revealed was how lifestyle migrants can move in and out of the Allgarve through their engagement with local matters of public relevance. Without the oppositional, subaltern and rights-claiming drive underlying the formation of counter-public spheres that Fraser (1998) discusses, the media, and particularly Bright, are mobilized to act on the public sphere by contributing to address local realities deemed to be in need of assistance. In that sense, the uses of Bright to further "charity" activities presented a useful gateway to explore processes of relating to place. These were revealing of connections with the Algarve that were often tangential, but also significantly nuanced. It usefully frames the mode partial mode of incorporation described in 5.3 and 6.1. To be specific, "charitable practices"

seemed to enable variably textured modes of relating with local realities while, regardless, fostering the cultivation of a sense of belonging among foreign, mostly British, lifestyle migrants. As explored below, the "charitable" ways to develop a relationship with place problematize the sustenance of the Allgarve by destabilizing simplistic ideas about seclusion.

This chapter starts by describing the dynamics of charity in the Algarve. By identifying agents, practices, sites, relationships and meanings, it explores how doing "charity" is part of strategies of reterritorialization. To problematize the mediations of charity, it then draws on discussions of Habermas' notion of the public sphere. It argues that uses of radio to further collective voluntary action that is regulated and formalized in the dynamics of "charity" point to the possibilities and limitations entailed in the facilitation of a public connection by a local commercial medium. In that sense, if, as put forth previously (in section 4.2.2) the station operates mostly within a public sphericule (Gitlin, 1998) sustained by the English-language mediascape, it also supports engagements with Portuguese people and realities.

6.3.1 Doing "charity" as a strategy of reterritorialization

"Charity", a concept able to refer to all the realm, the purpose of and the very type of collective mobilization at stake, begs clarification through case-to-case description. Indeed, "charity" can, at once, stand for institutions (e.g. a hospice is a "charity"), practices (fundraising for social causes through, usually, leisured based activities such as those listed below), goals (things are done for "charity"), meanings (e.g. benefitting people in need). As a cultural form entailing ideological baggage and specific heritages in different contexts (Lloyd cited in Breeze, 2006: 14), "charity" assumes specific contours when translating inter-subjective dynamics and discursive forms into local realities. In the Algarve, "charity" consists of leisure-based practices that are associated with civic efforts to collectively improve living conditions in the region. Although these practices are apparently becoming appropriated into local solidarity associations and networks, they reproduce a number of features that are distinctively British, and are particularly telling of the positions and modes of relating to place of, namely, the British "expats". To explore how they reveal strategies of reterritorialization I will describe the dynamics at stake by identifying the causes

motivating different agents to mobilize as well as the various practices the involved in "doing charity".

6.3.1.1 Causes, practices and agents

Table 7 – Organizations working for social solidarity by cause type and by institutional affiliation

Cause	Institutional affiliations		
	Portuguese organizations	**"Expatriate" organizations**	**UK registered organizations**
Children[407]	*Pirilampos,* *Gaivota,* *Os Miúdos* *NECI – Núcleo de Educação da Criança Inadaptada*	ACCA – *Associação de Solidariedade com as Crianças Carenciadas do Algarve*	
Elderly	*Lar São Vicente* *Lar e Centro de dia de Alte*		
Poverty alleviation	*Castelo dos Sonhos* *Banco Alimentar Contra a Fome*	Wolf Valley Charity Angels' Theatre Group	
Health	*Associação Oncológica do Algarve*	*Madrugada* Centre Algarve	*Madrugada* Centre Algarve
Animals		Association for the Protection of Animals in the Algarve Donkey Sanctuary/ *Refúgio dos Burros* *Amigos dos Gatos do Algarve* *Ajuda aos Bichinhos* *Quintinha dos Animais* / Goldra Dog Sanctuary Lagos Animal	Lagos Animal Protection Society

[407] Most organizations take in orphans or children who cannot be supported by their families or who have been removed from their families by social workers.

		Protection Society	
Military			British Legion* Help for Heroes*
Miscellaneous	Rotary Clubs Fire-fighter brigades	Benefactors Theatre group Helping Hands	
* Organizations based in the UK with formal and informal support branches in the Algarve *Portuguese founded and run organizations* (which may involve foreign volunteers) "Expat" founded and run organizations (which may involve Portuguese volunteers)			

The table above lists only some of the organizations working towards improving living conditions in the region.[408] It indicates the most popular causes supported by institutions (children, poverty, health, animals and military), which are indicative of all the lack of infrastructures in the Algarve, the social assymtries in the area[409] and the sensitivities of the 'expatriates' involved. Poverty alleviation, cancer fighting, and support for orphans, the disabled and the elderly are more generic causes which add to the rather British concerns with the treatment of animals in the Algarve and with military organizations assisting officers, war veterans and their families. "Expats" are directly involved in these organizations in two ways: either by volunteering in Portuguese associations' committees or second-hand shops, or by running the groups and "charities" themselves. As the table also suggests, 'charities' are dispersed among a number of legal formats, ranging from small companies to informal groups of people who organize regular or occasional events, through more formally established non-profit social solidarity organizations and trust funds. The latter can be entities registered in Portugal whereas others are solely registered in the

[408] These are organizations most often mentioned in the radio and other media on account of the events they organize and therefore organizations that manage to mobilize a lot of foreign residents for fundraising.

[409] This region of Portugal, which is largely rural, developed because and around tourism while, in the process, lacking in infrastructures and social support to high numbers of people enduring difficulty. (Comissão de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional do Algarve, 2006).

UK, for the sake of simplicity and credibility among people donating.[410] Subsequently, different "charities" policies opted to convert donations into material offerings instead of channelling the money directly (e.g. a new van or kitchen, foodstuffs, clothes, and so on). In any case, generically, informal groups and individuals organize activities to fundraise either for Portuguese or "expat" local associations, whereas "expat" "charities" fundraise for their own institution's running costs.[411]

In a nutshell, assistance generally flows in the form of funds that are converted into material assistance by receiving institutions or mediating "expat" groups and organizations.[412] With the exception of charity shops, which many organizations either have or can count on,[413] the fundraising efforts (table 8) are always social events where attendants can enjoy themselves and mingle, usually over a meal during which raffles are sold.

Table 8 - Common fundraising activities among foreign led, ran and/or supported organizations in the Algarve

Fundraising activities	
Regular	**Occasional**
Quiz nights	Concert by local performers*
Mamamaratona (marathon to support cancer patients)	Sponsored swim, run, walk, bike ride

[410] The legal figure for such associations in Portugal is *Instituto Particular de Solidariedade Social* (IPSS). Like similar organizations elsewhere, IPSS can receive donations which are deducted in giver's taxes. Significantly, it is well known that the process to be granted this status is extremely bureaucratic and lengthy, taking usually months and sometimes years.

[411] To be rigorous, there are instances of closer collaborations. For instance, one long-standing resident donated part of her property for an orphanage and worked throughout the years to maintain it with the people in *Santa Casa da Misericórdia*, a governmental subsidized organization that ran the orphanage. What is more, as Portuguese associations became known among the foreign population, individual "expats" sometimes donate directly to them.

[412] To be rigorous, it is also possible that single individuals provide the contact of people and families in need to informal groups who find they are thus closer to people in "real" need, without the assistance of others.

[413] "Charity" shops are convenience shops that sell second-hand bric-a-brac, clothes, books and various other accessories.

New years dive in the ocean*	Fashion parade
Theatre plays*	Ride in a float on Carnaval
Christmas fairs	Golf tournaments
Car boot sales	Sales at cost price at shops
Ladies' lunches	Darts night*
Scrufts (dog show)	Variety shows at restaurants and/or other venues
*Events often accompanied with raffle and/or meal	

Many of these activities cater specifically to British tastes and are therefore social dynamics reproducing the Allgarve. To be specific, events often consist of Old Time Music Hall shows, dog competitions, quiz nights, car boot sales, golf tournaments. One of the organizations is a hospice, which is a non-existent concept in Portugal.[414] Additionally, the social organization of some of these activities, which is quite common in the UK, is hardly usual in Portugal. In the case of sponsoring, for instance, individuals competing in sports events collect extra support from friends and relatives, which adds a whole financial surplus as well as a more social dimension to the act of "doing charity". Indeed, Portuguese runners in the *Mamamaratona* like me were not even aware that there was a form to note the amount donated by friends and family per kilometer ran. Beyond specific instances, the British way of "doing charity", at least when compared to the practices of social solidarity common in Portugal,[415] was apparent in the multiple creative and spontaneous ideas to capitalize on activities so as to yield profit to give to charity (e.g. taking part on the Carnaval

[414] Although quite common in the UK, the concept of a hospice only finds equivalents in Portugal in the mixture of Centros de dia (Day Centers), Lares de Terceira Idade (Nursery Homes), private ran hotel-like Residências and Hospital's Palliative care units. The idea of a community-run organization offering affordable services that provide a holistic approach combining medical care with complementary therapies (psychotherapy, art and music therapy, family bereavement counseling, nutritional advice) as well as with a comforting, tranquil and beautiful environment is not in place in Portugal yet.

[415] It is difficult to establish "how British" (as opposed to Anglo-Saxon, for instance) were the practices of mobilization for social solidarity. Although I could resort to some authors who suggest the cultural specificity of such practices (e.g. Wright [2002: 13] qualifies strategies in the UK as "spontaneous" when comparing to more planned [and she suggests developed] institutionalized strategies in the USA).

parade with a float and selling a ride to whoever wants to go on it; having a few days of sale of products at cost price so people can give whatever they want on top of that; making an excuse for yet another golf tournament; establishing a "tradition" to take a sponsored dive in the ocean on New Year's Eve). These practices have become increasingly common and trivial in the Algarve, where social solidarity work has been, like in the rest of Portugal, largely organized by the Catholic Church and, besides operating more on the basis of occasional campaigns than on a strong volunteering culture.[416] Long-standing residents who have been involved for many years in the "charity" dynamics noted that these practices became increasingly common since the 1980s, when more British, and in particular many retirees, started relocating in the Algarve.

With the establishment of large numbers of British in the Algarve with time and interest to address a number of social causes and develop leisure-oriented sociabilities, a dynamic social system developed around "doing charity", as happened in similar contexts (e.g. in Spain, as discussed by Haas [2011] and O'Reilly [2000]). To be sure, people can engage in "charity" work with varying intensity and in different ways. I identify key roles (table 9) although recognizing that the categories may overlap (e.g. organizers can be givers and participants themselves at different occasions). At the same time, some Portuguese local organizations welcome "expat" volunteers so as to access a pool of human and financial resources predisposed to assist in their projects.

Table 9 – Description of roles assumed by people involved in "charity" work

Role	Description of role
Organizers	Individuals who run institutions or groups that work to support different causes, and who organize regular and occasional events to fundraise for their own institutions' running costs or to local "charities".
Helpers	Individuals who volunteer on a regular or occasional basis to support activities meant to fundraise for causes and organizations.

[416] See Caselli & Nunes (2009) and Campos Franco, Sokolowski, Hairel, & Salamon (2008), European comparative reports for a characterization of the Portuguese social solidarity sector and its history.

	Regular volunteers usually work at second-hand shops besides being members of committees of local organizations, but can also be, for instance, members of theater groups that perform to raise funds. Occasional volunteers can be, for example, veterinarians that work with animal "charities" and neuter animals pro bono.
Collaborators	People indirectly involved in the organization of events. These can be sponsors, who provide raffle prizes, event premises or donations; business people renting a stall at Christmas fairs; and media practitioners assisting with publicizing the events. In the case of Bright's Christmas campaign drop off points also fit in this category.
Givers	People who donate money to the various causes, usually when attending the functions organized by and for the various "charities".
Beneficiaries	People and, more commonly, organizations that "expats", whether formally (through "charities") or informally (through groups) assist. These may be local organizations assisting orphans, the elderly and the poor, or "expat" run organizations (usually) focusing on animal welfare.

To situate the "expats" involved in "charity", it is important to differentiate between their motivations. The majority of people are givers, who attend events organized to fundraise and/or buy items at second-hand shops with the same purpose. They take part in activities largely for the sake of fun, albeit possibly also to gain recognition as quiz or golf players. Passively engaging with the idea of helping someone, people pay entrance fees, meals, raffle tickets and may even make a point of outdoing their neighbour during the occasional auctions following dinners. Accordingly, they may choose an event because it is closeby rather than because of being a strong supporter of a particular cause as much. In that sense, people engage in with what Quinn (2008: 10) designates 'chequebook activism'. People also follow their own interests when supporting charity to the extent that they take advantage to do business networking over dinner, sell home-made products at fairs, or organize a fundraising event in exchange for being able to use the auditorium of local organization for other activities (e.g. theater rehearsals). Generally, a "good feeling", the social dimension of the activity, and a sense that "it's just something you do", "it's second nature to us Brits" and the idea of "giving back to the community" – discourses which I discuss in the next alinea - were the motivations reported by attendants.

At a more involved level are collaborators and helpers, who participate in the production of events. Like givers, these two groups of people may be working or retired. Those who are working may volunteer in so far that "it fits" with their lives – by attending the researsals in the middle of their job visits (e.g. as was the case witha pool maintenance technician). Business owners may provide space, items or services not only because of the discourses just mentioned, but also in part for the sake of social capital, as explored in the next section. In contrast, volunteers running the various charity shops, which is one of the key activities of some organizations, fit into what researchers call the 'Dorothy Donor' profile' (Breeze, Hood, & Egan, 2006: 7). They are mostly retirees and usually at least middle-aged housewives who engage with the more active roles in "charity work". With no job or family to provide inroads into schools and other Portuguese institutions, they seek to meet likeminded 'expatriates'. Additionally, these public spaces also provide sites to meet (however superficially) Portuguese, who increasingly resort to such shops.[417]

Finally, organizers are the most active people, who mobilize others. They are often retired women or housewives, and share the motivations described above. However, they become more deeply engaged with the issues and actors for whom they work. Not necessarily being fluent in Portuguese, they do, however, try to connect with local realities in various and textured ways. In the realm of more formal organizations, they connect with other "charities"' organizers, both Portuguese and foreign, besides contacting potential sponsors, arranging venues and catering, and overseeing all the communication needed to publicize the event. Rebecca, for instance, was so close with the everyday struggles of non-profit associations and with the "expat" population that she felt torn at times when knowing that the orphanages and elderly homes would mostly need money for running costs (doctor's appointments, new glasses, new shoes, etc.) but that many "expats" prefer "seeing how they are contributing" and buying actual things for the organizations. Other work at a more individual level but equally feel deeper engagement. Sophia and Karen, for example, run a theater group that fundraises mostly to alleviate poverty in the region.

[417] The "charity" shops would be worthy of a much longer discussion given the politics and power dynamics within organizations which is lived out and discussed among volunteers or the opportunities and difficulties of intercultural contact. Beyond the scope of this thesis, it would warrant further investigation.

They had recently connected with a volunteer fireman who had returned from years spent abrod when I interviewd them. They relied on him to find people "who get forgot by the big charities", because "He knows these people. And he knows whether they are bonafiding or not. (...) 'it's through him, that we get to absolutely grassroots level". At the same time, they became known in the local fire-fighting squad, which allowed them to have a sense of experiencing local life more intensely and being part of place.

> Sophia: I feel part of it! I don't belong to a club or a bridge club or something. If you are not working it is very, very difficult to meet people. You can go hang out to the supermarket, [but] I mean that you have relationships. You may go drink a coffee and that's the relationship or with a restauranteur or something. So this, for me, has been absolutely fantastic, (…) I mean, I went by the *Bombeiros* [Fire-fighters] fire station the other day, and under normal circumstances I would never have gotten in. And there I was having coffee with the sub chief. (…) But not having an inroad or a connection... this gives me that facility to be able to do that. And I really start to feel that I am living in Portugal! (Interview excerpt, Sophia, Retiree and director of a theater group, Full-time resident)

More than neo-classical economic approaches that recast altruism as an exchange (seeking, if anything, a good feeling), Sophia and Karen's case suggests that it is a more fruitfully to read it through approaches that take into account the role of 'giving' as a part of making sense of, and relating to, one's social environment (Breeze, 2006: 14). This is done in two ways, as follows.

6.3.1.2 "Charity" practices in the construction of belonging

Considering the dynamics revolving around "charity" work, it is possible to identify (at least) two strategies of reterritorialization that "expats" engage in. The first concerns lifestyle migrants' mobilization of notions of "community" and the use of "charity" work so as to position themselves in relation to fellow "expats" who are found to be self-alienated. If this first strategy underscores how lifestyle migrants can stake a claim to place, the second concerns the difficulties in dealing with structures and the ensuing distance from them. This second modality involves, however, the instances of "voice" which I found in the field. Together, they underscore the general ambivalence mentioned in chapter 6.

Building on Sophia and Karen's example is useful to explore the first instance. Although in a more engaged and more visible way than givers, who simply attend the events these two ladies organize, Sophia and Karen contribute to address pressing issues in the region, such as poorly equipped fire-fighting squads and underprivileged families. Yet, they similarly draw on the idea of "returning" something to the

"community" that most people mention when justifying their participation in "charity" or its importance. As is clear from the following quote, the community includes the Portuguese locals in this case.

> We also have the feeling that we're not doing too badly here, it's just trying help other people who may not have been quite so lucky in that. We feel very fortunate to be living here. So we need to be putting something into the community! I rather have people look at me and think 'Yeah, she lives in quite a nice house, and she drives a nice car, and she finishes perhaps earlier than other people because she is able to. But by the same token, look at what she is doing for the local people!' You know, I'm not just sitting there taking. I really appreciate living here. (Interview excerpt, Sophia, Retiree and director of a theater group, Full-time resident)

The idea of 'giving back', commonly evoked on air, seems, then, to enable making sense of a privileged standing by justifying one's presence. Notably, Sophia and Karen further differentiate between them and "expats" who are not involved in any way in "charity", thereby showing how "doing charity" can be a way of countering, and even fighting, an allegedly prevalent self-excluded and aloof stance and "ghetto" privileged lifestyle among "expatriates" (O'Reilly 2000; Oliver 2007;).

> Sophia: (…) and I do think that if we are able to make some of the expatriate communities here feel a little uncomfortable about their rather closeted and extremely pleasant lifestyle . . .
> Inês: Closeted?
> Karen: We need to open their eyes!
> Sophia: Yeah, make them feel a bit guilty. (…) they think it's their right, somehow! That they're here. (...) They would be most upset if other nationalities would come into England or the UK and didn't learn the language, didn't do anything, just existed. (...) And they do just that! I think they are very comfortable doing their own thing, in their own community and they don't look outside. I mean for instance, Karen and I regularly go down to Olhão on a Saturday, go to the market, try to mix with Portuguese people, and...have the sensation. Most people don't move outside of Quinta do Lago or Vale do Lobo. If you just play golf, you don't see anything else - you don't see what goes on in Almancil, don't see how people live in Loulé, and you've never been to a place like *Existir* [rehabilitation and social re-integration center], and you don't know the real life in Portugal. So we do things: go up to Coimbra, to hear *fado*... We do community things, like *Festa [da] Pinha*. We're probably the only foreigners there!... (Interview excerpts, Sophia, Retiree and director of a theater group, Full-time resident)

One could further enter into the layers of possible positionings by noting the common criticism to "expats" who engage most of their time, effort and money in caring for stray cats and dogs while mingling with peers in the Allgarve instead of assisting families living in dire conditions closeby. The point to make here, however, is that by giving in a more or less engaged way people feel that they are contributing to improving living conditions in the Algarve while they construct a site from which to stake a claim to the place. Additionally, comparing their ability and investment in bridging (Putnam, 2000) across national, language, cultural and class lines, they manage their own social standing within the "expat" social networks.

At the same time, the issue of caring for local animals is also a good example of the strong and committed civic spirit of mobilization efforts. To be sure, because of a cultural proximity towards animals in general, the British were particularly sensitive to what has recently been legally confirmed as animal cruelty[418]. Beyond feeding, neutering and re-homing stray cats and dogs, these "expats" were keen to denounce the suffering of animals in the region. Narratives about the situation in private conversations can oppose cultural perceptions of animals as friends or family in the UK to the more unemotional use of animals as workforce in Portugal, and the Algarve particularly (e.g. dogs were most commonly used for the safekeeping of herds and houses). Yet, what is important to retain from this example is that in addition to taking responsibility to care for local animals, some people effectively lobbied for them. Their attempt to try to change structures included addressing not only the Portuguese authorities but also the European entities to which the first are accountable. The following excerpt of an interview with a long-standing resident who had been running an animal sanctuary exemplifies this:

> Wherever you look, animal associations and organizations, and the 'unsung heroes' who work so tirelessly from their own homes, are doing exceptional work – but, you see, it's all a wasted effort as we have absolutely no effective backing from the authorities… A dying horse can lie tethered in the burning sun for three days while not one of the authorities appealed to for help (the GNR, the Bombeiros, the municipal vet) has any jurisdiction to intervene! Animals can be abandoned, cruelly treated, kept in inhumane conditions, thrown into rubbish bins - and no matter how much we denounce this sort of behaviour, there hasn't been one case of animal cruelty taken to court in Portugal! There isn't another country in Western Europe with such a record. Even in Spain – where there is deliberate animal cruelty – the authorities will come to the aid of animal protection societies. (…) I've written to Brussels asking for help from the Euro Group; I've protested that Portugal shouldn't be allowed to be a member until it pulls its act together… but here we are, nearly 30 years down the line of animal work in the Algarve, trying to carry water in a sieve. (Excerpt from Donn, N. (2008) "No room at the refuge", Algarve 1, 2, 3, December 24. Available online at: http://www.jornal123.com/en/Artikel/3-85/Kein_Platz_im_Asyl [last accessed December 2014].

Possibly in part because of these kinds of efforts – also strongly carried out by local organizations battling for the same cause – the law changed recently so as to criminalize animal cruelty. Similarly other efforts to address issues which have been effective include, for instance, the establishment of a yearly run against breast cancer (the *Mamamaratona* listed in table 8), which funded the mobile mammogram unit that

[418] This change was ruled in Law nr. 69/2014.

now traverses the Algarve to give free exams to women over 40.[419] In a region that is largely rural and afflicted by strong social asymmetries, this is significant. Moreover, similar joint efforts with the local *Associação Oncológica do Algarve* have contributed to funding the radiotherapy unit in Faro which enables local patients to avoid daily trips to Lisbon.

In sum, "charity" may mostly comprise social activities that foster socialization with likeminded peers whilst channelling funds to assist local organizations in addressing a number of causes. Accordingly, the practices and sociabilities revolving around "charity" work also reflect the politics of positioning amongst peers. Yet, it is a field in which people can also engage more wholeheartedly, not only to structure their social lives but also to bridge out of the Allgarve and into local realities in more textured ways. When doing so, rather directly, "charity" seems to constitute a realm in which lifestyle migrants can at directly voice their concerns with causes and act as a public, in the Habermasian sense, for the greater good of the local population. Not without difficulties,[420] "charity" thus creates avenues for involvement with local people and institutions, which may ultimately contribute to local development of an area which developed essentially through tourism. Notably, alongside with the discourses underscoring the construction of a sense of belonging (such as 'giving back to the community', which serve to inscribe lifestyle migrants in the local realities), which can be variably felt and experienced, other discourses and practices effectively maintain social distance between lifestyle migrants doing "charity" and their beneficiaries. Local media, like the radio, both reflect and play into these dynamics, further showing an ambivalent

419 According to one of the people involved with the organization of the first run, the idea stemmed from realizing that only civil servants had access to such an exam for free in addition to remembering how vans would cross the Algarve to test people for tuberculosis decades ago (which she herself have to do so as to have a health card enabling her to work in restaurants). The injustice underlying the access to the exam of some and the possibility to reach more people motivated, namely, her, to act.

420 Various people explained in detail the numerous barriers they faced when trying to engage with the Portuguese authorities and organizations. To give just two examples of bureaucracies and communication problems: for instance, it was easier to bring the British ambassador from Lisbon to the inauguration of a charity shop than to contact the local mayor to invite him to come, which he did not. Another instance consisted of submitting a massive file requesting permission to do a play to fundraise for an individual (rather than an institution) because of an alleged law about restrictions, which no one at the municipality knew of when the organizers of the play managed to schedule a meeting to ask about their process.

stance of connection with the Algarve. The radio is particularly able to further naturalize the tension between an often distanced mode of engagement with local realities through "charity" and the claims of a stake to place, which such practices foster, along with the sense of belonging – especially as this ambivalent stance of connection largely rests on a discourse which is itself naturalizing ("it's second-nature to us"). I now turn to how to the mediation of charity and radio's role in it.

6.3.2 Mediating "charity"

Radio, like other local media, is a key actor in "charity" work to the extent communication is vital for philanthropy-driven fundraising (Burman, 1994: 29; Deacon, Fenton, & Walker, 1995: 119). Media are the public platforms through which organizations and events can become visible so as to attract potential givers to their events. At the same time, given the nature of "charity" work in the Algarve, Bright operates to establish a connection to the public sphere, even if not in the classic sense put forth by Habermas and his followers. When mediating the relation of lifestyle migrants to place, in what concerns the dynamics involving "charity", Bright participates in processes of mobilization for solidarity and civic action, which can have significant impacts in local realities, as described above. This mediation of "charity" can be conceptualized in relation to notions of the public sphere if considering approaches that opt for flexible interpretations of the Habermasian model (e.g. Livingstone, 2005; Dalhgren, 2006; Butsch, 2007).

6.3.2.1 A "charitable" public

"Charity" is part of the radio realities to the extent organizers contact DJs so as to ask them to either announce the events they are organizing, and appeal to participation, and/or to report on how the events went. Even though discourses revolving around "charity" often mobilize notions of "community" which are extended to the Portuguese, as shown below, the mediation of "charity" by Bright is largely a way for the station to secure proximity with the English-speaking audience who "already know they can count on us" [to publicize their events for free], as the coordinator told me. Accordingly, the information about events tends to circulate only within English-language live shows. Announcements about events are hardly ever passed on to Portuguese DJs to mention on air. There was also no apparent policy regulating this until the rebranding in 2012, which restricted those announcements to

the older DJ's live shows, thereby assuming them as "community" oriented.[421] Moreover, the station's yearly Christmas campaign was also announced on air (during shows and with specific promotional spots) in English. Ultimately, if a public depends on the circulation of texts addressing it for its existence (Warner, 2002: 420), then this restriction of "charity"-related content to the English-language programming shows that "charity" is part of the way in which Bright reproduces the Allgarve.

Lifestyle migrants can be considered a public to the extent it can be operationalized as a collectivity that does not need to imagine itself as political entity, but rather revolves around "forms of action" (Barker, 2008: 129). In other words, if considering that a public derives from joint action on common problems resulting not only in satisfaction when action is taken and objectives are met, but also in a sense of belonging to a collectivity:

> a public is formed 'Wherever there is conjoint activity whose consequences are appreciated as good by all singular persons who take part in it, and where the realization of the good is such as to effect an energetic desire and effort to sustain it in being just because it is a good shared by all' (John Dewey cited in Friedland, Long, Shin, & Kim, 2010: 44)

Articulating the relations between audiences and publics, Livingstone similarly holds that:

> 'Public' refers to a common understanding of the world, a shared identity, a claim to inclusiveness, a consensus regarding the collective interest. It also implies a visible and open forum of some kind in which the population participates in order that such understandings, identities, values and interests are recognized or contested.' (Livingstone, 2005: 1)

To be sure, "expats" reach out through the media precisely on account of common strong connections and concerns with the Algarve and willingness to organize actions to address issues found to be pressing in the local reality. That is further the case if considering that a public, though necessarily requiring a forum of communication (which in this case is partly a media forum), extends beyond communicative action and moments of media reception (Calhoun, 1992: 32; Livingstone, 2005: 11). Finally,

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[421] After the sale and, particularly, when the Breakfast show started having success, it was established that "charity" announcements, like other quite local announcements such as requests for help to find lost dogs, would be restricted to the older DJ's live shows, which were thus more explicitly established as shows for the resident English-speaking community. A lively show such as the Breakfast show was to be optimized commercially beyond the much welcome listener interaction. In practice, however, I observed that "charity" announcements arrived by message to the program and usually did not circulate beyond it, even when there were other English and Portuguese language live shows. DJ's did their task and there seemed to be an implied sense that the Portuguese listeners would not be interested in attending.

it is pertinent to add that the "charities" own meetings constitute such forums of communication, where decisions are collectively made. As such, 'charities' are 'groups of concerned citizens self-organized and democratically regulated' (Habermas, 1992: 438), thereby constituting cores of "weak" public spheres - i.e. informal realms in the public domain where decisions with lesser influence and scale gain shape and strength, thereby ultimately making local civic action effective (Butsch, 2007: 8)[422] - even if lacking the subaltern or oppositional claims of counter-publics (Warner, 2002: 423-424).

At the same time, people often draw only tacitly on the civic nature of their personal engagement with agents of social solidarity. As such, it is the type of half-engaged publics that

> sustain a modest and often ambivalent level of critical interpretation, drawing upon – and thereby reproducing – a somewhat ill-specified, at times, inchoate or even contradictory sense of identity or belonging which motivates them toward but does not enable the kind of collective and direct action expected of a public. (Livingstone, 2005: 31)

Similarly, considering Bright FM a forum able to connect lifestyle migrants to a local public sphere entails flexible considerations of the workings of the public sphere. For instance, instead of constituting itself, on air, a forum for decision-making akin to the representative systems of democracy that Habermas' theory is restricted to, the radio rather connects with the "weak" public spheres just mentioned. It does so in different ways. Most simply, it gives institutions assistance with publicity when needing to find, for instance, volunteers or premises for a "charity" shop, as the following promotional spot illustrates:

> Do you know any empty premises that would make an ideal charity shop? *Associação Madrugada* needs to open Charity shops in Loulé, Tavira, Albufeira and Portimão. They need volunteers to open them and they need donations of good quality clothing, brick-a-brack, electrical goods and furniture to sell in them. *Madrugada*, supporting people with life-limiting illness. Contact them: telephone 2000000 or visit madrugadaportugal.com

However it can also play into the processes of doing "charity" more intricately. More than occasional and accidental involvements (e.g. the idea to found a hospice was

[422] According to Habermas (1992: 451), although private in practice, informal realms like associations and committees are among the best vehicles for critical publicity regardless of an orientation to identifying and solving problems rather than decision-making. They ultimately "manage to have a political impact via the public media because (…) they participate directly in public communications" (Habermas, 1992: 453–4).

proposed at a dinner announced in the radio following the death of a resident who found no facility to assist her in terminal days), the radio is involved in giving visibility to the "charities" activities, and appealling to "charitable" mobilization. Because of it affordances, the radio becomes part of the dynamics of positioning described above. When announcing and reporting on events, it accomodates the circulation of social capital (Portes, 1999, Putnam 2000) which serves to manage social standing among "expats", within the Allgarve. Additionally, when appealling to emotions so as to stimulate people to participate in, or even organize, events and activities, Bright contributes to amplify, validate and naturalize discourses which are part of the way lifestyle migrants make sense of their relation to the Portuguese and to place.

6.3.2.2 Announcing and reporting

As suggested, the promotion of 'charity work' as a form of engagement with the public sphere rests more on other communicative competencies, than on deliberative and rational exchanges. Instead of inviting debate and decision-making on air, "charity" work emerges through mentions, messages and interviews that serve functions in the relationships between, particularly, organizers, collaborators, and givers.

> DJ: such a success!
>
> Sophia: Yes, we pre-sold all 345 tickets and made a profit of 5 grand. It was also a real building bridges campaign, because the show was designed not just for the expats and foreigners but also for the Portuguese. So our audience was also Portuguese and it was good for the community.
>
> Karen: It just shows what you can do when you put the effort.
>
> DJ: But without you doing it, it would be no need for us to support. Keep those smiles going because I tell you what - you're putting a lot of smiles on faces that can use it.
>
> Sophia: We're pleased to be just a little part of it.
>
> (Interview with Sophia and Karen, Retirees and Directors of a Theater group, Full-time residents)

The example above is illustrative of one of the key communicative practices of "charity": reporting how much was raised for the cause at stake. In such moments, which are frequent, there are usually compliments praising the work being done and, ultimately, validating the principles and efforts at stake. In addition to validating discourses, as discussed in the next alinea, the radio is a means to provide accountability to the givers who participated in the event. This is important to

enhance the visibility and reputation of the organizers, who thereby accumulate social capital.

Notably, because of the interpersonal character of the social organization of the mediation of "charity", the connection that Bright can establish to the public sphere is quite limitted. To be sure, the process of mediation is largely based on the perception of trustworthiness, which may serve to enhance some "charitable" agents' social capital, but has implications for the visibility of different initiatives. More specifically, organizers usually contact DJs who announce events. Subsequently, listeners tend to trust the organizations announced on air by the hosts because they trust the latter's recommendations. Indeed, as listeners confirmed in interviews, radio's ability to create a persona that listeners feel close to lends credibility to initiatives, while the DJs themselves are respected and esteemed for fostering "charity". | Besides preventing the temporary bracketing of social status that is ideally necessary for the circulation of information in the public sphere (Calhoun & et al, 1992: 21) this affects the support that some organizations can receive. In practice, - givers and/or potential organizers (e.g. of informal groups) - may choose to attend an event or contact the organization to ask how they could be of assistance in part because of the visibility it got on the radio. Though predisposed to be (creatively) active as givers, helpers, collaborators or organizers, most "expats" I met were largely unaware of existing Portuguese 'charities' beyond the few, which are recurrently mentioned on air because they are already supported by "expat" organizers. This despite the fact that a simple search on google yields a list with over 156 registered organizations in the district.[423]

This derived in part because of specific dynamics of social organization of the mediation of "charity" at Bright. To be sure, DJs merely act as animators of messages (Hall, 2003b), thus perceiving themselves to be mediators whose role is only to channel messages. As such, they do not seek information to provide, but only publicize what they receive, thereby not trying to strike a balance between institutions, causes or types events announced. Additionally, they do not take

[423] The number is higher at the time of writing for the list is published, and updated, by the Social Security Department. It is available online at http://www4.seg-social.pt/publicacoes?bundleId=868174 [last accessed January 2015].

responsibility for verifying the credibility of the information they pass on. They trust organizers they may be merely acquainted with because of the generalized idea that everybody doing "charity" is well intentioned and does serious work. Similarly, they publicize organizations that they do not know on the premise that the "expat" organizers support them and, therefore, "it must be legit[imate]". Reading messages that announced events or not could depend more on whether the text was mentionable on air (i.e. short enough and informative enough) than on the event itself. This added to parallel dynamics (felt also among other media), such as the ad hoc manner in which "charities" themselves publicize their information, which the editor of a newspaper criticized.

> Peter: In England, a charity will have a professional person in charge of their marketing and their communications with the press. Not here. Here it is taken up by someone who's never done it before. Has a good heart. Good intention. No knowledge. (…) Here it starts, "oh Mary's retired. And she used to do a bit of writing - we'll get Mary to do it." Mary's doesn't know what the hell to do. She doesn't have the contacts in the press. Probably doesn't have them in the radio. And probably has never done it before. You know how it works, even the professional PR companies from Lisbon, if they want us to attend, they don't just send the invitation. Three four days before they are going to be ringing. "Oh can you tell me who is going? Did you get the invitation ok? We'd like to make sure you are on the guest list. I can ring a day before. Can I just confirm ta da" You have to work hard to get journalists there! We're busy people and we don't send people out easily. We have a newspaper to produce. (…)These people don't know how to do it. So they don't get the coverage. (…) [the ones who do know] build relationships. They understand how. They know Rick. Or they know Sally. And they'll ring her, oh we're gonna do this, can you give a bit of support? We want to support! (…) And we encourage people to let us know. You'd be surprised at how many don't. "oh I Didn't think of it" We'll re-write it if need be. Because we want to talk to the local community. (…)

Consequently, a few institutions supported by particularly active organizers are constantly mentioned on air and publicized in print. Ironic results include the excess of presents in children's homes like *Pirilampos*, which needed assistance with running expenses. In tandem, those organizations are well reputed.

Nevertheless, despite problems with differentiated visibility and other aspects related to the circulation of social capital, the radio still can be seen to operate loosely along the lines deemed necessary for the workings of the public sphere. Granted, the radio can serve as currency not only between organizers and givers, as suggested above, but also between organizers of initiatives and businesses that sponsor them. The visibility it gives to initiatives enable the pursuit of other forms of capital by collaborators who use the radio to explore that possibility, as the following instances illustrate ways in which collaborators can do so.

> "...charity! Do it for charity – get some PR in". In the studio, the "celebrity chef" challenged the DJ to brainstorm about a special Christmas show. They started firing away ideas about involving restaurants when the arrival of members of a theatre group interrupted them. The guests waiting in the hall (which added to the usual regular features) were then interviewed about a play they would stage to fundraise for 'charitable' causes. Later, when visiting the establishment of Margaret, a regular listener, she suddenly raised the radio's volume to check that, yes, the DJ did mention the bookshop as a drop off point for the station's Christmas presents campaign. 'Thank you!', she told the portable set sitting on her desk. I could not help noticing that the advertisement that then came on, for security systems, boasted that '60 Euros of any purchase will be given to charity'. "Charity" seems to be everywhere. (Field notes, December 2010)

As my early realization of the prevalence of "charity" on air and in radio sociabilities indicates, the radio can be a medium to engage what Billy, "the celebrity chef", and Margaret called a "win-win situation". On the one hand, "charities" have another agent supporting their cause: in the case of Billy one more fundraising initiative; in the case of Margaret, an extra site where people can leave toys for underprivileged children without having to go to station; and, in the case of the advertisement, a business regularly feeding organization's gross receipts. On the other hand, their businesses can benefit from their participation in "charity" activities, both by being associated with 'good-doing' and, in the case of the first two (though they did not mention it) being awarded free advertising.

Yet, although this was tacitly accepted, there was social control overseeing the potential abuse of such capital flow. For instance, turmoil ensued when a "charity", which was organizing an event, enticed sponsors to support it by hinting at the fact they would be recognized on air by a DJ who vouched for the organization. Business owners that were Bright's clients called the station noting that it would be cheaper to support "charities" if the publicizing mechanism was not more careful. Meanwhile, the DJ in question, who had no idea this was happening, felt utterly used and became more careful when inviting "charities" to request publicity from him, which he usually offered:

> And don't forget: if you have charity events coming up, and you want some publicity for them on the radio, please do let me know. You can email me at xxxx@brightfmalgarve.com. Send us your details and we'll give you a little mention. That is for charity organizations only. (Excerpt of broadcast)

Moreover, while the station is not a democratically run organization, which is warranted necessary for the sustenance of the public sphere (Habermas, 1992: 453;

Calhoun, 1992: 28),[424] text production and broadcasting were also subject to internal scrutiny and tempered the accommodation of flows of social capital. As such, when DJs started competing over leading the organization – and visible promotion – of the station's Christmas campaign meant to collect presents for underprivileged children, the coordinator requested that a joint promotional spot was made that would overlap the voices of the different English DJs so as to associate not one, but all of them, and subsequently the station, with the campaign. Additionally, there was a debate as to what people should be asked to give for the annual Christmas campaign. Even though organizers liaising with beneficiary "charities" noted the importance of toiletries, which DJs included in that year's promotional spot for the campaign, not everyone saw it fit to offer children toiletries as presents – only as complements to presents. This was changed for the following "charity" efforts within the station. Therefore, although the dynamics of publicity at Bright, as a commercial station may curb its role as a forum of the public sphere, the station still participates in an important part of "charity". While it is used by different actors to accumulate social capital and manage their positions within their Allgarvean networks, the station connects organizers with givers and collaborators with some degree of the rational deliberation deemed necessary for the workings of the public sphere. Albeit tangentially, these connections underlie the mobilization efforts that ultimately impact on local realities.

6.3.2.3 Emotional appeals

Another key way in which Bright mediates a connection to the local public sphere is to validate, amplify and naturalize discourses appealing to listeners' values and emotions. Albeit affective competencies are deemed irrelevant for the traditional public sphere (Warner, 2002: 423; Dalhgren, 2007: 32), radio is particularly effective in sustaining the public due to its aptitude in advancing moving emotional appeals. While not grounded on argumentation or deliberation, emotive and phatic discursive

[424] Reviewing critiques to his work, Habermas (1992: 441) loosened this premise, but re-emphasizes the importance of sustaining communicative processes with a reason-based and just logic when he restates the challenge of investigating how the public can, amidst commercial mass media's power, 'set in motion a critical process of public communication through the very organizations that mediatize it'.

forms can be seen to suit the public sphere (Dahlgren, 2006: 30; Friedland et al., 2007: 43; Warner, 2002: 421; Calhoun, 1992: 37). Countering Habermasian critiques against the private interest and entertainment as unproductive appeals to emotion and pleasure (Butsch, 2007: 6),[425] on air vouching for initiatives mobilizes emotion in order to trigger processes of identification and collective solidarity that can (and apparently frequently does) result in support for the cause at stake (i.e. organizing activities, attending fundraising events, etc.). As the following on air mention illustrates how.

> And Miriam Shellam's quiz is back on, as she seems to be back from New Zealand again. They are always quite sophisticated and a success. She got us too used to being treated to great sets of questions and there are often even some musical prompts, I think . . . It is usually quickly fully booked, so make sure you don't miss it. Only 20 euro at restaurant Jardim do Vale for some good food and great fun. The proceeds will go to various charities as usual. (Broadcast excerpt, Bright's Klassix show, May 2011)

In addition to stressing the compelling idea of 'helping someone in need' while having fun, on air mentions can further stimulate identification with causes and mobilization for them. On the one hand, presenting venues of events as the 'customary' places and characterizing regular initiatives by evoking an interpersonal level of relationships, in which the DJ inscribes both himself and the audience, creates a sense of proximity grounded in the localness of people, places and practices. Although limited to SMS, Facebook post or email filtered by the presenter, responses contribute to this. People participate with banal comments that would not fit into a letter to the editor but find a place on air (e.g. music dedications for their winning quiz team) or act off air, as will be shown below. People like Megan, whose media diet was discussed in section 4.2.3, stressed these features as radio's added value from the perspective of an organizer: the interactive possibility and the familiarity created on air, coupled with the support of DJs who lend credibility to "charitable" efforts, is a unique way to raise awareness and invite support, especially when compared to

[425] This type of mediated visibility is associated with a re-feudalized public sphere that has been criticized for losing its key functions: rather than fostering critical discourse based on the use of reason, and premised in the equality of participants, the visibility dynamics fostered by a commercial mediascape resort to persuasion for identification and acclamation (Butsch, 2007: 4; Calhoun, 1992: 26). However, representative publicity in itself does not necessarily hinder the public sphere's functioning (Butsch, 2007: 4; Calhoun, 1992: 26) and may even constitute particularly effective means of channeling a public connection (Dahlgren, 2007: 26–7).

other media. On the other hand, radio outdoes newspapers in the circulation of texts by accelerating rhythms of publication (Warner, 2002: 413): an announcement printed once in a weekly periodical that may not be re-read is broadcasted daily until the event takes place. Such accessibility and continuous visibility makes the broadcasts a channel that daily sustains a public and its actions which, although indirectly, impact on local realities.

These emotional appeals' effectiveness can, however, have flipsides. One aspect showcasing the limitations of the public connection that Bright can promote is the fact that the station fosters a mode of address that privileges a persuasive tone that it typical of dynamics of representative publicity (Calhoun, 1992: 26-28; Habermas, 1992: 437). In themselves, 'cuddly charities' (to use Deacon et al.'s [1995: 125] designation for causes such as animals, children or the elderly) invite prompt emotive responses rather than reasoned scrutiny. As described above, the reflexive circulation of discourse (Warner, 2002: 420) does not rest on arguments about how to provide assistance, and to whom should assistance be provided, but on launching initiatives and later confirming their successes in terms of sums raised. Accruing to that, the immediacy of radio talk allows the fleeting publication of strong images of need that would hardly be printed regardless of their effectiveness (Burman, 1994: 29). These are further framed with appeals to the responsibility of 'giving back' and helping someone next door. Ultimately, this mechanism may yield overblown and demeaning interpretations that reassert the gap between givers and receivers, by suggesting harsh living conditions for the underprivileged. This transpires in the station's promotional spot for its Christmas campaign:

> Each Christmas Bright FM invites you to buy a Christmas present for an Algarve orphan or underprivileged child. Please support our 2010 appeal with a wrapped gift and mark it suitable for a boy a girl age between 4 and 16 years. Gift suggestions this year include toiletries such as shower gel, bubble bath, toothbrush, shampoo, conditioner and soap. Please leave your gift at any of our collection points. Enjoy the gift of giving and remember something extra special for a child in need this Christmas. Thank you! (Promotional spot, December 2010)

Accordingly, it is at a distance and 'in need' that the beneficiaries of aid are left on air as many people seem keener to literally fill the radio station's front office with presents during its Christmas appeal rather than visit the orphanages where the recipients live.

Off air, the discourses supplementing these ideas add to the distanced giving described earlier. The following two excerpts, including the presentation of an expat

run “charity”, through the testimony of its director, and an interview excerpt of a newspaper director who had been a long-standing resident and regularly involved with “charity”, signal two key aspects of discourses that complement the broadcasts.

> Over the last 10 plus years that I have volunteered (…) I have also observed the Portuguese open up and accept our Philanthropic culture.
> For many of us, charity has been ingrained in us through volunteerism in our schools growing up. But, for many Portuguese this is still a relatively new concept, because of the Socialist past. However, the locals have learned to enjoy all of the support provided by the successful fundraising efforts (…) and as a result, we have merged into one community over the years.
> With privilege comes responsibility for our common humanity: if there is an opportunity & we can do something to help children, then we must. (…) (“Charity” director’s testimony on the institution’s website)

> (…) I think the Portuguese are still in the infancy of understanding charity work. (…) when I moved here [1989], (…) It was all the expatriates who did charity work (…) with animals. (…) of course at the time the integration (…) was minimal. So the expatriates, I don’t think, really understood, how so many children lived below the bread line, had been affected by beatings, abuse, parents who can’t cope with them because they are mentally disadvantaged (…) I also think that expatriates who moved here . . . have time to do this type of charity work. And they are used to giving in the UK even if they haven’t worked at it. (Interview excerpt, Fiona, Director of a local newspaper, Full-time resident)

One recurrent discourse among “expats”, which never was commented on air, was the idea that “charity” is a cultural practice imported from the UK and is only developing in Portugal, where people still do not practice it (something that usually is substantiated by noting how there are hardly any Portuguese people at [British oriented] events). What matters is not so much that Fiona and ACCA’s director lack awareness of the long history of social solidarity work in Portugal, that rests more on social support services than philanthropic donations (Campos Franco, Sokolowski, Hairel, & Salamon, 2008). Nor is it the veracity of the images they conjure in their account, which may easily be true in a context that is largely rural and marked by asymmetries stemming from development through tourism (Comissão de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional do Algarve, 2006). What is interesting is that the imagery accompanying a sense of duty to act on both the reality being lived in and the desires of community making, which is extended to the Portuguese, ironically results in social distance. Under the pretext of community building, mobilization efforts seem to create more opportunities for bonding among fellow ‘expatriates’ than for cross-cultural bridging, to use Putnam’s (2000) terms. This is underscored by the generalized material differences distinguishing most “expats” and most beneficiaries, and is permeated by a posture and ideology that not is entirely free from a connotation

of patronizing benevolent superiority, which are sustained by images of need and helplessness such as those just mentioned.[426]

Although these ideas transpire on air occasionally (e.g. in the promotional spot above) and are complemented by the constant validation of the importance to "give back" and "help those in need", they do not necessarily hinder the radio's ability to stimulate action, as the example below illustrates.

> When I had visited Margaret's bookshop during the afternoon live show, I was almost disappointed that she turned down the volume of the radio to talk to me. I was expecting to observe some interaction with the program.. Instead, she commented only that she can tell when the dj pre-records the show by the tone of his voice before switching to other topics. Nevertheless, radio ended up being the center of the conversation. Margaret told me that she had recently been approached by fellow British ladies who are in charge of cleaning and maintenance of holiday rental apartments precisely because her bookshop was listed as a drop off point for the radio station's Christmas appeal. They wanted to channel half-empty boxes of food, detergent and other products left behind by tourists staying at the apartments they clean to people who could use them. Margaret promptly suggested *Pirilampos* as a trustworthy and suitable organization given that she keeps hearing on the radio about people's support to it and its great work. When I asked her why she mentioned that particular orphanage she noted it is also local to her workplace, where support was raised. She happily got in contact with the DJ that she usually turns to for company and who mentions this "charity" regularly. Provided I had helped sorting and delivering the presents for the station's campaign, and given other Portuguese speaking staff members were unavailable, I was asked to assist in the first visit to the orphanage. Margaret's husband, who brought the products, asked me to do the full translation of the idea and the procedure to the caretaker on duty - a middle-aged lady who does not speak English even though she is used to having foreign visitors at the children's home. He had never been to *Pirilampos* and did not know how to get there. The ladies who first suggested everything did not want to come, fearing what they would see. Miriam was also convinced the children had to share toothbrushes as she confided in shock. (Field notes, December 2010)

This example conveys how the radio can facilitate the circulation of discourses motivating "charity" that can contribute to social distance (e.g. the idea that children who are being supported still need to share toothbrushes – which, however, was not the case at the institution at stake) and, at the same time, generate a chain of support to address the needs creating that distance. It highlights that, on the one hand, it shows that there may be a type of rationale and commitment underlying the organization of

[426] A note on terms is pertinent. In a comparison between the UK and the US, Karen Wright notes the different connotations in both countries ("philanthropy" and "charity") to note that one "still carries disparaging connotations of Victorian 'do-gooderism' and is often seen as elitist, patronising, morally judgmental and ineffective, as well as old fashioned and out of date" (Prochaska, 1988, 1990; Dickens, 1853 in Wright 2002: 7) whereas the other is more associated with a "more modern, egalitarian and respectful" system resting on the welfare state, even if not free of baggage. Like in the USA, in Portuguese, "charity" (caridade) has a moral and negative patronizing connotation associated with inherent hierarchies that consolidate the act of giving as a reassertion of the latter. In contrast, *solidariedade social* (social solidarity) became established as an neutral form to address issues and actions of support to those who need it blurring social differences by making the underpinning tone that of proximity with "the other", with the next person.

"charitable" mobilization that works towards creating the idea of a communitarian type of support: in this case, local proximity was important so as to maintain a chain of support within the geographical area. On the other hand, it also shows that the efforts to bridge linguistic and cultural barriers are minimal, for the people initiating the network of support did not want to contact with the realities they were keen on improving. The action of recycling the surplus created in a tourism context to the benefit of institutions of social solidarity derived from the practice and ideologies of "charity" which, in turn, maintained social distance in this case. Radio texts can thus operate as reccomendations amplifying visibility of some institutions and causes as well as powerful channels to spur mobilization among an audience that is keen to act as a public and use the radio for it. At the same time, radio's mediation does not necessarily result in a deeper involvement with realities being affected. Ultimately, the mediation of "charity" on air validates and naturalizes not only the discourses of "giving back" which most "expats" draw on but the very half-engaged and ambivalent stance of connection informing lifestyle migrants' relation to place.

6.3.3 Synthesis of Tuning into place: mediating "charity"

A final particularity of Bright FM concerns how it is used by audience members in strategies of reterritorialization. The station is part and parcel of the practices of "charity" work through which many (particularly British) lifestyle migrants engage, though with variable commitment and intensity, with local realities. To be sure, efforts of mobilization for civic and solidarity purposes mobilize a remarkable number of people in the Algarve who engage in formal and informal organizations and/or in social activities meant to fundraise for various causes depending on whether they are retired or employed. Although for some "charity" may constitute avenues to meet people and structure routines, and for others it is reduced to a fun activity that benefits greater goods, it is always presented as a way to "give back to the community". In practice, it channels material assistance to causes that range from animal welfare to health infrastructures and does make a difference for institutions struggling with limited resources. Yet, organizers, collaborators, helpers and givers can engage only minimally with the local realities at stake. "Charity" dynamics can serve more the management of social relations and positioning among fellow "expats" than the engagement with the Algarve, although it always seems to be

an avenue to stake a claim to place. Even if for some individuals "charity" is an avenue for deep, committed and meaningful involvement with local realities, which they engage with through various bridging practices (including negotiating change with Portuguese structures), for others, who remain in the Allgarve, it is an activity which, in practice, sustains social distance with locals.

To the extent that "charity" can effectively articulate with local civil society institutions (e.g. IPSS) and somewhat impact issues with social and ecological import, it constitutes an intervention in the local public sphere – for which media like the radio are key. Yet, the radiophonic mediation of "charity" departs from the Habermasian model insofar as it is the kind of "ambivalent and fuzzy phenomena" (Livingstone, 2005: 26) that comprise public discourse and participation but hardly provides a straightforward connection to the public sphere (Calhoun, 1992; Habermas, 1992). Nevertheless it facilitates the work of publics who, through direct involvement in "weak public spheres" and indirect action (e.g. fundraising) contribute to improving local realities. Foregrounding possibilities and limitations of a commercially oriented media connection to the public sphere, Bright FM shows may operate within dynamics of display and performances that are mostly typical of representative publicity, and thereby not foster reasoned and egalitarian interaction, but effectively spur the mobilization for action.

More importantly, by mediating "charity", Bright both reflects and intervenes in the aforementioned strategies of relating to place. It indirectly contributes to avenues for involvement with local people, places and institutions, and subsequently to the management of bonding relationships among the British, to the promotion of instances of local development, and to the development of a sense of belonging. Announcing and reporting on events organized to fundraise for "charity" enables the flow of social capital among organizers and helpers, who want their ventures to be associated with success and good-doing, DJs themselves, and listeners who can respond as givers to those organizers' initiatives, or as organizers adding to the support of organizations vouched for on air. Additionally, such announcements and mentions of events validate the practices and values underlying "charity" work, such as the responsibility-charged idea of "giving back". At the same time, it emotionally appeals to listeners to take action without challenging (and sometimes assisting in reproducing) strong images of need which foster social distance among givers and

receivers. Although this does not curtail, and may even intensify intiatives of assistance, it does imprint an impersonal nature to a humane gesture and separates the Allgarve from the Algarve. Moreover, it does not detract from the construction of sense of belonging which rests on the ambivalent articulation of being engaged but from a distance.

Radio's affordances make it a unique agent of mediation of "charity". Its oral mode of address invites not only the animation of social dynamics through messages which would not fit into letters to the editor but also intensifies the emotional appeals to mobilization that can be found in other local media by resorting to local and interpersonal references that construct familiarity and invite identification (and subsequent mobilization for one's "community"). Complementarily, the repetitive and ephemeral circulation of texts, constantly reminding people of practices and values (i.e. giving back, even if from a distance) in ordinary but engaging ways, radio not only validates them but also naturalizes them. Therefore, radio sustains the complexities and contradictions structuring the relation of lifestyle migrants to home and host contexts, which translates into an ambivalent stance of connection to place. Ultimately, people seem to shift between remaining outsiders, passively becoming involved as 'guests', or venturing further, moving within and beyond the bubble they mention.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter argues that Bright FM Algarve fulfills the roles of a minority station albeit with specificities that concern the type of migrant population it caters to. As such, it assists in the maintenance of relationships to the context of origin, destination and places of reference. Yet, content, production dynamics and listener participation all index the greater intensity of transnational relations, which draw the UK and other lifestyle-migration contexts to the vicinity of the Algarve more than the rest of Portugal. What is more broadcasts signal a functional and partial mode of incorporation into local realities. Despite a dynamic involvement in the local tourism-driven economy, lifestyle migrants seem one step removed from local (social, political, etc.) realities when considering the social life mirrored in announcements of events or the practical information to settle, which is usually imparted in

advertisements selling services that mediate such a process. Radio texts reflect and, to the extent they inform and suggest services, events – participate in what can be considered a functional and partial incorporation to place. Like other stations it does reproduce a repertoire of cultural references, which, however, do not linearly project an imagined community associated with a diaspora. In contrast, despite the markedly British contours of the cultural narrative, the station's mode of address is extended to other lifestyle migrants who also share a search for a "good life" in the Algarve and relate to place through, mostly, leisure-based practices and an ambivalent posture that fluctuates to that of a guest and of a full resident.

To say that Bright both reflects and participates in strategies of reterritorialization of lifestyle migrants is to hold it as a gateway to the dynamics involving lifestyle migrants in the Algarve. In that respect, situating the station's role and its specificities is best accomplished by drawing the conceptualization of "locality" (Appadurai 1996), the idea of a lifestyle mobilities oriented migration industry (Castles, 2013; Gammeltoft-Hansen & Nyberg Sorensen, 2012; Hernández-Léon, 2008; Spener, 2009), and flexible readings of what constitutes a public and a connection to the public sphere (e.g. Richad Butsch, 2007; Friedland et al., 2010; Livingstone, 2005a). Although only one agent in wider and more complex local social realities, the station reproduces the Allgarve, a translocality characterized by a somewhat secluded nature: resting on maps, social networks, and institutions which are animated by everyday life in English and by-pass local (social, political, and other) realities. It is associated with the search for the idealized "better quality of life" which the tourism and lifestyle migration industries (and the radio, as one of its agents) promote. It is also connected to transnational neighborhoods, and particularly, the UK, through an English-language media sphericule, which combines local and international media. Ultimately, is underscores the mode of relating to the new elected home through the process of transitioning from being tourists, to second-home owners and full time residents: the sense of belonging seems to derive from the development of place attachment, which is a meaningful part of making sense of lived experience of a lifestyle migrant, but is permeated by the aforementioned ambivalent tension. This transpires in the constant (though variable) shift in and out of the zones of comfort, which lead "expats" beyond the Allgarve and into the realities of the locals to whom they want to "give back", at the same time that they inscribe a social space

for themselves in the local "community", earned as active (even if distant) contributors to the improvement of pressing issues.

It follows that Bright's singularities as a lifestyle mobilities' radio include, at least, two roles. Empirical material suggests the station is uniquely positioned and able to facilitate lifestyle migration to the Algarve. The local, familiar and ephemeral mode of address operates to appeal to tourists and second-home owners who recurrently visit the region. Audience members, whether strategically (e.g. advertisers) or spontaneously (e.g. listeners participating from abroad), construct the Algarve as the picture-perfect place that leaves a feeling of longing to return in the hearts of those who visit. In tandem, the sustenance of a niche-market contributes to enabling those who would otherwise not afford to make the move to consider relocation because of the opportunities to start a business that can rely on the media infrastructures and Allgarvean social dynamics for networking and marketing – of which radio is just a part.

At the same time, the repetition and normalization of the narrative that associates the south of Portugal to the common quality of life markers (e.g. healthy diet, warm weather, outdoors routines, beautiful scenery, cheaper cost of living, etc.) amplifies and validates the affirmation that life is indeed better in the Algarve. Often the punch line of everyday conversations, this idea seems to both reflect and operate towards furthering the migratory move as a comparative project (M. Benson & O'Reilly, 2009b). The repetition of the same ideas positing the Algarve as the site for the "good life" both validate the localization of larger narratives about idealized modes of living in the Algarve and seem to amplify a dynamic apparent among lifestyle migrants that seems to reconfirm having made the right choice. Finally, when establishing the current lifestyle as an improvement in relation to what one had or would have had in the context of origin, or what their peers in the destation nurture, lifestyle migrants' seem to realize the relatively privileged standing they hold in the context of destination as well. Accordingly, the radio participates in what seems to be an exercise to make sense of this position when assisting in the more or less engaged effort to improve local living conditions and "give back to the community" – albeit elusively establishing this as a cultural practice which is "second-nature" to, particularly British "expats".

7 FINAL REMARKS

In the articulation of media and migrations, initiatives made by, for and/or with migrants constitute vantage points to explore issues related to cultural diversity in a globalized world. Accompanying and catering to the specific modes of settlement of different populations, practices of production and consumption of media-channeled self-representation provide avenues to explore processes of construction of belonging in migratory contexts. To explore the latter, this project has engaged with the often marginalized medium of radio and asked "how does radio play into the management of migrants cultural identity – and what are its specificities in doing so?" To answer this question, it started by producing a mapping of radio initiatives made by, for, about and/or with migrants in the country, which was absent among studies that focused more on print media and television (Figueiredo, 2003; Salim, 2008). It then selected a case study which it researched in depth by resorting to an ethnographic approach. Considering radio both as a product (radio texts) and social practice (of production and consumption) as suggested by Spitulnik (1993), it sought to identify how radio fits into migrants' communicative ecologies (Baker et al., 2008; Hearn & Foth, 2007; Horst, 2010; Tacchi, Slater & Hearn, 2003; Wilkins et al., 2007) and the way it plays into their processes of settlement and management of cultural identity.

The mapping concluded that most initiatives are weekly programs situated in the local radio sector which exist in a legal loophole: not covered by specific regulatory frameworks and seemingly countering the general orientations in the law in terms of promotion of Portuguese language and culture, they are nevertheless welcome additions to the radioscape that the regulatory authorities analyze on a case-by-case basis. They have been established since the 1980s, before the local radio sector was regulated, and have mirrored the history of immigration trends in Portugal as programs reflect the rising and waning of particular immigration flows into the country. Moreover, these shows fulfill the general functions of maintaining transnational relations with significant places of reference as well as personal networks across borders; of assisting in processes of integration in Portugal; and of

fostering cultural reproduction and community making processes in Portugal. Yet, radio programs do not seem to be used as mouthpieces to voice concerns about the populations' inclusion in the country. Rather than being forums for reflection, problematization and negotiation of migrants' standing in Portugal, programs rather showcase cultural traditions along with specific musical legacies besides providing a mediated space of encounter for their target audiences. This might understandably derive from a hesitation to upset host institutions broadcasting the shows with an emphasis on inclusion/exclusion issues, and is a topic warranting further investigation.

This scenario encouraged the selection of Bright FM as a case study. Being the first station to be exceptionally awarded a bilingual license, it was founded by, and largely has been catering to, a population that has a reputation of segregating itself when abroad: the British (King et al, 2000; O'Reilly, 2000, 2007). By serving a relatively privileged population the station provided a counterpoint to most cases analyzed in the literature. This provided productive avenues to discuss key themes informing the research design (namely, dynamics of visibility in the public space, inclusion/exclusion, cultural reproduction and transnational connectivity) from an unusual perspective. At the same time, it posed two main challenges. One pertained to the flow bringing Bright FM's foreign target audience to Portugal: a tourism-informed mobility that fits uneasily with classic conceptualizations of migratory movements. Relatedly, the other concerned the categorization of a population which presents itself as "expatriate" and which is often overlooked in analyses of immigration trends, namely in Portugal. To be sure, the station addresses not only the Portuguese, but also English-speaking "expats" (i.e. part-time or full-time residents) as well as tourists. To cope with these challenges, the strategy to conceptualize the role Bright FM plays for its audience was to draw from grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and complement it with an approach that is being developed to theorize similar tourism-informed flows that are not driven by economic hardship or the search for financial security: lifestyle migration (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009). To situate the role of radio for these populations and conceptualize it, other concepts used included translocality (Appadurai 1996); migration industries (Hernández-Léon, 2008; Spenner 2009), and flexible renderings of Habermas' theory of the public sphere (Livingstone, 2005; Dalhgren, 2006; Butsch, 2007).

Although the case of Bright FM Algarve does not linearly fit the category of minority media as discussed in that field's literature, it does fulfill the same roles, albeit with specificities. Like other initiatives identified in an exploratory mapping, it may not channel the voicing of the population's concerns and needs directly, nor foster reflexivity about the migrant population's standing in the country, but it both reflects and participates into processes of incorporation, cultural reproduction and management of transnational relations. Moreover, by contributing to amplify, validate and reproduce a "good life" narrative as well as the related social dynamics and niche-market, the station ultimately complements other agents producing a social context to accommodate the flow and presence of lifestyle migrants in the Algarve. Furthermore, the medium's affordances enable it to particularly naturalize a social position of "expats" in the Algarve that is hardly common among migrants. To be specific, I will now respond to the hypotheses put forth earlier.

7.1 Answering the research hypotheses

H1.The radio does not contribute to "expatriates"' incorporation into the host context and plays into a strategy of self-exclusion

This hypothesis was partially verified. One the one hand, production dynamics and radio texts do contribute to dynamics of seclusion. To be specific, the radio adds to an English language micro-public sphericule that facilitates the maintenance of media diets as if not having left the UK. Additionally, if other local English-language media can be found to not provide sufficient information about Portuguese current affairs and focus on a marketable "picture-perfect" image of the Algarve, then Bright exceeds them. Although due to financial restraints, it featured no news about Portugal or the Algarve in English during fieldwork, thereby not creating awareness of local realities. It also strongly projected a selective and positive image of (life in) the Algarve. To add to that, as a public communications media that reaches across private and public spaces, Bright legitimates and normalizes the use of the English language in the Algarve. Adding to a dynamic established because of the predominance of the tourist industry, it contributes to enabling the navigation of everyday life with minimal language of Portuguese while naturalizing it. As such, it contributes to the

lack of textured/deep engagement with people, organizations and structures. |What is more it played into dynamics of incorporation that could be characterized as functional and partial.

Even if DJs shared some information about regulations directly affecting "expats" in their live shows, needs and interests of the audience were indexed mostly by advertisements. Those targeting (partial or full time) residents reveal a mode of incorporation that is notably mediated by private services. On air, issues related to structural dimensions of settling (e.g. housing, finances, work, health, etc.) appear in the spots suggesting company x or y. This dynamic reflects, a remarkably diverse niche-market spanning an immense variety of services and products, which mediates the relationship with national official entities as well as with more quotidian areas of everyday life, often revolving around leisure. Although not all listeners will afford or want to resort to the latter, it is significant that among those who work, all seem to be involved in providing and publicizing them. Therefore, broadcasts not only reflect these migrants' exemption from processes that non-EU members must cope with, but also signal a dynamic economic activity that permits "expats" to remain somewhat removed from local realities. What is more, although "expats" vehemently refuse similarities with tourists who never grasp "the real" Algarve, their social life, as channeled by announcements of events on air, also fuels separate circles.

However, consumption dynamics suggest a more textured picture. On the one hand, the messages that listeners send from abroad in between their recurrent visits to their treasured holiday place or second-home, serve to include them in social dynamics with phatic (e.g. birthday) messages and music dedications which would not fit in other local media. On the other hand, exploring off air connections reveals that the radio actively plays into establishing relationships with the Portuguese and with local realities. This is not related to the fact that Portuguese have always been audience members themselves – although, granted, they have always been keen to follow the latest hits in the UK charts, even if Bright was more avant-garde before the Internet facilitated quick access to international music scenes; to instrumentally attract potential customers into their shops by having a station tuned in that addresses them in a familiar way; and to advertise their own businesses to tourists and "expats" whom no other local station reaches as effectively. More importantly, it is through the validation of a narrative of "giving back" and the support to the organization of events

meant to fundraise for local causes that the radio not only reflects but also participates into a strategy of reterritorialization revolving around "charity" work. Although most of announcing and reporting on initiatives serves to channel the flow of social capital, and even though the appeal to engage with issues afflicting the Algarvean population can draw on images of need that stimulate social distance rather than identification, the station facilitates avenues to explore individual relations to place. Framing what can be considered a connection to local public spheres, it fosters collective efforts to improve, for instance, (firefighting and health) infrastructures. Symbolically, it is up to individuals to focus on networking and having fun at fundraising activities or structuring post-retirement routines by working at "charity" shops while "doing something for a good cause", or venture out of zones of comfort and engage with local institutions, logics and people.

H2. The station's specific way of being particularistic (Dayan, 1998) and create proximity is to contribute to the establishment of an "expat" social position in the Algarve and to the reproduction of an "expat" cultural identity

This hypothesis was verified albeit with nuances to what I initially expected. To be sure, by "expat" I anticipated the British, who surfaced in the exploratory visits to the Algarve as the predominant foreign presence in the region and in the radio, both on and off air. Yet, the station was not constructed as a cultural project for a British community and did not promote clear community-making or the negotiation of cultural identity in its broadcasting. Interestingly, on the one hand, the assumedly commercial project did evidence a number of practices of banal nationalism (Bilig, 1995) as the British cultural repertoires were clear in all: accent and idiomatic expressions used; style of banter among shows hosts and guests; musical and other references present in styles of presenting and conversations with guests: and festivities signaled throughout the year, among other cultural markers. This was the case even before the sale urged the reinforcement of those ties in the programming so as to not lose a key audience segment with the transition to a Portuguese ownership. In other words, the rebranding of Bright, and the assumption of a label it had previously shunned, ("the British station"), was part of a commercial strategy which

entailed investing in its uniqueness: the connection with the English-speaking population that secured a significant part of revenue. Generating identification through clear cultural markers was meant to animate a programming schedule, which had been gradually emptied of live and appealing content.

However, on the other hand, if British ethnicity was then instrumentalized for commercial purposes, as is the case often in minority media, Bright's singularity was the projection of a narrative addressing "expats" more than solely the British. In other words, having been for the most part an ethnocentric project that never fostered the reflection on or the negotiation of cultural identity on air, Bright always contributed to the reproduction of a posture and way of being in the Algarve that is best conceived through the framework of lifestyle migration. This became clear when, first, the rebranding process consciously excluded migrants that are not perceived to mainly resort to the English language to navigate their everyday lives in the Algarve and that are classed as economic migrants; and second, when non-British "expats" presented a strong and "evident" identification with Bright in spite of its strong British orientation. Relating the narrative projected on air with discourses of interviewees suggested the common denominator was the idea of the "good life" that "expats" have relocated to the Algarve in order to experience. The narrative was selective to the extent that practices of living "the good life" entailed ambivalent and even tense relationships with systems and place: a fear of being included in a "black list" if vocally complaining about problems encouraged people to withdraw to the tourist-like posture of a "guest" despite being full-time residents, feeling they constituted "the lifeline of the economy" and feeling a strong belonging to the Algarve.

In addition to reproducing a narrative providing people with material to make sense of their lived experiences, the radio further reflected and participated in reproducing the context granting "expats" a social place in the Algarve. Complementing other agents, Bright contributed to the reproduction of a set of connections sustaining a somewhat secluded mode of relating to place as well as the reproduction of the ideologies and material conditions underpinning it. In other words, to use a shorthand term that underscores that a certain way of living life in the region happens in English, Bright contributed to reproduce the "Allgarve". To be sure, the Allgarve is a translocality that is, for "expats", in many ways closer to the UK and other significant places of reference (e.g. where other second-homes are

maintained, where they worked previously in their transnational careers, etc.) than to the rest of Portugal. The social organization of production reflects this as shows, jingles and commercial spots are often produced in the UK and sent online. Additionally, messages from listeners further extend the geographies of the mediated site of encounter across the world. Moreover, the advertisements, signal the cross-border practices of consumers who travel frequently and manage pensions received elsewhere through multinational financial companies, for instance. In parallel, broadcasts sustain a niche-market which is central to the Allgarve in part by granting a forum for publicity to people who can only enjoy "the good life" if funding it with, usually, their own small business.

H3. The affordances of radio make Bright FM a singular resource for the construction of belonging for "expatriates"

Although remaining in the background as a medium that is present where satellite does not reach (e.g. the car or the shop), the radio is particularly apt to play into the processes of construction of belonging of lifestyle migrants in the Algarve. An oral medium of local character that reaches beyond borders, radio welcomes a phatic type of interaction that enables tourists, long-stay visitors, second-home owners and full-time residents who are away to inscribe themselves in local dynamics with greetings and similar messages sent to live shows. The unilinear broadcasting modality and the familiar mode of address promote the experience of listening to the same thing, at the same time (Urry cited in Georgiou, 2002: 16; Hendy, 2000: 120; Tacchi, 2002: 247). This becomes further significant when considering many of these people are not only recurrent visitors but often move through fluid categories along a continuum between tourism and migration. The local character of content and the familiar mode of address which uses a language that listeners are comfortable with (when it is not their native tongue), ease the process of appropriating place, rendering it easier to navigate it. Additionally, like other minority radios, Bright creates a sense of comfort and familiarity with soundtracks and styles of presenting that may yield "trips down memory lane", or familiar jargon and humor that speaks directly to listeners' tastes. Moreover, the radio adds to the English-language soundscape fueled

by tourism in the region by plotting on air the contours of the Allgarve's map. By tapping into internationally circulating images of an idealized way of living and localizing them in the Algarve with images that are repeated to the point of becoming banal, the radio complements other agents that try to allure people who are predisposed to relocate in search for a better life to come to the Algarve. By operating towards attracting people to come, assisting in their settlement and maintaining connections with those who are far, radio therefore assists in the transitions between the categories of tourists second-home owners, long-stay visitors, full-time and (visiting) former residents.

What is more, the radio's affordances contribute to naturalizing a number of significant dynamics in processes of reterritorialization. For residents who own houses and/or live permanently in the region, the radio seems to play into the constant re-affirmation I heard among "expats" that "the good life" is lived in the Algarve, as if further confirming that they made the right choice to relocate. Moreover, in addition to providing material that migrants may use to make sense of their lived experience, and rendering it as normal, broadcasts participate in reproducing dynamics that sustain the Allgarve. Namely they sustain the niche-market and social life fueling a functional and partial mode of incorporation. To be specific, repeatedly presenting businesses as being busy and successful during times of crises, in which most businesses struggle, can be understood as a part of marketing strategies. These are tied to the selective narrative reproducing, through constant repetition, a "picture-perfect" and problem free image of the region. Further reinforcing an assumption about the "good life" that "expats" are privileged to experience, radio also validates the ideologies underlying the practices of "charity" work. By imprinting a familiar tone in publicity dynamics that is able to instill trust and to appeal to action, radio is part and parcel of dynamics of "giving back" through which lifestyle migrants manage their social standing among each other, and negotiate their position in relation to their elected home.

Ultimately, radio's affordances as a sound-based medium position it uniquely to not only reflect but also participate in the plural dynamics through which lifestyle migrants construct belonging in the Algarve. To be sure, listeners, advertisers, announcers and other audience members engaged with Bright without questioning or problematizing its role. Being the only station broadcasting in English, the perceived

proximity with live-shows hosts, the distinct ways to reach potential consumers (through repetitive and personalized discourses which do not fit in the local print media), the possibility of engaging with friends and relatives from a distance through phatic messages, and the ease with which one could call for participation in social events meant to fundraise for different causes, all welcomed different, variably intense, uses. In turn, local radio's character as a banal and taken for granted element of everyday life in the Allgarve enabled it to effectively contribute to naturalize the dynamics mentioned above in spite of the contradictions and ambivalences underlying them. In the process, Bright therefore contributes to carving and sustaining a social space for lifestyle migrants in the region as well as to reproducing contexts and dynamics through which they manage their cultural identity as "expatriates".

7.2 Suggestions for further research

Bright is an example of a minority station that, like others, evidenced specificities that conversed with the characteristics of the migratory flow and of the migrant population it serves. It is a telling case to the extent it did not mean to legitimate cultural identities of the audience it served but ultimately operated to do so. While it did, at one point, instrumentalize ethnicity to achieve its goals, it did not need to in order to operate towards naturalizing the presence of "expats" in the Algarve. At the same time, it was clear during fieldwork that re-fashioning the broadcasts so as to cater to other pertinent groups of migrants (e.g. Dutch, Swedish) was a possibility for a later period, when the station were more financially secure and stable. The station's expansion to retransmit in Lisbon along with the rising numbers of other European migrants capitalizing on the governmental "non-habitual residents" regime (namely the French, as reported on the news [Antunes & Andrade, 2014]), invites further research on the new transformations of the project as it adapts to new markets. As a counterpoint in the minority media field, it suggests that it is worth researching the media produced by, for and/or with relatively privileged migrants, which are under-researched.

As noted earlier, in addition to print and broadcasting media, there are a number of other media produced by, with and/or for lifestyle migrants (directories, books, travel guides, columns in leading mainstream newspapers, and so on). Besides enriching the panorama on minority media and their roles, research combining, for

instance, the study of lifestyle media, international mobilities and initiatives of minority media could yield interesting insights into, for instance, the sub-varieties of lifestyle migration flows that are being identified in that field (i.e. the rural idyll seekers, the coastal retreats, the bohemian migrants). Additionally, given that "expatriates" are not all lifestyle migrants, but are also resourceful individuals whose mobilities are highly intertwined with media (as suggested by, for instance, Amit [2007]), the media they produce seem to be also productive grounds to research. Additionally, other research avenues that would be complementary, and even independently be worthwhile, include: the media produced for different "expats" but not by them; the representations of "expats" in mainstream media in contexts of origin and destination; the representations in minority media about the context of residence and "expats" position in it; and the media "expats" resort to before and during their mobilities.[427] Given the rich niche-markets growing as part of what can be called lifestyle migration industries as well as the recent governmental measures in places like Portugal meant to stimulate such migratory flows, it is possible that media dynamics not only remain animated but may also intensify. In any cases, they can serve as "windows" into the dynamics of these migratory flows, as Bright FM has for this thesis.

[427] To be rigorous, these endeavors are already being explored by some researchers (see, for instance, Hepp [2009] or Andersson [2012]). Yet, I would advocate for a broad notion of media that would take into consideration services such as the possibility of having one's mail scanned and sent online to, for instance, a second-residence abroad (see https://www.scanmypost.co.uk/benefits/expats.htm), which are particularly useful for expats.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I Research Instruments

(a) INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

1) Radio practitioners (directors of stations and/or programming; authors of shows, technicians)

a. Query by phone (initial mapping)

Existence of space on air by, with and/or for minorities

Characterization of initiatives made by, with, for and/or about migrants

- How the idea came about and name of the initiative
- Place allocated for the program or feature in the programming and frequency of broadcasting; reason for such choices
- Agents and resources involved (technical support; presenting; liaison with migrant associations and with the population being catered to; financing; knowledge of pertinent languages) and their relationship with the station
- Listeners' reactions to the program or feature
- Possibility of contact with the authors of the program for further investigation of specific aspects (e.g. motivations of those involved; relationships and synergies with the target audience; changes to the initial project over time, etc.)

Existence of past initiatives

- How the project came about and period in which it was active
- Formal features of the initiative (name, frequency of broadcasting, place in the schedule)
- Agents and resources involved (technical support; presenting; liaison with migrant associations and with the population being catered to; financing; knowledge of pertinent languages) and their relationship with the station
- Discontinuation of the initiative (reasons for ending the program or feature; efforts and obstacles to continue it)

Knowledge of initiatives in other local stations in the region

b. Interview at the station

History and characterization of the program or feature

- How the project came about (original idea, first contacts, agents involved)
- Incorporation of program or feature in the programming (constituting a "window" in the playlist; place in the schedule and why; issues with quotas of Portuguese language music and/or with broadcasting in different languages)
- Financial resources and issues with funding and sustainability
- Objective and content of initiative
- Definition of target-audience and general audience (goals and realities in terms of nationality, age group, gender, etc.)
- Information about audience members (is there any audience research?)
- Reactions and participation of listeners, and synergies with audience members

Production Context

- Resources and technical assistance
- Relationship with the radio team (their reactions, dynamics of co-operation or competition, etc.)
- Relationship with the philosophy and editorial project of the station

Station

- History of the station (experiences as a free radio prior to legalization, participation in media-groups)
- Funding resources and issues and sustainability issues
- Technical and human resources
- Mediascape it relates to (competition with other radios, complementarity with other [local?] media
- Opinions about issues pertaining to the Portuguese local radioscape
- Coverage area and local dimension (operating and constructing the station as a community station?)

Minority Media

- Awareness and opinions of legislation and measures imposed by regulatory institutions (ERC, ANACOM, etc.) about diversity
- Awareness and opinions on the history of measures for the promotion of diversity in the country (projects related to media and radio in particular, both in the national public and private, as well as local networks)
- Incorporation of diversity principles in the station (in terms of content and social organization of production)
- Identification with the notion of minority media and emic definition of such

2) Program author and/or producer and/or presenter

PART I – Migratory Trajectory (if applicable)

Individual and family migratory trajectory and processes of reterritorialization

- Places lived in
    - Motivations to go
    - Destinations
    - Resources
    - Expectations
    - Type of migratory move
- Family dynamics (position, relationships of support, transnationalism, etc.)
- Educational and Professional background
- Situation in the context of origin (economic/professional/spatial/residential/social)
- Processes of reterritorialization at the destinations: resources, strategies, difficulties (health, work, housing, social and cultural life)

Position regarding intra and inter-ethnic relations

- Community involvement (institutions, associations, schools - leadership roles?)
- Characterization of group and its tensions (what kind of community)
- Centrality or peripheral position within the group; self-perception and points of differentiation from peers

- Consumption practices materializing and consolidating the ideals, fears and experiences regarding intra and inter-ethnic relations

Relationship to contexts of reference and feelings of belonging

- Identification with context of origin or (and?) other places lived in
- Relationship with context of origin (projection of imagined community? Essentialized constructions? Are there transnational practices? What kind?)
- Strategies of social positioning in Portugal: acculturation, seclusion, identity reconstruction, etc.

PARTE II - Program

History of the program

- How the idea came about and initial contacts to start the project
- Personal motivation to be involved
- Purpose of the show
- Previous stations and formats of the show (if applicable)
- Allocation of a place for the show in the station's schedule

Production context

- Previous experience in radio production (where, when, roles)
- Resources and technical assistance used
- Role in funding the show
- Formal relationship to the station and ideas about volunteer work
- Relationship with the radio's staff and team
- Ideas about radio legislation and the station's editorial line
- Position and visibility of the show in relevant mediascapes
- Difficulties experienced

Program production

- Presenting: creating a persona, relationship with co-host (if applicable), construction of an environment
- Articulation with other media from the context of origin and/or destination (e.g. information sources, advertising, etc.)

- Choice of themes and format (features, music, interaction, presentation language – what (if any) educational, phatic, entertainment and other roles)
- Informative dimension (geographical focus and why)
- Awareness and concern with narratives and representations of the population being catered to

Relationship with the audience

- Selected targeted-audience and actual audience overtime (nationality, age group, geographical origin, language spoken, etc.)
- Awareness of audience (statistics, interaction and other avenues to gauge it)
- Reactions and participation of audience members – on air and off air
- Other relationships with the audience (dynamics of social control, circulation of social capital, etc.)

3) Listener

a. Protocol for quick query in informal conversations

- [Context of listening] → where, with whom, doing what, using what medium. Control over what was being listened to? Focused or parallel listening? Interaction between listening and other practices
- [Frequency of listening] → How often s/he listened in the past month; did s/he listen to the last show; if so, the whole show?
- [Intentionality and content] → what usually s/he usually looks for in the show
- [Participation] → modes, frequency and outcomes of participation
- [Uses] → Does s/he do something (and, with, or to, someone) because of the show

b. Interview

PART I – Migratory Trajectory (if applicable)

Individual and family migratory trajectory and processes of reterritorialization

- Places lived in

    - Motivations to go
    - Destinations
    - Resources
    - Expectations
    - Type of migratory move
- Family dynamics (position, relationships of support, transnationalism, etc.)
- Educational and Professional background
- Situation in the context of origin (economic/professional/spatial/residential/social)
- Processes of reterritorialization in the destinations: resources, strategies, difficulties (health, work, housing, social and cultural life)

Position regarding intra and Inter-ethnic relations

- Community involvement (institutions, associations, schools - leadership roles?)
- Characterization of group and its tensions (what kind of community)
- Centrality or peripheral position within the group; self-perception and points of differentiation from peers
- Consumption practices materializing and consolidating the ideals, fears and experiences regarding intra and inter-ethnic relations

Relationship to contexts of reference and feelings of belonging

- Identification with context of origin and other places lived in
- Relationship with context of origin – imagined community? Essentialized? Transnational practices
- Strategies of social positioning in Portugal: acculturation, seclusion, compartimentalization, identity reconstruction, etc.

PARTE II – Media diet and opinions about the show

Communicative Ecologies

- Walk me through your (media) day
- Media repertoire:

- Media followed for different purposes: entertainment and personal interests, information and news (local, national, from the context of origin, other places of reference, and international), work, interpersonal communication (local and transnational). Compare with other (non communications media) sources
- Media from the context of origin
- Media from the country and context of residence

For all:

- Imagined audience fellow members
- Preferences and distastes
- Kinds of connections that the media facilitate and promote
- Representation of own population in the media (and opinions about it)

- **Context of consumption:** place, people presence**,** rules of media use, equipment available, difficulties and tensions related to media consumption; sociotechnical frames and media ideologies shaping the relationship with different media
- **Practices of communication**:
  - Activities carried out while consuming media - and the interaction between media consumption and those activities
  - Participation and media sociabilities – modes of interaction with and through the media
  - Difficulties, capitals and gratifications involved in both
- **Meaning-making**: interpretative and imagined communities (narratives and representations used), what looked for and how integrated in one's everyday life;
- Changes in media habits because of migratory move

Radio show or feature at stake

- **History of consumption**
  - How it was found
  - What changed while following the radio/feature
  - Comparison with other similar shows and media
  - Changes in content and/or consumption over time and why
- **Opinions about the radio show or feature at stake**
  - Integration dimension: pertinence and amount of information
  - Representation of population at stake: conflicting discourses; references mobilized; overarching narrative; (non) identification with it
  - Socialization of second and third generations

- Other forms of connection with context of origin and/or destination;
- Community dynamics and other perceived roles for the show
- Preferences and distastes

4) Representatives of Media Regulatory Entities and institutions assisting local radios

Minority media

- History of measures fostering cultural diversity in the media (and specifically in the local radio sector) in Portugal – underlying ideology and its evolution
- Current legislation concerning cultural diversity in the media (and specifically in the local radio sector)
- Community media in Portugal - possibilities of introduction of the category and respective regulation

Radio

- Tendencies, dynamics, issues and tensions (concentration, decentralization, media networks)
- Specificities of the local radio sector

5) Migrant associations, clubs, "charities", advertisers and other relevant individuals or groups related to the radio initiatives

Characterization of entity

- Establishment history, main accomplishments and obstacles
- Goal, main activities, target-audience and people involved
- Internal dynamics and interests of agents liaising with radio
- Role for population at stake (integration, community-making, cultural revival…)

History of the relationship with the radio initiative

- Overlap with radio initiative's target audience and influence of radio partnership in synergies with target audience
- Beginning of relationship (first contact, idea for and type of collaboration)
- Other media used

- Formal features of relationship
    - People liaising between the radio initiative and the entity
    - Frequency and type of contact
    - Resources exchanged (money; presenters; music; news and information; credibility; publicity; visibility; etc.) and their importance for the initiative's sustainability
    - Outcomes of partnership (benefits, accomplishments, difficulties, synergies with target-audience)
    - Importance of the partnership for both parties
- Specificities of radio communication
    - Production of information pertaining to the entity on air (if applicable)
    - Issues with radio communication (benefits and disadvantages)

(b) Characterization of minority radio initiatives

Data collection used for the mapping and the characterization of locally produced English-language media. Combining listening exercises with interview and observation material.

Table 10: Descriptive information of minority media initiatives

Category	Category definition and/or data collected
Formal aspects of media	
Person responsible for the initiative	Contact of person in charge of production
General contact	Contacts of the media, station and other relevant institutions
Nature and format of initiative	Type of media (newspaper; online news portal; magazine; flyer; television program; radio channel, show or feature; other) Type of content (news, entertainment, other) <u>Radio specific:</u> Live or pre-recorded
Aspects qualifying initiative as minority media	Role of migrant(s) in the process of production Content and other framing of the media as minority

	(if show or feature is integrated in other media) - proposal of the project and its integration in the media's editorial line - position in terms of legislation - kind of role played as minority media
Team	Number of people, nationalities, roles and formal relationship with the media (employed, volunteering, etc.) Internal dynamics (dynamics related to incorporating the show in the station, if that is the case)
Target-audience	Target audience and actual audience (nationality, age group, gender, other pertinent affiliations) Means of measuring it
Languages used	
Coverage area	Publishing frequency (reason for the schedule chosen if it is a radio program) Mode of distribution and geographical area reached (where it is printed, whether it is online or not, etc.)
Local mediascape	Other locally produced media – type of relationship (competition, collaboration, juxtaposition)
Active?	Dates of beginning and end of the project
Resources and sustainability	Financial resources (sponsorship, advertisements, subsidies, etc.) Technical and human resources Sources of news and other relevant information Sources of music and entertainment
History	Establishment landmarks and challenges. Changes over time

	Internal dynamics History of discontinuation of the initiative
Radio specific: Content *Program as site of encounter*	
Presentation of the on-air space	Creating atmosphere: declaration of show's purpose Style of presenting Technical sophistication ("beds", jingles, transitions, etc.) **1. Framing listeners' participation** – What kind of presence is allowed - Interactions with hosts and guests and amongst listeners **2. Representation of the population at stake** - Discourses validated, references mobilized, negotiation of narratives and issues of authenticity (temporality in the recreation of origin; cohesiveness in the depiction and recreation of a "community"; definition of tradition, culture, community)
Structure of show	Features Type of information, entertainment, communicative content
Advertisement	Types of businesses publicized – locally, on the same social network, … Relationships with advertisers (interpersonal contact, marketing process, etc.)
Entertainment and music	Humor

	Music: Genre, framing, central element vs. background complement Entertainment features
Local and transnational dimension	References to local and transnational scale across content types (publicity, news, conversations with guests, messages from listeners)

Appendix II Minority Radio Mapping Information

Table 11: List of initiatives according to formal aspects

Programme (Station)	Descriptive Aspects of Production						Function Although the pre-recorded format fulfills the informative, educational and entertainment functions, full interactivity.is only achieved with the live format			
	Language of Broadcast and Target Audience		Coverage Area		History					
	Foreign	Acessible to Portuguese audiences (APA)	National and international (NI)	Local and international [428]	External production (EP)	Internal production (IP)	Informative	Educational	Entertainment	Interactive
National and Transnational Coverage										
Gente Como Nós (*TSF*)		APA	NI			IP	Informative	Educational		
A Fé dos Homens (*Antena 1*)		APA	NI			IP	Informative	Educational		
O Esplendor de Portugal (*Antena 1*)		APA	NI			IP	Informative			
Caminhos sem fronteiras (*Rádio Sim*)[429]		APA	NI			IP	Informative	Educational		

[428] Given the ease of distribution granted by online streams, the category aims to distinguish national audiences' oriented programming while highlighting transnational realities that often shape the contents of the shows.

[429] "*Caminhos sem fronteiras*" (Paths without borders) was produced by a member of the station's staff, in Portuguese, and explored the theme of migration by showcasing migrants' biographies, discussion of scientific studies, debates about relevant topics (such as prejudice) about which the Catholic Church is concerned about. It addressed both emigrants and immigrants.

Consultório Jurídico in *Interactividades*[430] (*RDP África*)		APA	NI			IP	Informative			Interactive
Lusofonias (*Rádio Sim*)[431]		APA	NI			IP	Informative	Educational	Entertainment	
Linha Africana in *Rádio Jovem Bué Fixe* (*RDP África*)		APA	NI			IP	Informative	Educational	Entertainment	Interactive
Local coverage (and transnational through online streaming) 26 local initiatives 7 were discontinued										
Espaço Migrante (*Rádio Planície*)		APA		Moura area, Alentejo		IP	Informative	Educational		
Migrasons (*Rádio Zero*)	Foreign[432]	APA		Online[433]		IP	Informative	Educational	Entertainment	
Olhar sobre a China (*Rádio Onda Viva*)	Chinese Mandarin	Portuguese		Póvoa do Varzim area		IP	Informative	Educational	Entertainment	
Sons do Oriente		APA		Greater	EP		Informative	Educational		

[430] Musical show open to phone-ins, namely to assist on the resolution of legal questions regarding the immigration process. It also included information about the African populations in Portugal, information about Portuguese speaking African countries, international news, and a feature welcoming the exchange of messages amongst listeners.

[431] Program featuring weekly themes explored through an interview with an expert and a commentary by a priest. This added to the feature "Vozes da Lusofonia"(Voices from the Lusophone world) produced in partnership with other Lusophone radios (namely in Africa) and a social and cultural agenda called "Em poucas palavras" (In a few words).

[432] Guests occasionally speak in other languages.

[433] Occasionally the station uses a temporary license to also broadcast on FM in Lisbon.

(*Rádio Festival*)				Oporto						
Swagatam (*Rádio Orbital*, formerly *Rádio Nova Antena*)	Gujarati	Portuguese		Greater Lisbon	EP		Informative	Educational	Entertainment	Interactive
Tchass Obo Vsiom (*Rádio Nova Antena, Rádio Mais, Rádio Lagoa*[434])	Russian			Greater Lisbon, Western Algarve	EP		Informative		Entertainment	Interactive
Radio Vostok / Rádio Leste (*Horizonte FM, Rádio Atlântico Sul*[435])	Russian and Ukrainian			Greater Lisbon, Eastern Algarve	EP		Informative		Entertainment	Interactive
Nasha Radio (*Horizonte FM*)	Ukrainian			Greater Lisbon	EP		Informative		Entertainment	Interactive
Sons de Leste (*Rádio Lagoa*)	Romanian (Moldavian)			Western Algarve		IP	Informative		Entertainment	
Noticiário Russo (*Rádio Terra Nova*)	Russian			Aveiro area		IP	Informative			
Kizombíssimo (*Rádio Sim Pal*)		APA		Palmela area	EP				Entertainment	
Cheirinho (*Horizonte FM*)		APA		Greater Lisbon	EP		Informative		Entertainment	
Cabo-Verde n'Horizonte (*Horizonte FM*)		APA		Greater Lisbon	EP		Informative		Entertainment	Interactive
Ondas Tropicais (*Centro FM*)		APA		Viseu area	EP		Informative		Entertainment	Interactive
Sons de África		APA		Western		IP	Informative		Entertainment	

[434] The show was originally broadcasted in *Rádio Mais* that became *Rádio Nova Antena*. It was also re-broadcasted by *Rádio Lagoa*.

[435] The show was originally broadcasted in *Horizonte FM* and rebroadcasted by *Rádio Atlântico Sul*.

(*Rádio Lagoa*)				Algarve						
Djunta Mo / O outro continente (*Rádio Costa d'Oiro*)		APA		Eastern Algarve	EP		Informative		Entertainment	
Cita con Venezuela (*Rádio Terra Nova*)		Spanish		Aveiro area	EP		Informative		Entertainment	
Fiesta Venezuelana (*Rádio Voz do Caima*)		Spanish and Portuguese		Santa Maria da Feira area	EP		Informative		Entertainment	Interactive
Domingo Venezuelano (Rádio Clube da Feira)		Spanish and Portuguese		Santa Maria da Feira area	EP		Informative		Entertainment	Interactive
Afrodisíaco (*RDS Seixal*)		APA		Seixal area	EP		Informative		Entertainment	
Piratas no ar (*Rádio Record*)		APA		Greater Lisbon			Informative	Educational	Entertainment	Interactive
Rádio Tropical FM		APA		Greater Lisbon		IP	Informative		Entertainment	Interactive
Bright FM	English	Portuguese		Central Algarve	EP		Informative		Entertainment	Interactive
Good Morning Portugal (*Vida Nova FM*)	Foreign			Guarda area		IP	Informative		Entertainment	Interactive
Get Real (*Rádio Racal*)	English			Western Algarve		IP	Informative		Entertainment	Interactive
Centro FM Internacional / Noites de Ouro Velho, com Daniel o Belga (*Centro FM*)	Foreign [436]			Viseu area	EP				Entertainment	

[436] Each day of the week this show features a different language: Flemish, French, English and German.

Table 12: List of Initiatives according to content

Program / Feature	***Objectives***				
	Social cohesion promotion through intercultural dialogue			**Integration promotion**	
	Strategy				
	Cultural diversity oriented spaces To discuss and create awareness for cultural diversity in a mobility and international connectivity setting			Communitizing Spaces Communitize – to reinforce narratives and cultural references (bonded to culture and tradition) that foster the identification within a population and the differentiation towards others	
	Indicators				
	Promoting diversity – noting at the positive dimensions of diversity and intercultural meetings Highlighting equality, openness and cooperation principles, necessary to conviviality	To inform about diversity – announcing events and realities that evidence or are part of the cultural diversity in Portugal	To problematize the realities of diversity – discussing the challenges of living together in an intercultural setting, the structures of asymmetric opportunities, the communication issues, the importance of transnational reality (prejudice)	Explicitly (openly targeted audience)	Implicitly (producer projected audience)
Shows made by and for (and with) migrants and minorities					
Shows with national and transnational coverage					
Gente como Nós	Life stories and successful integration cases				General audiences[437]

[437] General audience is comprised of listeners who are fluent in the language of broadcast and, thus, are able to follow the shows.

Lusofonias	Themes and perspectives related to CPLP in order to interconnect the realities of the different countries[438]	Events calendar organized in Portugal			General audiences and people with interest and roots in the Lusophony * *Rádio Sim* coverage area
A Fé dos Homens		Showcase of religious traditions and events taking place in Portugal			General audience and interpretative community – religious people
O Esplendor de Portugal	Foreign residents opinion about Portuguese current affairs		Discussion about Portuguese current affairs in a critical fashion. Albeit not always focused on interculturality, it ends up promoting a reflexion through the Other's gaze		General audience

[438] It is important to note that the program is produced in partnership by stations situated in Portugal and Portuguese speaking African countries. As explained in the program's blog, "the show generates exchanges, mutual knowledge and interculturality" and thus seeks to contribute to "a closer South-South relationship", by promoting the Portuguese language ("a common denominator that feeds the relationship with these countries" as well as the use of Information and communication technologies (thereby fulfilling the 8th Millennium Development goal) through a radio show. In practice, it promotes the consolidation of Christian radios in Lusophone countries, which are seen as "important instruments of peace, democracy and citizenship in Africa". Additionally, seeking to forge global partnerships, it strives to promote "sensitizing and educating Portuguese public opinion whether because "of the nature of the themes chosen, or because it includes approaches and voices from different countries, thereby promoting a culture of diversity. http://www.programalusofonias.blogspot.pt/p/programa.html (last accessed 11.09.2012).

Interatividades (Consultório Jurídico)		Showcase of African music and events organized by African communities in Portugal Clarification of questions about the legal issues relative to the immigration process	Brings up issues that often deal with unequal opportunities while offering migrants support to overcome them		General audience African communities in Portugal and in the PALOP * *RDP África* coverage area
Linha Africana / rubrica Rádio Jovem Bué Fixe	Showcase/debate about the challenges experienced by African youths in Portugal concerning health and sexuality	Showcase of African music and current affairs as well as initiatives of the African immigrant communities in Portugal	Sharing life stories of African youths (i.e. challenges in getting into job market) and debate		General audience, African residents in Portugal and in the PALOP * RDP África coverage area[439]
Caminhos sem fronteiras (2007-2010)	Life stories, showcase of scientific studies and discussion of migration related themes (prejudice, etc.) from the Catholic Church's perspective. Aimed for both emigrant and immigrant populations		Life stories, showcase of scientific studies and discussion of migration related themes (prejudice, etc) from the Catholic Church's perspective. Aimed for both emigrant and immigrant populations		General public, emigrants and immigrants
Initiatives in stations of local coverage (transnational, through the internet)					
Espaço Migrante					General audience *Area of coverage – Moura area population
Migrasons		Interviews showing alternative perspectives on Portuguese current affairs	Debate about the challenges that foreign residents face in Portugal and about rights and opportunities still to be conquered		General audience, multicultural population *Area of coverage: Greater Lisbon

[439] RDP África broadcasts in continental Portugal and four Portuguese speaking African countries: Cape Verde, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and São Tomé and Príncipe.

Um olhar sobre a China		Chinese and Portuguese news in Chinese Mandarin; Chinese music			General audience and Chinese population in Póvoa do Varzim area
Sons do Oriente		Showcase of Indian traditions, gastronomy, customs, religions and music			General audience and people interested in India
Swagatam		Trivia and hobbies (Indian traditions, gastronomy, customs, religions, music, film and culture); phone-ins, useful information and adverts for local events and services			General audience and Indian population with connections to Portugal, Gujarat, Goa and Mozambique
Kizombíssimo	Prevention campaigns aimed at youths; fighting segregation	Showcase of African music and events taking place in the Greater Lisbon area			General audience, young population and African music fans in Greater Lisbon
Afrodisíaco		News and info about PALOP communities and residents in Portugal. Adverts for African events, services and products available in the Seixal area			General audience and imagined community; Cabo Verdean population in Greater Lisbon
Cheirinho		News about Guinea-Bissau and Bissau-Guinean residents in Portugal as well as Portuguese news concerning the community		General audience and imagined community; Bissau-Guinean population in Greater Lisbon	

Cabo-Verde n'Horizonte		Regional and national news regarding Cabo Verde and its citizens living in Portugal, along with national Portuguese news. Adverts for African events, products and services available in the Greater Lisbon area, notably Cabo Verdean products, services and events. Clarification of listeners' legal issues		General audience and imagined community; Cabo Verdean population in Greater Lisbon	
Ondas Tropicais		Mozambican, Angolan, Brazilian, Cabo Verdean, Bissau-Guinean, São Tomé and Príncipe news as well as music from those countries			General audience and imagined community; population in Greater Lisbon connected to the countries in question
Sons de Africa		Showcase for African music.			General audience and imagined community – Fans of African music
Djunta Mó / O outro continente		Showcase for African music, namely Cabo Verdean			General audience and imagined community – African population, specifically Cabo Verdean and African music fans
Tchass Obo Vsiom		News about the context of origin, Portuguese as well as national news that afffects the migrants in Portugal. Adverts for events, services and products from the context of origin available in the area	Possibly if listeners brought up such issues onto the air		Imagined community – Russian speaking population in Greater Lisbon and also Algarve, where it was rebroadcasted

Rádio Leste		News about the context of origin as well as national news that affects the migrants in Portugal. Adverts for events services and products from the context of origin available in the area	Possibly if listeners brought up such issues onto the air	Imagined community – Moldovan and Russian speaking population in Greater Lisbon and also Algarve, where it was rebroadcasted	
Nasha Radio		News about the context of origin as well as national news that affects the migrants in Portugal. Adverts for events services and products from the context of origin available in the area	Possibly if listeners brought up such issues onto the air	Imagined community – Ukranian population in Greater Lisbon	
Sons de Leste		News about the context of origin as well as national news that affects the migrants in Portugal. Adverts for events services and products from the context of origin available in the area		Moldovan population in Algarve	
Noticiário russo		News about Russia and Eastern European countries; Portuguese current affairs in Russian; useful information for Russian speaking population in the region			Eastern Europeans in the Aveiro area
Cita con Venezuela		Showcase for Latin music, music trivia, Venezuelan news			Imagined community – Luso-Venezuelan and Venezuelan populations of the North of Portugal

Fiesta Venezuelana		Showcase for Latin music and music trivia, Venezuelan as well as Portuguese news that concern the (Luso-) Venezuelan population; phone-ins; adverts for events organized towards the aforementioned population			Luso-Venezuelan and Venezuelan populations of the North of Portugal
Domingo Venezuelano		Showcase for Latin music and music trivia, Venezuelan as well as Portuguese news that concern the (Luso-) Venezuelan population; phone-ins; adverts for events organized towards the aforementioned population			Luso-Venezuelan and Venezuelan populations of the North of Portugal
Piratas no ar / Rádio Record		Portuguese news, features about themes from Brazil. Brazilian music, phone-ins, interviews with musicians and humor following the trend set by "*Pânico*" a show from the Brazilian radio station "Jovem Pan"			General audience and imagined community – Brazilian and Portuguese that enjoy this kind of humor
Rádio Tropical FM		Showcase for Brazilian music			General audience and imagined community – Brazilian population in Portugal

Bright FM		News, music, among other types of content		General audience and imagined community – English speaking foreigners, particularly from Northern Europe, specifically British residents in Algarve	
Get Real		Showcase for Anglo-Saxon music, Portuguese and British news in English, participation of English speaking listeners, adverts for specific products and services aimed for British		General audience and imagined community – English speaking foreigners, particularly from Northern Europe, specifically British residents in Algarve	
Good Morning Portugal (formerly including and lately becoming) The Trueman Show		Showcase for Anglo-Saxon music, Portuguese and British news in English, participation of English speaking listeners, adverts for specific products and services aimed for British		General audience and imagined community – English speaking foreigners, particularly from Northern Europe, specifically British residents in Central Portugal	
Centro FM Internacional / Noites de Ouro Velho, com Daniel o Belga		Showcase for Belgian, Dutch, French, German and British music			General audience and imagined community – Northern Europe foreigners and Portuguese returnees in the Viseu area
Rua da Europa 27	News about the European Union				General audience – European residents

Minuto Europa	To create awareness about the Portuguese reality in Europe and vice-versa	News and information about the European Union			General audience and imagined community – European residents
Entrevista Europa	To create awareness about the Portuguese reality in Europe and vice-versa	News and information about the European Union and Portugal	Interviews and debates with politicians, academics and entrepreneurs		General audience and imagined community – European residents
Europa Económica	To create awareness about the Portuguese reality in Europe and vice-versa	News about European Union's economic practices and policies[440]			General audience and imagined community – European residents
Made in Europa	To create awareness about the Portuguese reality in Europe and vice-versa	Daily news on the European Parliament			General audience and imagined community – European residents
Europa Diário	To create awareness about the Portuguese reality in Europe and vice-versa	News about European Union member states and available support and programs			General audience and imagined community – European residents
Zoom Europa	To create awareness about the Portuguese reality in Europe and vice-versa	News about European Union's current and foreign affairs	Interviews with European Parliament Representatives and other dignitaries		General audience and imagined community – European residents

[440] Areas covered include the knowledge economy, fiscal issues, a common budget, and policies concerning commercial competition within the Union.

Appendix III Bright FM Information

(a) Social organization of production

Table 13 - People working at the station per period of the station's history, gender, role and nationality

		Early days (approx. 1992-2000)	**Decline** (approx. 2000-2009)	**Transition**		**Post-transition** (2012+)
				Pre-sale (2009-2011)	**Post-sale** (2011-2012)	
Area of work	**Position**					
Administration	Owner	Man	Man	Man	**Media Group**	**Media Group**
	Director/Coordinator	Various **Various**	Various **Various**[441]	**Woman**	**Woman**	?
	Secretary	Man	Man, woman	Woman,	**Woman**	**Woman**
	Accountant	?	**2 Men**	**Man**,	**Media Group**	**Media Group**
Production	Technician	?	Man **Man**	**Man**	**Man**	**Man**
	Manager of advertisements', promotional spots and announcements' production (preparation, scheduling, insertion in playlist)	**various**	**Various, woman**	**woman**	**woman**	**woman**

[441] At least 1 man* and 1 woman*.

	Sound designers for advertisements, promotional spots, jingles, station identifiers, spots and announcements	EXTERNAL PRODUCTION One UK based company **Portuguese free-lancers and companies** IN HOUSE PRODUCTION **Various**	EXTERNAL PRODUCTION One UK based company **Portuguese free-lancers and companies** IN HOUSE PRODUCTION **Various**	EXTERNAL PRODUCTION One UK based company **Portuguese free-lancers and companies** IN HOUSE PRODUCTION **Man**	EXTERNAL PRODUCTION **Media Group** IN HOUSE PRODUCTION **Man**	EXTERNAL PRODUCTION **Media Group** IN HOUSE PRODUCTION **Man**
	Voices for in-house productions (jingles, advertisements, promotional spots, announcements)	Various **Various** *Various* (everyone at the station, friends in the UK)	Various **Various** *Various* (everyone at the station, friends in the UK)	Various **Various** *Various* (everyone at the station, friends in the UK)	Various **Various** *Various* (everyone at the station and people from the Media Group)	Various **Various** *Various* (everyone at the station and people from the Media Group)
Sales	Sales representatives	Various **Various** *Some*	Various **Various**[442] *Some*[443]	Woman Woman *French woman, Canadian man*	2 Women **Woman** *French Woman*	2 Women **Woman** *French Woman*
Programming	Playlist's music coordinator	Various[444] Various	Various[445] Various	**Man, woman**	**Man, woman**	**Man, woman**

[442] At least 2 Portuguese women and 1 British woman.

[443] At least 1 Canadian man and 1 French woman.

[444] At least 2 men.

[445] At least 2 men.

	Presenter	Various - Algarve and UK[446] Various[447] *Some*[448]	Various - Algarve and UK[449] Various[450] *Some*[451]	5 Men (2 UK based) 1 female assistant **2 men** *French man and various international music DJs*	4 men 1 female assistant **Man, Woman** *1 French man and various international music DJs*	4 men 1 female assistant **Man, Woman** *Various international music DJs*
Information	Journalists & newsreaders	3 women, 2 men 1 man *Some*	3 women, 2 men 1 man *Some*[452]	man	Media Group UK service	Media Group UK service
	Weather and Exchange rate bulletins' reader	Various people	Various people	Woman	Woman	Woman

[446] At least 8 men and 1 woman in the Algarve besides 3 UK based men.

[447] At least 2 women, but mostly men.

[448] At least 1 French man.

[449] At least 8 men and 1 woman in the Algarve besides 3 UK based men.

[450] At least 2 women, but mostly men.

[451] At least 1 French man.

[452] At least one American woman.

NATIONALITIES CODE:
British
Other (specified)
Portuguese
Portuguese who lived in South Africa
Notes on this table:
The number of people for the first two phases is an estimate from the totals. It was difficult to find exact numbers as people came and went. However, the first phase was described as a period with a lot of people working at the station (at least 15 people regularly at the station) whereas the second phase was a period when people left and/or worked only temporarily at the station
It was difficult to establish how many people were working with the Media Group at a distance beyond the different voices that were sent over the internet with Portuguese news bulletins or with advertisements in Portuguese

Table 14: People working at the station per period of the station's history, role, work modality and nationality

Phase	Early days (approx. 1992-2000)	Decline (approx. 2000-2009)	Transition		Post-Transition (2012+)
			Pre-sale (2009-2011)	**Post-sale (2011)**	
Total people in the team (excluding people paying ocasional services to the radio)	25+?	?	18	13 + Media Group **Media Group** (accountants, journalists and news readers, sound designers and voices for jingles, advertisements, and so on)	12 + Media group **Media Group** (accountants, journalists and news readers, sound designers and voices for jingles, advertisements, and so on)
People working at the station daily (during the week)	15	?	6 **2 producers and programmers** 2 sales representatives : **1**+*1* 1 secretary 1 presenter	7 **2 presenters, producers and programmers** 3 sales representatives: **2**+*1* **1 secretary** 1 presenter	9 2 presenters **2 presenters, producers and programmers** 3 sales representatives: **2**+*1* **1 secretary** 1 presenter
Regular contributors (Coming in to the station once a week or not at all despite being featured on air weekly. Based in the Algarve or the UK.)	10?	?	12 2 sales representatives: 1+*1* 1 director; 7 presenters: 5 (2 UK based) + **2** 1 bulletins reader and DJ assistant **1 journalist** **** 13 various national and international DJs with faint connections to the station***	6 **1 sales-representative** 2 presenters 2 presenters: 1 +*1* 1 bulletins reader and DJ assistant **** 13 various national and international DJs with faint connections to the station***	3 **1 sales-representative** 1 presenter 1 bulletins reader and DJ assistant **** 13 various national and international DJs with faint connections to the station***
Ocasional services (people with other jobs who also assisted the station on an ocasional basis)	?	**1 technician** 1 technician	**1 accountant** **1 technician**	**1 technician**	**1 technician**

CODING
1. Work Modality
Highlighted: Staff: people paid by the station (through contract or other arrangements, such as commissions)
Not highlighted: Free-lancers working at the station on a volunteer basis or with permission to find sponsors for their work
2. Nationalities
British
Other nationalities
Portuguese (including those who capitalized on their South African belonging)
Notes:
Although I could gather a list of names of people who worked in the station "in the past", it was difficult to establish in which of the two first phases (or both) they worked in
It was not clear how many people from the media group work for Bright because the group's accountants, journalists, newsreaders, voices and sound-designers alternated among themselves to contribute and do the group's work.
The various DJs with faint conections to the station are not included as team members working at the station because they did not have personal contact with it beyond email communications with the programmer, who sought free content for the station and gave DJs the opportunity to give visibility to their work throughout the year, possibly preparing dance events in the high tourism season. The two Portuguese regular contributors also did not maintain interpersonal connections at the station, but were local DJs and did meet people in the team.

(b) Content

Table 15: Bright FM Algarve's Programing Schedule (2009-2011)

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
8:00-9:00	**100% Tuga** Local News (Pt)	**100% Tuga** Local News (Pt)	**100% Tuga** Local News (Pt)	**100% Tuga** Local News (Pt)	**100% Tuga** Local News (Pt)	**100% Tuga**	**100% Tuga**
8:00						**Playlist**	**Solid Gold Sunday – Part I**
8:30	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)		Int & UK News (eng) Weather (local & UK)
9:00-12:00	**Playlist**	**Playlist**	**Playlist**	**Playlist**	**Playlist**		
9:00	Local News (Pt)	Local News (Pt)	Local News (Pt)	Local News (Pt)	Local News (Pt)		Local News (Pt)
9:30	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)		Int. & UK News (Eng) Weather (local)
10:00	Local News (Pt)	Local News (Pt)	Local News (Pt)	Local News (Pt)	Local News (Pt)	Local News (Pt)	
10:30	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	
11:30	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)		Int. & UK News (Eng)
12:00	Local News (Pt)	Local News (Pt)	Local News (Pt)	Local News (Pt)	Local News (Pt)		
12:00	**Bright Klassix**	**Bright Klassix**	**Bright Klassix**	**Bright Klassix**	**Bright Klassix**		
13:00						**~~Show bizz news show~~**	Local News (Pt)
14:00	Int. & UK News (Eng)	Int. & UK News (Eng)	Int. & UK News (Eng)	Int. & UK News (Eng)	Int. & UK News (Eng)		**Solid Gold Sunday – Part** II

	Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Exchange Rates Weather (local)		
15:00	**Playlist ~~with DJ~~**	**Playlist ~~with DJ~~**	**Playlist ~~with DJ~~**	**Playlist ~~with DJ~~**	**Playlist ~~with DJ~~**	**Playlist**	**Playlist** Local News (Pt)
16:00							
17:30	Local News (Pt) Fora d horas (Pt)	Local News (Pt) Fora d horas (Pt)	Local News (Pt) Fora d horas (Pt)	Local News (Pt) Fora d horas (Pt)	Local News (Pt) Fora d horas (Pt)		
	Int. & UK News (Eng) **Exchange Rates** **Weather (local)**	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)		
18:00						**Soul Spectrum**	**~~UK based show~~**
19:00					**Thank God it's Friday (world music)**		
20:00	**Playlist**	**Playlist**	**Playlist**	**Playlist**		**~~Atlantic Beat (world music)~~**	**~~Reggae Portugal~~**
21:00							
22:00	**~~Late Night Algarve~~**	**~~Late Night Algarve~~**	**~~Late Night Algarve~~**	**~~Late Night Algarve~~**		**DJ Set**	**~~Late Night Algarve~~**
22:30	Fora d horas (Pt)	Fora d horas (Pt)	Fora d horas (Pt)	Fora d horas (Pt)	Fora d horas (Pt)		Fora d horas (Pt)
24:00							

Color Code
Blue – English language features
Red – Portuguese language features
Orange background – English-language shows
Green background – Portuguese language shows
~~Striked through~~ – programs that were discontinued during this period of fieldwork

Table 16: Bright FM Algarve's Programming Schedule (January 2012 – May 2012)

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
8:00-9:00	**The Breakfast Show** Local News (Pt)	**The Breakfast Show** Local News (Pt)	**The Breakfast Show** Local News (Pt)	**The Breakfast Show** Local News (Pt)	**The Breakfast Show** Local News (Pt)	**100% Tuga**	**100% Tuga**
8:00							**Solid Gold Sunday – Part I** Int & UK News (eng) Weather (local & UK)
8:30							
9:00-12:00	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	**Playlist**	
9:00							
9:30							
10:00	Local News (Pt) Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Local News (Pt) Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Local News (Pt) Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Local News (Pt) Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Local News (Pt) Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Local News (Pt) Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Local News (Pt) Int. & UK News (Eng) Weather (local)
10:30							
11:30	Local News (Pt) Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Local News (Pt) Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Local News (Pt) Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Local News (Pt) Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Local News (Pt) Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	**Playlist**	
12:00	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local) Local News (Pt)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local) Local News (Pt)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local) Local News (Pt)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local) Local News (Pt)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local) Local News (Pt)		Int. & UK News (Eng)
12:00	**Bright Klassix**	**Bright Klassix**	**Bright Klassix**	**Bright Klassix**	**Bright Klassix**		
13:00							Local News (Pt) **Solid Gold Sunday – Part II**
14:00	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)		

15:00	**Playlist with DJ** Local News (Pt) Fora d horas (Pt) Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	**Playlist with DJ** Local News (Pt) Fora d horas (Pt) Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	**Playlist with DJ** Local News (Pt) Fora d horas (Pt) Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	**Playlist with DJ** Local News (Pt) Fora d horas (Pt) Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)	**Playlist with DJ** Local News (Pt) Fora d horas (Pt) Int. & UK News (Eng) Exchange Rates Weather (local)		**Playlist** Local News (Pt)
16:00							
17:30							
18:00							
18:00					~~**Thank God it's Friday**~~	**Soul Spectrum**	
19:00							
20:00	**Playlist**	**Playlist**	**Playlist**	**Playlist**		**Playlist**	
21:00							
22:00					**Playlist**		
22:30							
24:00							

Table 17: Example of Night-Time Dance Music Programing (running through 2010-2011)

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
0h	***Reserved***	**100% Sessions** **DJ xxxx** Aveiro - PT	***Reserved*** 100% Sessions **DJ xxxx** Albufeira - PT	**In Stereo** **DJ xxxx** Spain	**Fish Don't Dance** **xxxx** England	**Urbana Radio Show** **xxxxx** Spain	**House Is In The Air** **DJ xxxxx** Albufeira -PT
1h	***Reserved***	**Global Dance Sessions** *(replay)* **xxxxx** England	**Sexy Sound System** *(replay)* **xxxxx** Porto - PT	**Curious & The Agent** England	**House Hot Chart** Italy	**Urbana Radio Show** **xxxxxx** Spain	**MiliaRock** (replay) **xxxxxx** France
2h	**100% Sessions** **DJ xxxx** Germany	**Global Dance Sessions** *(replay)* **xxxxxx** England	**Sexy Sound System** *(replay)* **xxxxxx** Porto - PT	**Curious & The Agent** England	**MiliaRock** **xxxxxxxxx** France	**100% Sessions** **xxxxxxxx** England	**In Stereo** *(replay)* **DJ xxxxx** Spain
3h	**100%** Playlist	**100%** Playlist	**100%** Playlist	**100%** Playlist	**100%** Playlist	**100%** Playlist	**100%** Playlist
4h	**100%** Playlist	**100%** Playlist	**100%** Playlist	**100%** Playlist	**100%** Playlist	**100%** Playlist	**100%** Playlist
5h	**100%** Playlist	**100%** Playlist	**100%** Playlist	**100%** Playlist	**100%** Playlist	**100%** Playlist	**100%** Playlist
22h	**Bright FM** Playlist	**Bright FM** Playlist	**Bright FM** Playlist	**Bright FM** Playlist	**Global Dance Sessions** **xxxxxx** England	**Sexy Sound System** **xxxx** Porto - PT	**The Edge** **xxxxxxxxx** England
23h	**Bright FM** Playlist	**Bright FM** Playlist	**Bright FM** Playlist	**Bright FM** Playlist	**Global Dance Sessions** **xxxxxx** England	**Sexy Sound System** **xxxxx** Porto - PT	**The Edge** **xxxxxxxxx** England

Appendix IV – Minority Community Media Manifesto

This appendix consists of the following full reproduction of the text found at C
Line/More Colour in the Media's website:
http://www.multicultural.net/manifesto/index.htm

A EUROPEAN MANIFESTO

to support and to underline the importance of mi community media

In the member states of the European Union there are thousands of community media initiatives, involving tens of thousands of people. Thes groups use mainly magazines, newspapers, Internet/web-based media, ra television stations as well as programmes produced by, for and about immigr ethnic minorities. Minority community media are often local, sometimes reg national initiatives, if appropriate using the language of their audiences and p them with information about participation and education in their country of re They provide a platform for discussion and exchange within the immigrant a ethnic minority communities as well as between the minority indigenous/majority communities.

The minority community media groups reach out potentially to an aud millions of citizens in the Member States, as evidenced in France and the U the aim to provide them with essential information to help them to participa citizens of their country of residence. Although working under different regional and local conditions, minority community media groups throughou encounter similar obstacles on both national and local levels in executi activities.

In order to improve their situation a range of minority community media decided to work together and to join their efforts on the European level in as attention and support to improve their situation. To do so a European Manif drafted. The Draft has been discussed nationally, regionally and locall Europe. Based on these discussions the Manifesto was amended and approv involved groups.

In the Manifesto minority community media call upon the European Parliar European Commission and the Governments of the member states

- to recognise the important role that minority community media play in E actors to implement social inclusion policies.

- to see the minority media being recognised as a public community service as such, they will be contained in all European and national media le and will obtain a "must carry" status on all relevant broadcast platform

- to ensure that freedom of speech, the right to receive information and to the right to communicate for all, including the right for minorities to receive media in their own language, are recognised as basic human rights for all citizens. These rights should be included as part of the concept of civic citizenship and they should be enshrined in all media policies, legislation and social inclusion policies of the European Union and national member states.

The Manifesto will be presented during the European elections in 2004 to the President of the European Parliament, after all minority community media and supporting organisations have signed the Manifesto. For more information on how to joint the initiative you can call or email:

United Kingdom:

Community Media Association (CMA)

The Workstation 15 Paternoster Row

Sheffield S1 2BX

Tel. 0114 279 5219

Fax. 0114 279 8976

Email: eumanifesto@commedia.org.uk http: //www.commedia.org.uk

Ireland:

The Media Co-op

Alan Braddish Northside Civic Centre Bunratty Road

Dublin 17

Fax: (+353) 01 848 5211

Phone:(+353) 01 867 101 6

Email: nearfm@iol.ie

http: www.mediacoop.ie

Secretariat: On Line/ More Colour in the Media (OLMCM) Website: http://www.multicultural.net/manifesto/index.htm

The European Manifesto

xx minority community media initiatives and organisations from xx member states of the European Union, are committed to contribute to the full participation of immigrants and ethnic minority communities in their country of residence, aware of

their potential to support their immigrant and ethnic minority audiences and determined to develop their own media as an effective means of communication within their communities and as platform to inform the mainstream society, discussed and approved the following text in their local, national and trans-national meetings:

Taking into account

- that the new European Union intends to constitute an area of freedom, security and justice, in which its shared values are developed and the richness of its cultural diversity is respected.

- that member states of the European Union include a great number of citizens belonging to immigrant and ethnic minorities of which a growing number originate from countries outside the European Union and who contribute in a large part to the richness of the cultural diversity and the economy of the new European Union.

- that the European Commission introduced a concept of civic citizenship, guaranteeing certain core rights and obligations to immigrants so that they are treated in the same way as nationals in their country of residence.

- that immigrant and other ethnic minority communities already make great efforts to engage themselves in community life and other social, cultural and political activities in order to contribute as equal citizens in their country of residence.

Being aware:

- that sensitising the majority populations to the benefits and challenges of immigration are core elements in a pro-active social inclusion policy and that the mass media have a major responsibility in their role as educators of public opinion.

- that for the successful implementation of civic citizenship, the dialogue between key actors and visible, recognisable and the equal involvement and participation of immigrant and ethnic minority groups in the public debate are of prime importance.

- that mainstream media have great difficulties in attracting ethnic minority audiences and to make their mainstream products a real reflection of the multicultural society.

- that, unlike the mainstream media, minority community media are able to link into networks of spokespeople and community leaders and thus can act as a mediator.

- that minority community media, as part of the public service, and as evidenced in France and the UK, can play a major role in encouraging equal and full participation of immigrants and ethnic minority groups, by addressing issues of importance to immigrant and ethnic minority audiences and by offering them a platform for discussion within their own communities on important national and local issues, as well as providing them with a platform

to share these views with the rest of the national population.

- that in most member states minority community media, despite their present efforts, cannot produce or further develop their own media, as they often do not have independent access to frequencies and other broadcast facilities, like regular training and media funds, due to the fact that minority community media are not part of the public service structure and because the national media environment on all levels is highly competitive and very difficult to penetrate for new groups such as immigrant and ethnic minorities because of the existence of well established indigenous media networks.

Convinced:

- that freedom of speech, the right to receive information and the right to communicate for all, are basic human rights for all citizens as part of the concept of the civic citizenship in the enlarged European Union, to ensure equal participation of all citizens in the member states, which have to be enshrined in all legislation and social inclusion policies of the European Union and national member states.

- that minority community media can contribute enormously to the participation and emancipation process of immigrants and ethnic minority groups within the concept of civic citizenship, by the improvement of intercultural communication, common understanding and dialogue.

- that by using the language of their audience, minority community media are able to effectively reach out to immigrant and ethnic minority audiences, which cannot normally be reached by other national and local media.

- that minority community media can have an important supporting role to mainstream media, as mediator between the minority communities and the mainstream society, in providing access to minority networks and to alternative sources of information.

- that minority community media is a basic public service and that, as such, they should be a structural part of the national and European media environment.

- that minority community media need meaningful and relevant support in order to fulfil their important role.

Referring:

- to the European Convention on Human Rights,1953, Article 10, which reads that everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

- to the Final Act on Security and Co-operation in Europe in Helsinki in 1975, which included the right for minorities to receive media/information in their own language.

- to the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, Article 11, Freedom of Expression and Information: Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers.

- to The Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, adopted by General Assembly of the United Nations resolution 47/135 of 18 December 1992.

- to the Treaty of Amsterdam, 1999, which enhances in Article 13 the right to equal treatment and freedom from discrimination on the basis of nationality as well as to that based on sex, race or ethnic origin, core principles underlying all policies of the European Union.

- to the Communication from the European Commission on immigration, integration and employment (COM 2003, 336 final) to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic ad Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions.

- to numerous European and national conferences, like the Conference of the Council of Europe "Migrants, Media and Cultural Diversity" in Noordwijkerhout 1988, which called upon the governments of European countries to acknowledge the right of migrants and other ethnic groups to receive through the media adequate information appropriate to their needs and to express themselves in the media and to ensure that these rights are enshrined in legislation on the media and in texts laying down the duties of the public sector media.

We ask the European Parliament, European Commission and Governments of the Member States to ensure:

- that freedom of speech, the right to receive information and the right to communicate for all, including the right for minorities to receive media in their own language, are recognised as basic human rights for all citizens as part of the concept of the civic citizenship and that they will be enshrined in all media policies, legislation and social inclusion policies of the European Union and national member states.

- that minority community media are being recognised as a basic public community service and that, as such, they will be contained in all European and national media legislation and will obtain a 'must carry' status on all relevant broadcast platforms.

- that minority community media will be recognised as important participants to implement the social inclusion policies.

- that the European Commission will make earmarked funds available within the Media Programme in order to encourage training programmes for immigrant and ethnic minority media professionals, trans-national co-operation of minority media and exchange of programmes and productions.

- that special attention will be given to media education for immigrants and ethnic minorities in the national and European educational and vocational programmes.

- that national governments create a Media Fund, to provide start-up and continuing funding on structural basis. The Manifesto is supported by: Minority Community Media initiatives, Ethnic minority organisations, NGO's, Others”